

1830 60

Bhawasathi

Succession

दृष्ट्वा हृष्टो नृपः प्रोचे सचिवान्निखिलानिदम् ॥

अयमेन महासत्त्वः सत्यवाक् सुकृतास्पदम् ।

लघुरप्येष निःशेषकुमाराराणं गुरौ महान् ।

अस्याद्युतेन सत्येन पुण्येन च कथयन् ॥

न देशे भक्तिं दोषं दुर्मित्रादमरादिकम् ॥

ततो राज्यवरं वेदुमयं चते दुरीशतम् ।

इत्युक्त्वा तं नृपो राज्ये निवेशयजगृहे प्रतम् ॥

Kumara Palaprasadhop. 327

BHARATIYA VIDYA STUDIES
IV

CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT

7

Chaulukyas of Gujarat

*A survey of the history and culture of Gujarat from the middle
of the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century*

by

Asoke Kumar Majumdar M.A., D. Phil.

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To

SRI K. M. MUNSHI

*this book is respectfully dedicated
by the grateful author*

PREFACE

THE HISTORY of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat has never suffered from want of historians since Hemachandra wrote his *Dvyāśrayakāvyā*. His lead in this field of literature was followed by many writers, such as, Someśvara, Somaprabha, Chandraprabha or Prabhachandra, Bālachandra, Udayaprabha, Merutuṅga, Jayasimha Sūri, Jina-maṇḍana and others. Many of these authors really wrote the biography of Kumārapāla or of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, but even such biographies usually contained a canto, or, if the whole work consisted of a short *praśasti*, several verses, in praise of the Chaulukya kings. The information thus left is, however, often of the greatest importance for reconstructing the history of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.

A. K. Forbes was the first modern historian to take advantage of these chronicles, and his *Rās-Mālā* was based on the materials which he had collected from Abhaṣatilaka Gaṇi's commentary on the *Dvyāśrayakāvyā*, Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and Kṛishṇaji's *Ratnamālā*. The *Rās-Mālā* was followed several decades later by the classic dissertation of George Bühler published in the *Indian Antiquary* (1878), under the modest title of "Eleven Land Grants of the Chaulukyas". He retained his interest in the history of this dynasty, and besides editing several important inscriptions such as the Vadangar-*praśasti* and the Cintra-*praśasti*, wrote the biography of Hemachandra, and induced Tawney to translate the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.

The fruit of all these preliminary but fundamental research works was first embodied in the history of the Chaulukyas written by Indrajī for the *Bombay Gazetteer*. But many Gujarat chronicles and inscriptions—particularly of the dynasties with which the Chaulukyas came into close contact—were either discovered or published for the first time after the publication of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. The results of these works were incorporated by Dr. H. C. Ray in the chapter on the Chaulukyas in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*.

Only two decades have passed since the publication of the *Dynastic History of Northern India*, but several more Gujarat chronicles and inscriptions have been published since then. The information provided by these new sources and others, which till now have received but scant attention, does not, it is true, materially alter the history of the dynasty; but they are still of considerable interest. Moreover, the social and the cultural history of this period had not as yet attracted the interest of the scholars. I felt therefore that an account of the Chaulukyas, along with the administrative, economic, religious and the social history of the period might serve some useful purpose. The art and the architecture of Gujarat have been exhaustively dealt with by competent scholars, but

it was felt that a short account of the artistic achievements of the period would enhance the utility of the present work.

The chapters on political history contain a critical analysis of the Gujarat chronicles, therefore the chapter on sources, containing the appraisal of their value, has been relegated at the end of the volume, instead of at the beginning where it is usually placed. It is also usual to discuss the date of accession of a king along with his history. But, here such discussion makes a thorough analysis of Merutunga's works necessary. Therefore the chronology has been dealt with in a separate chapter. To make the chapters easier reading, many discussions of doubtful points have been given in the reference at the end of the text.

Many place-names have changed since we attained independence, but I have retained the familiar names of the old states such as Jodhpur, and Bikaner, for these are easier to locate in a map. I have also occasionally used the word Kathiawad, though it has happily regained its former name of Saurāshṭra. But the capital of the Chaulukyas, I have mentioned throughout as Anahilapātaka, the form used by Hemachandra. The present name 'Patan' obviously derived from Anahilapattana or Anahilapattana, means a city. 'Pattana' has been used by some Chroniclers to designate the capital, but the name Anahilapātaka, sanctioned by Hemachandra seemed to be more appropriate, just as for the writing of the history of the Mauryas, Pāṭaliputra is more becoming than Patna. I hope that just as Kathiawad has regained its lost name, Patan may some day become Anahilapātaka, though one cannot hope to see the revival of the glory and splendour of the Chaulukya capital.

This book had to be printed in a very short time. The result is orthographical errors, and some names, such as Lavaṇaprasāda, which Chroniclers spelt differently, have different spellings such as, Lavaṇaprasāda, and Lāvaṇaprasāda; and al'Awfi has also been spelt as al'Ufi. For these and other shortcomings I crave the indulgence of the readers :

*pramāṇa siddhānta viruddham atra
yat kiñchid-uktam mati-manda-doshāt
mātsaryam utsārya tad-ārya chittāh
prasādam ādāya viśodhayantu*

The writing of this history has been for me a very pleasant task but the conflicting testimony of the Gujarat chronicles often made the work difficult, sometimes exasperatingly so. At such times I found solace in the pithy saying of Abdul Qadir Badauni, which I feel it to be wise to record here to safeguard me from criticism : "God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies."

Dr. D. C. Ganguly, the present Curator of the Victoria Memorial

Hall, Calcutta, taught us ancient Indian history. He insisted that I should write something, and selected this subject for me. A share of the credit or blame for writing this history, therefore, belongs to him. Personally, I shall always remain indebted to him for having introduced me to a fascinating subject.

It is also my pleasant duty to thank Dr. J. N. Bannerjee, for his valuable suggestions and guidance. I am also grateful to Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. R. C. Hazra and Sri S. N. Sen Gupta, M.A. B.L. *Kāvya-Vyākaraṇa-tīrtha*, B.C.S. (Judicial), formerly Deputy Director, Statistical Department, Government of West Bengal, for their kind suggestions and help. My thanks are also due to the authorities of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for publishing this work.

May 29, 1956.
Bhavan's College,
Andheri, Bombay.

A. K. MAJUMDAR.

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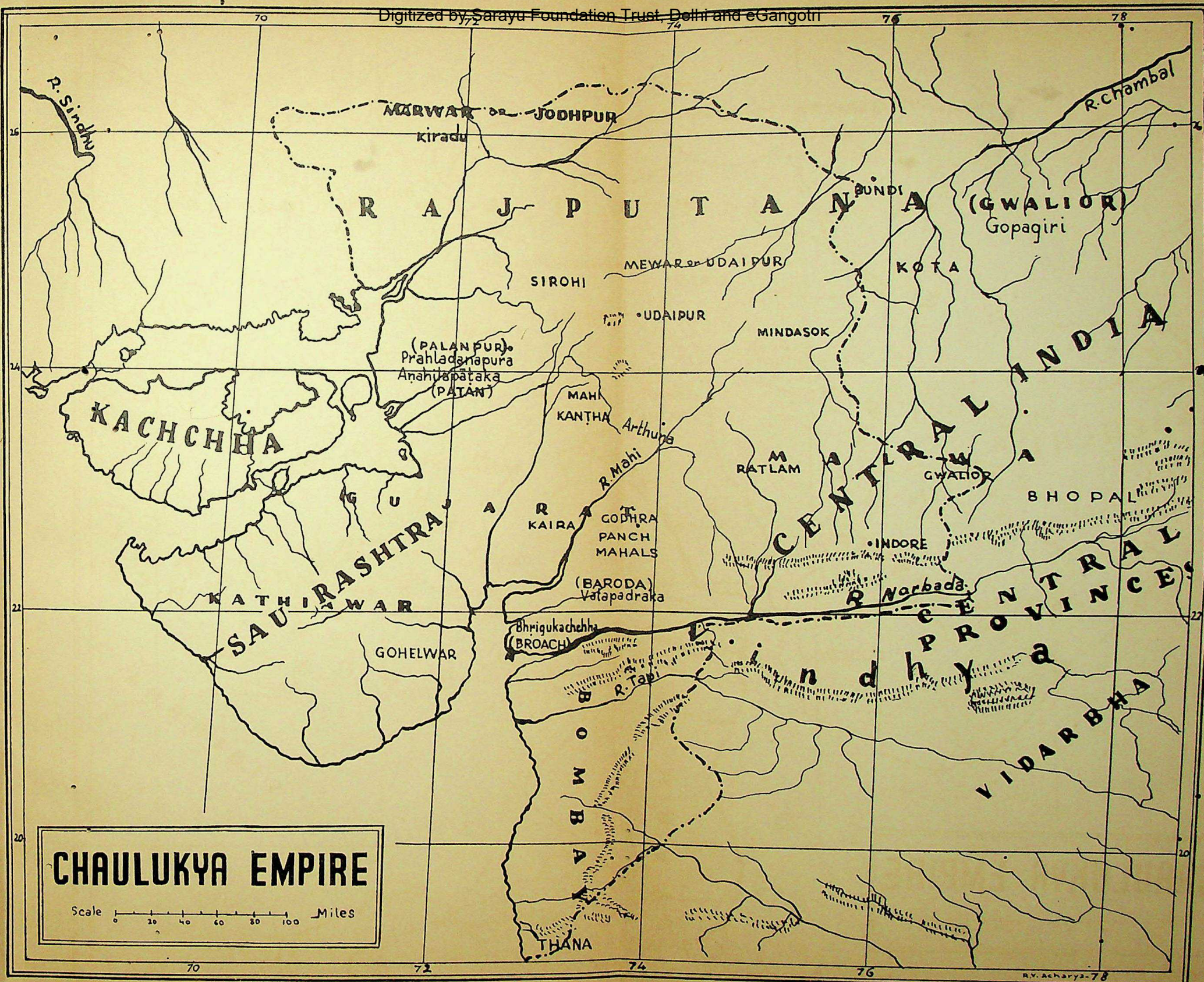
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ABBREVIATIONS

- AANG—*Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* by Burgess and Cousens.
- AB—*Archaeology in Baroda, 1934-1947*, by Gadre.
- ABORI—*Annals of The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.
- AIOC—*Proceedings And Transactions Of The All India Oriental Conference*.
- AKK—*Antiquities of Kach and Kathiawad* by Burgess.
- ARAB—*Annual Report Of The Archaeological Department, Baroda State*.
- ARBP—*Antiquarian Remains In The Bombay Presidency* by Burgess.
- ASI—*Annual Report Of The Archaeological Survey Of India*.
- ASR—*Archaeological Survey Report* by Cunningham.
- BG—*Bombay Gazetteer*.
- Bh. Ins.—*A Collection Of Prakrit And Sanskrit Inscriptions Published By The Bhavnagar Archaeological Department*.
- Bhandarkar's List—*A List Of Inscriptions Of Northern India In Brahmi And Its Derivative Scripts, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica, XIX-XXIII*.
- Bh. MSS—*Report On The Search For Sanskrit Manuscripts* by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- BI—*Bibliotheca Indica*.
- BKI—*Bombay Karnatic Inscriptions*.
- BSPS—*Bombay Sanskrit And Prakrit Series*.
- BSS—*Bombay Sanskrit Series*.
- CHI—*Cambridge History Of India*.
- CII—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.
- CMJB—*Catalogue Of Manuscripts In The Jesalmere Bhandar*.
- CMPB—*Catalogue Of Manuscripts In The Pattan Bhandar*.
- DHNI—*Dynastic History Of Northern India* by H. C. Ray.
- DKD—*Dynasties Of The Kanarese Districts* by Fleet.
- DN—*Deśināmamālā* of Hemachandra.
- DV—*Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemachandra.
- EC—*Epigraphia Carnatica*.
- EI—*Epigraphia Indica*.
- E & D—*History Of India As Told By Its Own Historians* by Elliot And Dowson.
- Ganguly : Paramāras—*History of The Paramāra Dynasty* by D. C. Ganguly.
- GOS—*Gaekwad's Oriental Series*.
- HCG—*Studies In The Historical And Cultural Geography And Ethnology Of Gujarat* by H. D. Sankalia.

- HIG—*Historical Inscriptions Of Gujarat* by G. V. Acharya.
HMM—*Hammīramadamardana* of Jayasimha Sūri.
HR—*History Of Rajputana* by G. H. Ojha.
IA—*Indian Antiquary*.
IHC—*Proceedings Of The Indian History Congress*.
IHQ—*Indian Historical Quarterly*.
JAOS—*Journal Of The American Oriental Society*.
JASB—*Journal Of The Asiatic Society Of Bengal*.
JBBRAS—*Journal Of The Bombay Branch Of The Royal Asiatic Society*.
JBORS—*Journal Of The Bihar And Orissa Research Society*.
JDL—*Journal Of The Department Of Letters*.
JIH—*Journal Of Indian History*.
JISOA—*Journal Of The Indian Society Of Oriental Art*.
JRAS—*Journal Of The Royal Asiatic Society*.
KBCH—*Kumārapālābhūpālācharitra* of Jayasimha Sūri.
Kielhorn MSS.—*Search For Sanskrit Manuscripts* by Kielhorn.
KK—*Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara.
LARBP—*Lists Of The Antiquarian Remains Of The Bombay Presidency*.
LP—*Lekhapaddhati*.
MASI—*Memoirs Of The Archaeological Survey Of India*.
MK—*Mudritakumudachandra* of Yaśachandra.
NIA—*New Indian Antiquary*.
NIS—*New Imperial Series*.
NSP—*Nirnaya Sagar Press*.
PC—*Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga.
PCJ—*Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Edited by Jinavijaya Muni.
PCT—*Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Translated by Tawney.
Peterson MSS.—*Report On The Search For Sanskrit Manuscript* by Peterson.
PO—*Poona Orientalist*.
PRAS. WC—*Progress Report Of The Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*.
QJMS—*Quarterly Journal Of The Mythical Society*.
RD—*Ruins Of Dabhoi* by H. Sastri.
RLARBP—*Revised Lists Of The Antiquarian Remains Of The Bombay Presidency*.
SBE—*Sacred Books Of The East*.
SH—*Siddha-Hemachandra*.
Sitzungsberichte—*Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
SJS—*Singhi Jaina Series*.
SKK—*Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* of Udayaprabha Sūri,

- Somanatha : Cousens—*Somanatha And The Mediaeval Temples Of Kashiawad* by H. Cousens.
SS—*Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana* of Arisimha.
TN—*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* Translated by Raverty.
TSP—*Trishashṭīśalākāpurushacharita* of Hemachandra.
VTP—*Vastupālala-Tejāhpāla-praśasti*.
VV—*Vasantavilāsa*.
WMR—*Annual Report Of The Watson Museum, Rajputana*.
WZKM—*Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* also known as *Vienna Oriental Journal*.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Before describing the history of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, it is necessary to recall briefly the political condition of northern India at the time of Mūlarāja's accession to the throne of the Chāpotkatas at Anahilapātaka.

Southern Gujarat up to Khetaka-maṇḍala, or modern Kaira district, was under the control of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and was being administered by a Paramāra vassal.¹ The region of northern Gujarat, Saurāshtra, and Kachchha was probably divided into a number of principalities one of which belonged to the Chāpotkatas. Within the limits of Gujarat the empires of the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāshtrakūṭas practically met. However, almost two centuries of constant fighting amongst the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras, Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pālas had exhausted the resources of all the three empires, so that at the time of Mūlarāja's accession conditions were favourable for replacing the effete successors of the old dynasties by virile captains of war. The political stability which had resisted Islam in the seventh century no longer existed to check the iconoclastic zeal of Sultan Mahmud, hence the very conditions which favoured Sultan Mahmud helped the rise of new dynasties too, though it is possible that Mahmud swept away the last shred of prestige that continued to shroud the tottering house of Nāgabhaṭa.

When Mūlarāja ascended the throne in c.A.D. 941, the Pālas had given up all hope of restoring their former hegemony in northern India. The struggle between the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāshtrakūṭas had already reached its climax when the latter under Indra III captured Ujjain and the imperial city of Kanauj and overran northern India.² The Gūjjara-Pratīhāras were destined to never fully recover from this severe blow. They regained their throne with the help of their feudatories, but the restoration of fallen majesty, powerless to assert itself, encouraged the very same feudatories to throw off their allegiance and carve out independent principalities for themselves. Meanwhile, the Rāshtrakūṭas, under Kṛishṇa III, then a *Yuvarāja*, again invaded the Pratīhāra dominion and captured the forts of Kālāñjara and Chitrakūṭa, almost within a year of Mūlarāja's accession.

Shortly after this disaster Pratīhāra Mahīpāla must have died, for the earliest known date of his successor Mahendrapāla II is A.D. 946. Mahendrapāla's reign seems to have ended before A.D. 948, for in that year Devapāla was ruling in Kanauj. His reign saw the rise of the Chandellas who now repudiated their allegiance to the Gūjjara-

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Pratīhāras. An inscription from Khajuraho describes Chandella Yaśovarman as "scorching fire to the Gūjaras", and adds that "he easily conquered the fort of Kālañjara". Yaśovarman also forced Devapāla to surrender to him a celebrated image of Viṣṇu, and this marked symbolically the altered position of the vassal and the master.³ During the long reign of Devapāla's successor, Vijayapāla, the process of disintegration continued unchecked, and his successor Rājyapāla either fled before Mahmud's invasion, or submitted to the conqueror; he was later killed while fighting a confederacy headed by the Chandellas, and the remnants of the Gūjara-Pratīhāra power were finally extinguished.

The Chandellas benefitted most by the disruption of the Gūjara-Pratīhāra empire. Under Dhaṅga, who defeated a king of Kānyakubja, their kingdom extended as far as Kālañjara and Bhāsvat on the river of Malawa, to the banks of the river Jumna and from there to the frontiers of the Chedi country up to the Gopa mountain. An inscription of A.D. 954⁴ indicates a formal if nominal recognition of the Gūjara-Pratīhāras at Kanauj, but this was the last time that the name of a Gūjara-Pratīhāra monarch was to appear in a Chandella record, which indicates that after this date Dhaṅga became a sovereign ruler *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

The other important Gūjara-Pratīhāra vassal dynasty to declare its independence was that of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī. It appears that an early Chāhamāna prince, named Gūvaka was a feudatory of Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II, and achieved a pre-eminent position at his court. The first prince of the family to use the title *Mahārājādhirāja* was Simharāja. The Harsha stone inscription states that he captured many princes and kept them in prison till the overlord of the Raghu family came in person to liberate them.⁵ The overlord has been identified with Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II or one of his weak successors, but the fact that it was necessary for the overlord to go to his vassal personally to effect the release of some captive demonstrates the growing importance of the Chāhamānas and the weakness of the Pratīhāras. The earliest known date of Simharāja's successor, Vigharāja II is A.D. 973, and it is almost certain that he enjoyed complete sovereign power.

There was another Chāhmāna branch which ruled at Broach. The Hansot grant of king Bhartṛivaddha, which was issued in A.D. 756, mentions the illustrious Nāgāvaloka as his overlord.⁶ This Nāgāvaloka has been identified with Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa I, and it has been suggested that Bhartṛivaddha might have succeeded the Gūjaras of Nāndipurī—whose last known date is A.D. 736—as the Pratīhāra viceroy of Broach. Nothing more is known of this family for practically the next five centuries, after which period they seem to have emerged to make a bid for power during a period of uncertainty. This part of their history will be mentioned later.

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Another Chāhamāna branch also came into prominence during the reign of Mūlarāja and maintained a close relationship with some of his successors. They were the Chāhamānas of Naddūla. Lakshmaṇa, the founder of this dynasty, was a son of Śākambharī Chāhamāna Vākpatirāja who ruled in the middle of the tenth century A.D. Hence Lakshmaṇa may be assumed to have been a contemporary of Mūlarāja.

Even more powerful than the Chāhamānas at this time were the Kalachuris of Tripuri. At the time of Mūlarāja's accession, probably Yuvarāja was the Kalachuri king. The Bilhari inscription⁷ shows that he came into conflict with the Karṇāṭas, that is, the Rāshtrakūṭas. This shows that the policy hitherto pursued by the two powers had been reversed; for the Rāshtrakūṭas had for a long time been linked with the Kalachuris by matrimonial alliances. The mother of Kṛishṇa III was a daughter of the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja I, yet Kṛishṇa boasts in his Karhad grant⁸ of having defeated a Sahasrārjuna prince who has been identified with Yuvarāja I. This Kalachuri-Rāshtrakūṭa war must have ended their former alliance which had hitherto been useful to the Rāshtrakūṭas in their war against the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras. Probably with the capture of the forts of Kālāñjara and Chitrakūṭa, Kṛishṇa III felt that thereafter he would no longer have to reckon with the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras in his bid for supremacy in northern India. On the other hand thanks to the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Kalachuris emerged at this time as the only considerable power in northern India. Hence a re-orientation of policy was probably necessary, for the alliance had lost all value at least so far as the Rāshtrakūṭas were concerned.

The limits of Yuvarāja's kingdom cannot be fixed definitely, but it seems that in the north it included a portion of Baghelkhand. Yuvarāja married Nohalā, a Chaulukya princess; their son was the powerful Lakshmaṇarāja who claims to have proceeded as far as Somanātha.

Mālava probably came under the control of the Paramāras as early as the first decade of the ninth century when they became the Rāshtrakūṭa governors of that province. Harsha Sīyaka or Sīyaka II was the first prince of this dynasty to declare his independence when, turning against his suzerain, he defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khaṭṭiga, the brother and successor of Kṛishṇa III, and sacked the capital Mānyakheṭa.

The sack of Mānyakheṭa was a turning point in the history of India. Kṛishṇa III was one of the greatest generals of his age and one of the most powerful kings of his dynasty. His long reign of about thirty years was a succession of victories. Even as a prince he had captured Kālāñjara and Chitrakūṭa. Within five years of his accession he defeated the Chōlas, temporarily occupied their capital and annexed the northern part of their territory to his empire. Probably this commitment in the south affected his power in the north. He had alienated his Kalachuri relatives by attacking them in his northern campaign, and thus had to

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suffer the rise of the Chandellas to power under Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga on the ruins of the Gūjjara-Pratīhāra empire. It was probably from the Rāshtrakūṭas that the Chandellas captured the forts of Chitrakūṭa and Kālāñjara. For some reason, at the end of his reign, Kṛishṇa III sent an expedition into Gujarat under his Western Gaṅga general Mārasimha,⁹ but this does not seem to have had any permanent result.

At the time of Kṛishṇa's death in A.D. 968, the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was intact, but within four years his proud capital city of Mānyakhēṭa was sacked by Sīyaka as has been noted above. Finally, Taila II who was a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory at least until A.D. 965, inflicted a signal defeat upon them, and claimed to have restored the fortunes of the Chālukyas after nearly two centuries. This rise of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyani marked the end of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Thus, though Mūlarāja and Kṛishṇa III ascended their thrones within a few years of each other, it was with the new dynasties which had supplanted the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gūjjara-Pratīhāras that Mūlarāja and his successors had to contend.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN

In the following pages an attempt has been made to trace in brief outline the history of the dynasty established by Mūlarāja in Gujarat with its capital at Aṇahilapāṭaka. This dynasty is usually referred to as the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, though two other dynasties are known to have existed in Gujarat who also called themselves Chaulukyas. The relationship, if any, which existed between these three dynasties is not known, and we shall confine our attention exclusively to the activities of the dynasty established by Mūlarāja, and of its successor, the Vāghelās, which will enable us to trace the history of Gujarat from the middle of the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

It is generally held that the terms Chaulukya and Chālukya are synonymous and that these two names and their variants denote the same or various branches of the same family. But while the royal houses of Badami, Veṅgi and Kalyāṇī were called Chalukyas, Chālukyas—and particularly in the case of the house of Badami under variants of the same term—the dynasty founded by Mūlarāja described themselves in all but four of its records as Chaulukyas.¹ Thus while the earlier dynasty and its branches practically never call themselves 'Chaulukyas', the latter dynasty also never uses the form Chālukya. Moreover, while both the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī have claimed relationship with the main dynasty of Badami, the Chaulukyas have never done so, nor have they like the Chālukyas of Badami ever claimed to be the sons of Hārīti and to belong to *Mānavya-gotra*. But they had the following common traditions with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, namely, origin of the dynasty from Brahmā's *chuluka*, and migration of their ancestor's from Ayodhya, the latter being common with the Veṅgi branch also.² Hence though the term 'Chaulukya' will be used throughout this work to denote the family name of Mūlarāja and his successors, it may be assumed that all these families had a common origin, though there is no conclusive evidence for such an assumption. A discussion of this intricate and still unsolved problem would not only lead us far astray from the main purpose of the present work, but would be futile as well, in that sufficient evidence is not yet available to arrive at any definite conclusion.

There were also many other families which called themselves either Chālukya, Chulika, or Chaulukya.³ These are often known to us

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merely from a single inscription or two, which do not enable us to fix their descent nor to establish their relationship, if any, with the four main royal houses mentioned above. Whether the Chālukyas of Badami were the progenitors of all these twenty odd families, or whether there was a parent stem of which these were but branches, is a question which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be answered with any degree of certainty.

The next question to arise is whether Chālukya was the name of a clan or a royal family. Generally it is used in the latter sense, but there is at least one instance where the word 'Chulukya' has been used to denote a clan. This occurs in a passage of *Prithvīnājavijaya* where it is mentioned that seven hundred Chulukyas invaded Pushkar. This 'Chulukya' has been explained by the commentator as 'seven hundred members of the Chulukya clan'.⁴ It has also been suggested that the modern clans of Sulkis, Solgis, and Solaghs of the Punjab were descendants of the Chālukyas. From this it may be tentatively concluded that there was a clan of Chālukyas, and it will be shown later that some of the theories regarding the origin of the Chālukyas lend support to this assumption.

Legendary Tradition

According to the tradition current among the Chaulukyas as early as the twelfth century A.D. their ancestor was created from the *chuluka* or the water pot of Brahmā. This has been described in two inscriptions of the reign of Kumārapāla of which the Vadnagar-*prāśasti* states: "Humbly asked by the gods for a protector against the insults of the sons of Danu, the Creator, though about to perform the twilight worship, produced forthwith in his pot (*chuluka*) filled with the holy water of Gaṅgā, that hero named Chulukya who sanctified these three worlds with the floods of his fame From him sprang a race" which came to be known as Chaulukya.⁵

Practically the same story is repeated by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, the commentator of *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, while commenting on the word 'Chaulukyavamśa' occurring in the second verse of that work; and Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* repeats the verse quoted by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi:

The elephants are ill to take service with, the mountains have lost their wings

The tortoise is a 'laggard in love' of his friends, and this lord of the snakes is double tongued

The Creator considering all this, produced, for the support of the earth,

From the mouthful of water sipped at the evening ceremony, a brave warrior with waving sword blade.⁶

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Bālachandra Sūri, however, in his *Vasantavilāsa* follows the story of the Vadnagar-*prasaṣti*, and relates that the first Chaulukya was created to destroy the demons.⁷

An entirely different version is given by Jayasimha Sūri who wrote his *Kumārāpālabhūpālacharitra* later than the authorities cited above. Ignoring the supernatural origin of the race, Jayasimha Sūri traced the descent of his hero's ancestors from one Chulukya, who was a great and virtuous warrior who destroyed countless enemies and then fixed his capital at Madhupadma. There then arose a race known by his name, Chaulukya; after many kings and in the course of time Śrī Śimhavi-krama was born in the family, who freed the whole world from debt and proclaimed his own era. Śimhavi-krama's son was Harivikrama from whom were descended eighty-five kings of admirable splendour. Then came a king named Rāma, his son was Bhaṭa, destroyer of the Śakas and his son was Śrī Daḍakka, conqueror of the Gaja kings of Pipāsā. Daḍakka's kingdom was occupied by Kāñchikavyāla. Then there shone the moonlike king Rāji who married Līlādevī; their son was Mūlarāja.⁸

It may be mentioned here that in the *Vikramāñkadevacharita*, Bilhana relates that once during his *Sandhyā* meditation Brahmā was requested by Indra to produce a warrior and Brahmā created one from the water of his *chuluka*. From this warrior arose a race of kings which included the first man Hārīta and Mānavya.⁹

Thus we see that with the exception of Jayasimha Sūri, all the other authors have recorded mythical stories probably because during that age it became customary for the royal dynasties to trace their origin to some mythical or epic hero. Evidently these stories are useless for our present purpose.

Bardic Tales

The bardic stories which give another version of the origin of the Chaulukyas are no less fanciful; some of these tales were first recorded by Tod, according to whom the Paramāras, the Pratīhāras, the Chaulukyas, and the Chāhamānas belonged to the *Agnikula*. Tod recorded a bardic tale according to which once upon a time the *daityas* began to render impure the sacrifice of the Munis who had their *Agnikuṇḍa* (fire pit) on the summit of Mt. Abu. Tormented by its repeated desecration the priests assembled round the firepit and prayed for help to Mahādeva. "From the fire fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name Pratihadwara. A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was named Chalooka. The third was Paramār, and the fourth Chauhan."¹⁰

A different bardic account was however recorded by Cunningham. It is as follows:

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From Brahmā's essence the Solankhi was born
 Brahmā named him Chaluk Rao:
 From Śiva's essence the Puwar was born
 From Devī's essence the Pariyar was born
 From the fount of fire sprang up, and wandered forth
 Leaving Abu for Abharh, of chosen race, the Chahuwan.¹¹

It is difficult to trace the source of the second legend, but there is hardly any doubt that the first legend gained in popularity after its inclusion in the *Prithvīrāja Rāso* of Chand Bardai, who is generally considered to be the originator of the tale. According to the *Rāso* an incantation was commenced by the whole body of the sages on Mt. Abu under the leadership of Vaśishṭha. The ceremony was interrupted by the *Rākshasas*, when in answer to the prayer of Vaśishṭha there appeared the Pratiḥāras, Chaulukyas, and Paramāras, one after another but as none of them was able to defeat the demon, the Chāhamāna had to be created who killed the demons so that the sages were at last able to conclude their ceremony peacefully.

Modern Views

Like the myths, these fanciful tales do not deserve serious consideration; but these bardic lores generally known as the *Agnikula* legend was accepted by Jackson, Campbell, Indrajī, and D. R. Bhandarkar¹² as a corroborative testimony of their theory of the foreign origin of the Gūrjaras amongst whom they included the Chaulukyas. But Bühler, Syamaldas, Ojha, and Halder¹³ have conclusively proved by demonstrating grave historical discrepancies that the worth of *Prithvīrāja Rāso*, as a sober historical work, is practically negligible. Among the errors contained in the *Rāso* is the statement that Anaṅgapāla Tomara was the grandfather of Prithvīrāja which is not a fact; similarly the *Rāso*'s statement that Rāṇā Samarasimha of Mewad married a sister of Prithvīrāja and died fighting Mu'izz ud-Din is quite unfounded. The known facts about Rāṇā Samarasimha prove that he flourished a century after Prithvīrāja, so that it was as impossible for him to have married the sister of the Chāhamāna Emperor as to have fought against his conqueror. Further the *Rāso* relates that Bhīma II was killed by Prithvīrāja, though it can be proved that the latter outlived the former by about half a century. As for the *Agnikula* legend neither the Chaulukya records nor any of the Gujarat chronicles claim for them such an origin, though they not only knew the legend but recorded that the Paramāras were descended from the sacrificial fire. Thus in three inscriptions of the reign of Bhīma II, reference is made to the *Agnikula* origin of the Paramāras; and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi in explaining a verse of DV states that the Paramāras were created by Vaśishṭha to teach Viśvāmītra a lesson when the two sages quarrelled over the cow

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Nandinī.¹⁴ Thus we see that the writers of the inscriptions and the commentator were sufficiently aware of the *Agnikula* myth, so that if they singled out the Paramāras as the descendants of *Agnikula*, it was not due to their ignorance but their certain knowledge that neither did the Chaulukyas belong to the *Agnikula* nor was their origin linked with that of the Paramāras. Moreover the *Agnikula* origin of the *Rāso* implies the superior martial qualities of the Chāhamānas, so that it would not have been unnatural for Chānd to have invented the story to prove the superiority of his hero's family over all other distinguished dynasties.

According to Sri Dasarathi Sarma there exists in the Fort Library, Bikaner, three copies of the earliest and the shortest edition of *Rāso*, which, he concludes, is "therefore the most reliable edition of this work." This edition does not contain many of the errors of the *Rāso* noted above and omits altogether the story of the *Agnikula* origin. All that it records about the origin of the Chāhamānas is: "From the sacrifice of Brahmā was born the first valiant Chauhan Manik Rai." Sri Sarma therefore concludes that "the *Agnikula* myth, as found in the later rescensions of the *Rāso* is of course a late forgery.....an adaptation of some very old stories found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*."¹⁵ C. L. Vaidya, from internal evidence, had arrived at practically the same conclusion, that is; the *Rāso* was more correct in older renderings and had been added to from time to time.¹⁶

Chaulukyas and the Gūrjaras

It has been remarked above that celebrated scholars lent their support to the *Agnikula* origin of the Chaulukyas in order to prove their theory of the Gūrjara origin of the dynasty. Campbell Jackson, and D. R. Bhandarkar were the chief supporters of this view, but it will be sufficient to discuss here Bhandarkar's celebrated article on the Gūrjaras.

In his first article Dr. Bhandarkar dealt exclusively with the Gūrjaras and traced their history from the earliest times.¹⁷ He then proved that up to the middle of the 9th century, Lāṭa extended as far north as modern Vadnagar, while during the reign of Govinda IV Khetaka, which is identical with modern Kaira, formed a part of Lāṭa. This lead Dr. Bhandarkar to pose a question coupled with an assertion: "Where then was the kingdom of the Gūrjaras, so often alluded in inscriptions, before the middle of the 10th century, as, till that time, Gujarat was known as Lāṭa; and hence was not ruled over by Gūrjara princes?" After discussing the question of the original seat of power of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras and the extent of their territory, Dr. Bhandarkar concluded: "There thus remains little doubt that the boundaries of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gūrjara kingdoms were

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extremely close to one another." His next question was: "When then did the modern province of Gujarat come to be called after the Gūrjaras?", which he answered thus: "We have seen that up to the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda IV, it (Gujarat) was known as Lāṭa. Not long after the reign of Govinda IV, the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty over Lāṭa was overthrown, and that of the Chaulukyas established. And it was evidently in the time of the Chaulukya sovereigns that Gujarat came to be called after the Gūrjaras". To support this contention Bhandarkar cited two Chaulukya inscriptions—where the kings of that dynasty have been called rulers of Gūrjaramaṇḍala—and added that "in many other records of the Chaulukya period and later, Gujarat has been differently called after the Gūrjaras".

It is of course an indubitable fact that during the reign of the Chaulukyas, Gujarat or a part of it was called variously after the Gūrjaras in various ways. This will be discussed later. What is open to discussion is the conclusion drawn by Dr. Bhandarkar, who, without adding any additional proof, stated: "It is thus clear that a portion of Lāṭa first came to be called after the Gūrjaras, when it came under the sway of the Chaulukyas. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras." He then proceeded, on the testimony of Tod, to prove that due to their common *Agnikula* origin, the four royal Rajput dynasties belonged to the same stock. Finally it is stated on the evidences of al-Beruni and an inscription that "from the time of al-Beruni (A.D. 970-1031) to the time of Samarasimha, whose Abu inscription of V.S. 1342 calls the place Gūrjaramahī, a portion of Rajputana continued to be called after Gūrjaras." Between these two dates, falls, practically the entire Chaulukya period.

Bhandarkar then discussed the situation of Kalyāṇakaṭaka, which according to Merutuṅga was the original home of Rāji, the father of Mūlarāja. "The traditions are unanimous", wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, "that his father Rāja (properly Rāji) came from Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja. Where this Kalyāṇakaṭaka is to be located has puzzled many antiquarians. But I think that in all likelihood, Kalyāṇakaṭaka denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name Mahodaya. And Mahodaya and Kalyāṇa are identical in meaning. Secondly it is to be noted that in the copper plate charters of Bhoja, Mahendrapāla, and Vinayapāla, Mahodaya is called a *skandhāvāra*. *Skandhāvāra* and *kaṭaka*, again, are synonymous terms. Hence Kalyāṇakaṭaka is equivalent to Mahodaya-*skandhāvāra*, so far as their meaning goes. And, as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by Kalyāṇakaṭaka in the Kānyakubja country, Kanauj is meant. Mūlarāja thus becomes connected with Kanauj in the north, which, as shown above, was up to the middle

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of the tenth century a seat of Gūrjara power. Mūlarāja thus appears to be of Gūrjara nationality, and this is in keeping with the conclusion that Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras arrived at from the fact that it was since their settlement that Gujarat came to be called after Gūrjaras."

Another article by Dr. Bhandarkar, equally celebrated, dealt with the foreign tribes which entered India, amongst whom he placed all the Chālukya dynasties, who, according to him, being Gūrjaras were foreigners.¹⁸ According to Dr. Bhandarkar: "The second Rājput tribe, which is, in all likelihood, of Gūjar origin, is Chālukya or Chaulukya. There is no epigraphic evidence in the present case, but there can be no doubt that Gujarat of the Bombay Presidency bore this name only after the Chaulukyas conquered and occupied it. If the Chaulukyas had not been of Gujar extraction, it is inconceivable how that province could have been named Gujarat (Gūrjaratrā) when it was uptill their advent known as Lāṭa. There were two hordes of this tribe which emigrated at two different periods. The first came forth in the last quarter of the sixth century from the Savalakh mountains, as I shall show further on, spread as far south as the Madras Presidency, and was generally known by the name Chālukya. The second emigrated about the middle of the 10th century from Kalyāṇakaṭaka, i.e., Kanauj, but did not go south beyond Gujarat. It was generally known by the name of Chaulukya or Solāṅkī. Some antiquarians are of the opinion that they do not represent one tribe, as the first swarm of invaders were called Chālukyas and the second Chaulukyas. But this view, I am afraid, has not much ground to stand upon. Because, the first has been called also Chaulukyas in several manuscripts of *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* by Bilhaṇa, the *Vidyāpati* of Vikramāditya VI The same Bilhaṇa again speaks of the Solāṅkī sovereigns of Gujarat as Chalukya in his play entitled *Karṇasundarī*. There therefore seems to be no reason to hold that they were two different tribes. Like the Kadambas, as we shall see further on, the Chālukyas are represented as *Hārītīputras* of the *Mānavyagotra* and as meditating on the Shadānana and the seven Divine Mothers. This indicates Brāhmaṇa, or rather priestly origin, though we cannot perhaps say that they and the Kadambas belonged to one tribe." Further on however Dr. Bhandarkar added: "I have stated above that, like the Kadambas, the Chalukyas also are known as *Hārītīputra* and *Mānavyasagotras*. They must have been somehow intimately connected with each other. There can be no question that the Chālukyas came from the north. The Kadambas also, therefore, seems to have emigrated from the same quarter."

From this résumé of Dr. Bhandarkar's theory it will be apparent that having proved that during the 9th century the furthest northern limits of Lāṭa reached Kaira, he assumed that the whole of modern Gujarat came to be known as Lāṭa. This conclusion seems to be

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unwarranted. It might have been natural for a power advancing from its base at Lāṭa to designate freshly conquered territories adjacent to that country by the same name, but that does not prove that unconquered territories were also similarly called Lāṭa. The first seat of Chaulukya power was in Sārasvata-*maṇḍala*, which lay to the north-east of Khetaka-*maṇḍala*, and it has never been contended that Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* was ever included within Lāṭa.

Dr. Bhandarkar's second conclusion that before the middle of the 10th century Gujarat was never ruled by Gūrjara princes is equally untenable. Besides the well known Gūrjara dynasty of Nāndipurī, it is now definitely known that towards the end of the 9th century the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire extended as far south as, and included the province of Kathiawad. It has further been held that the Chāpa Sāmanta Dharaṇīvarāha was not a feudatory of Chuḍasama Mahīpāla-deva but of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra king of that name.¹⁹ From this it has been rightly concluded that since the reign of Nāgabhaṭa upto the reign of Mūlarāja, Saurāshṭra was connected with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire.²⁰ Hence Khetaka-*maṇḍala* being under the Rāshtrakūṭas, a power coming from Kanauj, presumably through southern Rajputana, in order to control Saurāshṭra, or indeed to communicate with it, had to control the Sārasvata-*maṇḍala*, the very place where Mūlarāja first established his sway. This also agrees with Dr. Bhandarkar's opinion that the boundaries of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empires were extremely close to each other; indeed, if Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* is taken to be within the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire, the two kingdoms can be said to have had a common frontier. It is therefore evident that before the advent of the Chaulukyas the whole of Gujarat was not called Lāṭa; also there was not only a Gūrjara principality at Nāndipurī, but the power of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras extended up to Saurāshṭra. Probably Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* was included within Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire.

It is difficult however, to say when the country now known as Gujarat came to be associated with the Gūrjaras. Padmagupta (c. 972-1000 A.D.) court poet of Vākpati Muṇja has described the defeat of a Gūrjara king (*Gūrjarapati*) and the subsequent lamentations of his queen, whom the poet calls *Gūrajarabhūmipāla-mahishī*.²¹ If this Gūrjara king is assumed to be Mūlarāja, the founder of the dynasty, it has to be admitted that the country was already known as Gūrjara-land during his reign. It may be said that Mūlarāja being a Gūrjara the country was named after him, but that it was not so will be apparent if the following verse of Paramāra emperor Bhoja is taken into consideration:²²

*śrīṇvanti Lāṭabhaṃ Lāṭāḥ Prākṛitaṃ Saṃskṛita-dviśaḥ
Apabhraṃśena tushyanti svena nānyena Gurjarāḥ*

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The 'Gūrjarāḥ' of this verse can only mean the people of Gūrjara who are here specifically mentioned as distinct from the people of Lāṭa, and it seems reasonable to suppose that Bhoja was here describing the peculiarities of the languages of the peoples of northern and southern Gujarat. The connection of Apabramśa with Gujarat is a long one; Daṇḍin defined Apabhraṃśa as the language of the Ābhīras et cetera (*Ābhīrāḍi*) and the commentator Tarunavāchaspati has explained *ādi* in Daṇḍin's *Ābhīrāḍi* thus: *ādi-śabdena Ghurjara-bhāṣhā grihyate*. Ghūrjara is in all probability a slip for Gūrjara as has been pointed out by Dr. Bhayani, who has advanced reasons for believing that Apabhraṃśa was current in Gujarat and Rajputana since its rise.²³ Therefore, taking into consideration the verses of Bhoja, and Daṇḍin, and the statement of the latter's commentator it may be concluded that Gūrjara-Apabhraṃśa was used in Gujarat long before the country came under the Chaulukyas, in which case Mūlarāja cannot be held responsible for connecting the name of the territory with that of the Gūrjaras.

In the Sravana Belgola, epitaph of the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha II, we are told that he became known as the 'king of the Gūrjaras' by conquering the northern region for the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. This shows that even a Gaṅga chief assumed the title of 'Gūrjara king', either by conquering Gūrjara land or defeating a Gūrjara king.²⁴ It has been suggested by Sten Konow that Mārasimha defeated²⁵ a Gūrjara king who was Mūlarāja, but it seems more probable, as has been pointed out by Prof. Altekar, that Mārasimha defeated Sīyaka, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, who in A.D. 949 was ruling over parts of northern Gujarat.²⁶ This seems to show that a Gaṅga or a Paramāra prince could be called a Gūrjara, not because he belonged to a particular tribe or race, but because he was ruling over a country which already by the middle of the 10th century was called after the Gūrjaras.

It is not surprising therefore that the Chaulukya kings were referred to as the kings of the Gūrjaras, although no other Chaulukya dynasty is linked this way with the Gūrjaras. Hemachandra calls Mūlarāja king of the Chaulukya-*vamśa*;²⁷ elsewhere he uses the term *sugūrjaram*, which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains as 'kings of the Gūrjara country'.²⁸ Someśvara in his *Kīrtikaumudī* introduces Mūlarāja as one 'who was chosen by the Fortuna of the kingdom of the Gūrjara king';²⁹ this implies that the kingdom conquered by Mūlarāja was already known as Gūrjara kingdom or belonged to one who was known as the king of the Gūrjara. In his *Surathotsava*, Someśvara refers to Mūlarāja as *Gūrjarakshatibhuja* and states that he belonged to the family of the Chaulukya kings. (*Chaulukya-bhūpāla-kula*);³⁰ this obviously shows that though Mūlarāja was considered by later authors to be ruling over Gūrjara land, he belonged to the Chaulukya family.

It is learnt from an inscription that Sanchor in south Rajputana

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was included within Mūlarāja's kingdom by V.S. 1051. A Chāhamāna inscription from Marwad calls the place Gurjaratṭi, and Dr. Bhandarkar has also admitted that a part of Rajputana continued to be called Gūrjarabhūmi. It is therefore possible that the territories contiguous with southern Rajputana gradually came to be called Gūrjara land just as Rāshtrakūṭa territories in northern Gujarat was once called Lāṭa.

It is thus evident that Gujarat did not derive its name from its long association with the dynasty established by Mūlarāja. There is also no evidence to justify the assumption that the Chaulukyas were descended from the Gūrjaras. This, however, does not solve the problem of the origin of the Chaulukyas, and we shall now examine two theories which offer a solution.

The Chālukyas and the Ikshvākus

An inscription of the Ikshvākus found at Nagarjunikonda mentions a Mahāsenāpati Mahātālavara Vāsithīputa Khaṇḍachaliki-remmanaka.³¹ This 'Chaliki' of Khaṇḍachaliki has been taken to signify an early and indigenous form of 'Chalikya', and it is pointed out that in their early inscriptions the Chālukyas of Badami are referred to as Chaliki or Chalki. According to this theory the original home of the Chālukyas was in the southern Andhra country.³²

Against this theory it may be pointed out that the basis of its assumption is very slender, and in their earliest inscription so far discovered, the Chālukyas of Badami have been referred to as Chalikya.³³ Moreover we shall presently see that stronger grounds exist for believing that the Chālukyas had migrated to India from Central Asia.

Chālukyas-Chulikas-Śulikas

It has been suggested that the name Chaulukya or Chalukya was derived from or was a variant of 'Chulika' or 'Śulika'. Epigraphic evidence hitherto lacking to link these words was provided by an inscription discovered some years ago recording a grant by Yuvarāja Chāmuṇḍarāja son of Mūlarāja of the Śaulkika family.³⁴ This Mūlarāja and Chāmuṇḍarāja are undoubtedly the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty and his son, so that for the first time a definite link can be established between the 'Śaulkikas' and the 'Chaulukyas'. The intermediate change between these two terms is probably supplied by the Kadi plates of Mūlarāja, where the dynasty is called 'Chaulakika'. It is therefore necessary to examine whether any connection existed between the Chaulukyas or Chālukyas, and the Chulikas or Śulikas, for even before the discovery of Chāmuṇḍarāja's inscription, these two had been identified.

The tribe of Chulikas or Śulikas has a very long history. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* mentions the Chulikas and Śulikas along with

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Lampakas, Kirātas, Kāśmīras and other less well known tribes in the region bordering India on the north.³⁵ The *Matsya-* and the *Vāyū-purāṇas* contain corresponding passages where the names are variously given as Chulikas, Chuḍikas, Śulikas, Sainikas, and even Piḍikas, but it is now held that all these were variants of Chulika-Śulika.³⁶ *Matsya-purāṇa* further adds that the river Chakshu passed through the region of the Chulikas, and this river has been identified with the Oxus. The *Bṛīhat-saṁhitā* mentions the Chulikas five times and the Chaulikas once, but speaks of them in the most disparaging terms.³⁷ They are also mentioned in the *Charaka-saṁhitā* along with Bahlikaḥ, Pahlava, Chīna, Yavana, and Śaka. Tāranāth, in a fanciful account of the appearance of the Mlechchha doctrine in India, relates the story of a Buddhist monk, who, driven from his community, found refuge in the kingdom of the Śulikas situated beyond Togara. This Togara has been identified with Ter in Hyderabad³⁸ but it seems preferable to identify it with the city of Thogara in Central Asia mentioned by Ptolemy.³⁹

There are also many scattered epigraphic references to the Śulikas or Śulkis. In the Harāha inscription of Iśānavarman, Śulikas are mentioned along with Andhras and Gaudas, all of whom Iśānavarman claims to have defeated.⁴⁰ The Torkhed plates of Govindarāja records that one Mahāsāmanta Buddhavarasa belonged to the Śalukika family⁴¹ which is evidently a variant of Śulika. It has been concluded on the evidence of the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yudhamalla, that Salki in Telegu is the *tadbhava* form of Chalukya.⁴² In another inscription Chālukya Bhīma is referred to as Bhīma Salki.⁴³ There existed also the well known Śulki dynasty of northern Orissa, which according to R. D. Bannerjee was identical with the Śulkis mentioned in the Haraha inscription. The names of some other Śulki kings are given in the Mahseer inscription; on grounds of palaeography it has been suggested that these kings ruled during the 10th century, and MM. Mirashi is inclined to connect this family with the ancestors of Mūlarāja.⁴⁴

Śulikas and the Sogdians

From the texts cited above it is apparent that the Śulikas or Chulikas were known from an early age as foreigners. Pargiter tried to establish their identity and came to the conclusion that Chulika is the best supported form of the name and many of the variations are easy misreadings or its corrupted forms.⁴⁵ However, R. Gauthiot arrived at an interesting conclusion of great consequence while reviewing a work by F. C. Andreas. Andreas had identified the Pehlvi word Surak or Sulak with Sulik, and Sulik with Su-li mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, and had concluded that all these words in reality signified the Sogdians. Gauthiot supporting this view further developed it by quoting some of the Sanskrit texts mentioned above and concluded that Sulika and Sudik

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represent respectively the eastern and western forms of the same name; only Pehlvi, which remained in continuous contact with Sogdian retains both the words Sod and Sulik.⁴⁶ Dr. P. C. Bagchi accepted this proposed identification of Gauthiot and explained the alternative forms Chulika-Sulika by assuming that the name being a foreign one was heard and transcribed in Sanskrit in various ways; he further added, citing examples, that "the alternative *s*: *ś*: *ch* is not unknown in such cases."⁴⁷

Little is known about the Sogdians. It has been held that the Śakas under the pressure of the Yue-chis probably invaded Sogdian first and then marched into Bactria. But Strabo mentions the 'Tokharoi' among the people who conquered Bactria from the Greeks, and the Chinese historians state that at precisely the same period the Yue-chis reached Bactria. This together with some other minor considerations have led some scholars to infer that the Yue-chi of the Chinese annals were the Tokharoi of the Greeks and the Tukhāra of the Sanskrit texts.⁴⁸ This identification may explain the frequent mention of the Chulika-Śulikas along with Tukhāra, Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava Chīna, and other foreign tribes. We also learn from Chinese sources that in 128 B. C. Sogdian was under the Yue-chis, who had conquered the country and had their capital in the city of Kien-che, the Sanskrit form of which would be Kanda, held to be an abbreviated form of Mārkaṇḍa or Samarakand. Another Chinese text states that in A.D. 84 a Chinese general ordered the king of Yue-chi to remonstrate with the king of the Sogdians, from which it appears that at that date the Yue-chis were no longer occupying the country. The manuscripts found by the missions of Aurel Stein, Pelliot, and von Le Coq prove that Buddhist texts were translated from Sanskrit into various Indo-European languages including Sogdian which was spoken in the caravanserais from T'ien Chan to Lob Nor and was in fact an *Umgangssprache* though it is now a dead language.

It is not possible on the basis of this meagre evidence to form an idea as to the role the Sogdians might have played in the intermittent race migrations of Central Asia. However, it is evident from the wide use of their language and their scattered colonies that they were great traders and bold pioneers. Trade may have brought them into close contact with India, though we do not know when it was first established nor the length of its duration. Chinese texts have recorded the biography of a Buddhist monk called Seng-houeī, who "was born of a Sogdian family long established in India." The monk came to China in A.D. 247; he was therefore born towards the beginning of the century, so that his family must have come and settled in India some time in the second century, if not earlier. Probably this was not an isolated instance, and other Sogdian families also came and settled in India.⁴⁹ It has also been held that the name Chulika-Paiśāchi, was probably derived from Śulika, the ancient name of Kashgar.⁵⁰

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Thus it is evident that the Sogdians knew Sanskrit and Prakrit; they received Buddhism as early as the 1st century B.C., and from the 2nd century A.D. were translating Buddhist texts and trading with India. Moreover, before the Turkish conquest in the 8th century the 'Indo-European oasis' situated to the north and south of Tarim, from Yarkhand and Khotan up to Lob Nor, and from Kashgar, Kucha, and Karashahr up to Turfan, depended to such a large extent on India for its cultural development, that the region up to the very frontier of China have been called the 'India exterior.' The existence in the 7th century A.D. of the Agni dynasty at Karashahr, and of the Suvarṇa dynasty at Kucha with kings bearing such names as Suvarṇapushpa and Haripushpa shows the tremendous influence of Indian culture in those regions. If therefore the Chaulukyas were Sogdians, it would not be surprising to find that after their long and intimate connection with India they had merged themselves so completely and successfully with the indigenous elements, that when they appeared as royal dynasties, the least trace of their foreign origin was lost in obscurity, and only their family name remained to serve as a reminder of their ancestry. But attractive as this theory may appear to be, the evidence at present available does not justify any definite conclusion on this point.

Gūrjaratrā and Gujarat

The derivation of the name 'Gujarat' has been a matter of some controversy. Bühler was of the opinion that Gūrjaratrā was a Sanskritisation of Gujrat, as Suratrāna and Garjjanika were Sanskrit forms of Sultan and Ghazni.⁵¹ This view was successfully challenged by Dr. Bhandarkar according to whom 'Gujarat' was derived from 'Gūrjaratrā.' Grierson, however, in a rejoinder to Dr. Bhandarkar's article pointed out that, "the difficulty is that Gūrjaratrā as a Sanskrit word has no meaning. The phonetic change of cerebral *ṭṭh* of Gujjaratṭha to Gujrat is quite regular in Gujarati."⁵²

However, 'Gūrjaratrā,' was used as a Sanskrit word by Hemachandra, though only once, and the manner in which he employed the word shows that Gūrjaratrā did not include Kachchha.⁵³ In commenting upon another verse of DV, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains the word 'atra-(deśa)' used by Hemachandra as Gūrjaratrā.⁵¹ Elsewhere Abhayatilaka gives the location of Gūrjaratrā, which according to him was a western country lying to the south-west of Sapādalaksha, while Avanti lay to the east of both the countries.⁵⁵

Śrīdhara's Devapattana-praśasti of A.D. 1216 mentions Gūrjaratrā; though the area denoted by this term cannot be determined from this inscription, it appears that Kathiawad was at that time included within Gūrjaratrā. This is corroborated by a statement of Abul Fida, who, in A.D. 1037, stated that Somanath was in Gujarat.⁵⁶ An inscrip-

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tion from Huli mentions a king Jayasimha of Gūrjarāshtra and it is apparent that this refers to king Jayasimha Siddharāja.⁵⁷ In a Chāhamāna inscription from Marwad, we come across the word Gūrjaratṛi, and Dr. Bhandarkar, who edited the inscription, stated that Gūrjaratṛi and Gūrjaratrā were identical terms.⁵⁸ In the Mt. Abu inscription of Bhīma II reference is made to a '.....ratrāmaṇḍala', and there is hardly any doubt that the peeled off letters spelt 'Gūrja'.⁵⁹

Thus we see that the terms Gūrjaratrā, Gūrjarātrā, Gūrjaratṛi, and Gūrjarāshtra were probably used to denote the same area. It is noteworthy however that no Gujarat Chronicler with the exception of Hemachandra and his commentator Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, used the word Gūrjaratrā. The familiar terms in the chronicles are Gūrjarabhūmi, Gūrjaramaṇḍala, Gūrjaradharitṛi, and Gūrjaradharā, the last one being used even during the Muslim period by the Sanskrit writers.⁶⁰ Thus we see that among the writers of the period the word Gūrjaratrā was known, but was never in common use. Hemachandra used it only once in his *Dvyāśraya*, which hardly proves anything more than that the greatest grammarian of the period accepted it as a Sanskrit word; but neither he nor his commentator gave the derivation of the word. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi of course has explained *atra-(deśa)*, as Gūrjaratrā, but felt it necessary to describe the location of the country. As Abhayatilaka did not add geographical details while mentioning other countries such as Sapādalaksha or Mālava, it is evident that if the term Gūrjaratrā had been as familiar in his day as the two other countries mentioned above were, it would hardly have been necessary for him to add those details. It may therefore be concluded that during the 12th century the word 'Gūrjaratrā' and some of its variants were in use to denote a part of Gujarat, but the only form sanctioned by Hemachandra was Gūrjaratrā.

Sumati Gaṇi of the Kharataragachchha, who died in A.D. 1221, has left a biographical work on the lives of the Jaina pontiffs, wherein it is stated that Jineśvara Sūri in V.S. 1080 went from Marudeśa to Gūrjaradeśa and later attended the court of Durlabha at Aṇahilapāṭaka.⁶¹ Merutuṅga also mentions a *Maruviddha*, by which most probably a man from Marwad was meant.⁶² Yādavaprakāśa in his *Vaijayanṭī* written in the 11th century and Hemachandra in his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* have mentioned Marava-Deśeraka, and Puru-shottama states that Marubhuva is an alternative name of Daśeraka; from this it has been concluded that Marava is to be identified with Marwad.⁶³ These literary references indicate that during this period the original Gūrjara country was being called 'the desert region', while terms linked with the Gūrjaras were applied to Gujarat.

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The Ancestors of Mūlarāja

Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty at Gujarat, was the son of Rāji, but Rāji has not yet been satisfactorily identified. In the Kadi grant of Mūlarāja, Rāji is referred to as '*Mahārājādhirāja*', but this proves little, for by that time the title had lost much of its former significance. Moreover, if Mūlarāja had once felt it his filial duty to mention Rāji's name honourably, such references were conspicuous by their absence in all other records of Mūlarāja, or for that matter, in all other Chaulukya records. Evidently neither Mūlarāja, nor his successors, thought much about Rāji, whom even the Gujarat Chroniclers could not endow with any greater gifts than an expert knowledge of horsemanship. As we shall see his equestrian skill Rāji turned into account and incidentally laid the foundations for his son's future greatness. But before proceeding with that part of Rāji's history, it is necessary to examine his genealogy as given in the chronicles.

Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana of Arisimha, and *Ratnamālā* of Kṛishṇaji, both composed towards the middle of the 13th century, mention Rāji, but whereas the former does not trace the genealogy prior to Rāji, *Ratnamālā* gives more detailed information. According to *Ratnamālā*, there was a Chaulukya king named Bhūyaḍa, who reigned in the city of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja. Bhūyaḍa invaded Gujarat and killed the Chāpotkaṭa king Jayaśekhara. The bereaved queen Rupasundarī fled to the jungle where she gave birth to Vanarāja, who later became famous as the Chāpotkaṭa founder of Aṇahilapāṭaka. The aggressor Bhūyaḍa had a son Karṇāditya, the father of Chandrāditya, who was the father of Somāditya, who was the father of Bhūvanāditya, whose son was Rāji. Rāji came to Aṇahilapāṭaka and married the sister of Sāmantasimha, the last Chāpotkaṭa ruler. The son of this union was Mūlarāja who later became king; but Kṛishṇaji does not describe the manner in which the Chāpotkaṭa crown passed into the hands of Mūlarāja.⁶¹

Merutuṅga mentions in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* a certain Bhūyarāja of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja. According to Merutuṅga a descendant of this Bhūyarāja was one Muñjaladeva whose son was Rāji, the father of Mūlarāja. Merutuṅga gives greater details of the story of Rāji's marriage with Sāmantasimha's sister, which will be noted later. There is little doubt that Bhūyaḍa of Kṛishṇaji and Bhūyarāja of Merutuṅga refer to the same person. It also appears that both based their work upon a common tradition, for the list of the Chāpotkaṭa kings with the duration of their reigns as given in the *Ratnamālā* and in Merutuṅga's *Therāvali* and *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* are exactly the same.⁶² Kṛishṇaji selected as his main theme the fight between Vanarāja's father and Bhūyaḍa, whereas Merutuṅga begins his account of the Chāpotkaṭa kings with the birth of Vanarāja in a jungle, and does not mention the

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name of Vanarāja's father. There are reasons, however, for believing that the accounts of both authors are wrong, in so far as they relate to the ancestors of Rāji, hence it is necessary to examine other traditions noted above and to try to identify Bhūyarāja, of whom Merutuṅga relates the following story:

"There was once a king named Bhūyarāja who reigned in his capital called Kalyāṇakaṭaka in the country of Kānyakubja comprising sixty three lacs of villages. One morning while he was out walking he saw a damsel with fawn like eyes sitting by the window of a palace. Wishing to possess (lit. wishing to hunt: *mrigayamāno*) this girl who had conquered his heart he made inquiries and ordered the wine steward to seize her. The latter brought her to the king's palace and hiding her in a secret place informed the king. As soon as he saw her the king caught hold of the woman by the arms; thereupon she said to the king: 'Your Majesty is an incarnation of all the gods. Alas! How is it that you desire a low born woman?' The sweetness of these words dispelled the king's lust to some extent and he asked her: 'Who are you?' She replied: 'I am your maid servant.' The king ordered her to explain herself and she said: 'Your Majesty's servant is the wine-steward. I am his wife and so am servant of your servant.' Greatly mervelling at this reply the king's lust departed completely and looking upon her as his own daughter he allowed her to depart. On turning over in his mind he thought that his arms had touched her body, the king determined to punish those hands. During the night he put his arms through the window so that his own watchman mistaking them for those of an interloper cut them off. In the morning he dissuaded his ministers from punishing the watchman, and went to the Mālava-maṇḍala and stayed there worshipping god in the temple of Mahākāla-deva. By the grace of god his arms became joined to him again. He made an offering of the country of Mālava together with his own harem to the god, and appointing princes of the Paramāra family to protect the same, took up the life of a hermit.⁶⁶

Now in the *Vastrapatha-māhātmya* of the *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-purāṇa* it is related that there lived in Kānyakubja a king named Bhoja. Once a *Vanapāla* came to Bhoja and told him of a woman with the face of a doe roaming in the forests of Raivataka. Bhoja thereupon went with his troops, captured the maiden and brought her to Kānyakubja where she related the stories of her previous births. This impressed Bhoja to such a degree that he abdicated in favour of his son. This Bhoja has been identified with Prañihāra Mihira Bhoja.⁶⁷

It is probable that Mihira Bhoja once led a campaign into Saurāshtra. The Haddala grant of Dharaṇīvarāha and the Una grant of Avanīvarman,⁶⁸ prove the existence of feudatories of the Gūjjara-

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Pratihāras in Gujarat up to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. and it is likely that these territories came under Pratihāra sway as a result of a campaign undertaken by Bhoja, which has been misrepresented in the Skanda-purāṇa. However, it is apparent that the romantic tale of the Skanda-purāṇa agrees in its essential details with the more sordid episode narrated by Merutuṅga. Probably Bhūyaḍa's invasion of Gujarat described in the *Ratnamālā* was really based on Bhoja's invasion of the country, in which case the Chaulukyas and the Chāpotkaṭas mentioned in the *Ratnamālā* may be taken to refer to the Chaulukyas of the Haddala grant and the Chāpotkaṭas of the Una grant, both of whom were feudatories of the Gūjara-Pratihāras. It is possible that the Chaulukyas of the Una grant accompanied Mihira Bhoja on a campaign against Gujarat and later settled there.

This identification, however, is beset with several difficulties. Bhūyarāja has been described by two Chroniclers as a Chaulukya. The third difficulty is regarding the date; according to Merutuṅga, Vanarāja came to the throne in V.S. 802 and king Bhūyaḍa reigned before that date, since he was a contemporary of Vanarāja's father. According to *Ratnamālā*, Bhūyaḍa fought Jayaśekhara, Vanarāja's father in V.S. 752. But the earliest known date of Mihira Bhoja in V.S. 893 or A.D. 836, and his last known date is A.D. 882. Hence it could not have been possible for Mihira Bhoja to have lived during the period suggested by the Gujarat Chroniclers. Nevertheless it should be remembered that Merutuṅga nowhere says that Bhūyarāja fought against the ancestors of Vanarāja. Hence it is possible that Kṛishṇaji was mistaken in his identity of the Chāpotkaṭa dynasty which had to bear the brunt of Mihira Bhoja's attack, assuming such an attack to have taken place. As regards the dynasty to which Bhūyarāja belonged there is always the possibility that the Chroniclers were mistaken about an event which took place so long before their times. As we proceed we shall see that though the Gujarat Chroniclers usually give fairly accurate outlines of historical events, they frequently fail over the details. Thirdly the name of Mihira Bhoja might have been corrupted into Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyarāja. Taking everything into consideration, therefore, it seems that the proposed identification is likely, and may, for the present serve as a working hypothesis, because we shall now see that the ancestors of Mūlarāja did not come from Kalyāṇakaṭaka as was so long believed on the testimony of the Chroniclers.

The discovery of the Varunasarmaka grant has thrown fresh light on the ancestry of Mūlarāja. These plates issued during the reign of Mūlarāja by his son record that Mūlarāja was a descendant of Vyālakāñchi-prabhu. As Jayasīṃha Sūri states in his work that Kāñchikavyāla was the father of Rāji, MM. Mirashi has identified him with Vyālakāñchi which is quite likely. Thus, of the three Chroniclers

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Jayasimha Sūri alone seems to have based his narrative on a tradition which is to some extent corroborated by an inscription; therefore we may place greater reliance on Jayasimha Sūri's statement. According to him, the progenitor of the race was a warrior called Chulukya, who, after having destroyed many enemies established his capital at Madhupadma. There then arose a race known by the name of Chaulukya, and in course of time King Simhavikrama was born in that family. Simhavikrama freed the whole earth from debt, and proclaimed his own era. His son was Harivikrama from whom were descended eighty five kings. Then came a king named Rāma whose son was Sahajarāma, the destroyer of the Śakas. His son was Daḍakka conqueror of the Gaja kings of Pipāsā. Daḍakka's kingdom was occupied by Kāñchikavyāla, whose son was Rāji, the father of Mūlarāja.⁶⁹

Evidently the first part of Jayasimha Sūri's story has no more value than a legendary tradition. But, beginning with Rāma, the kings mentioned in his chronicle seem to be historical persons. Probably Rāji's ancestors were petty princes of a place called Madhupadma. MM. Mirashi is of the opinion that this Madhupadma was situated on the river Madhuveni (modern Mahuwar) a tributary of the Betwa. But this identification is beset with too many difficulties, and tentatively we may assume that Madhupadma was Mathura. We may therefore conclude that Rāji came from outside Gujarat, not from Kanauj, but probably from Mathura.

CHAPTER III

Mūlarāja I (c. V.S. 998-1053)

There were once three brothers, Rāji or Rāja, Bīja and Daṇḍaka or Daḍakka¹ who came to Somanātha on a pilgrimage. On their return journey they were passing through Aṇahilapāṭaka, the capital of the Chāpotkaṭa king, Sāmantasīmha. One day king Sāmantasīmha was "engaged in the amusement of *manège*" and the three young pilgrims hastened to witness the show. Suddenly the king mishandled a horse and whipped it. This was too much for Rāji who exclaimed: "Alas! Alas!" This censure drew the attention of the king to Rāji who was then able to impress him by his knowledge of horsemanship. Thus began a friendship which was strengthened when Sāmantasīmha gave his sister Līlādevī in marriage to Rāji. Some time later Līlādevī died while pregnant; her womb was opened and a son taken out. This child was named Mūlarāja as he was born under the auspices of the star Mūla.

Mūlarāja became popular at an early age because he was 'resplendent as the newly risen sun', and by his valour he extended the sway of his maternal uncle Sāmantasīmha. But Sāmantasīmha began to throw dangerous temptations in the way of his ambitious nephew: he would crown Mūlarāja when drunk and depose him when sober; the 'Chāpotkaṭa gift' became a proverbial jest. Finding himself daily disappointed in this manner, Mūlarāja made ready his followers and while he was one day being placed on the throne by his inebriate uncle, he killed him and thus became the master in reality.² This event probably took place in V.S. 998.

This detailed story of Mūlarāja's accession is given by Merutuṅga. But three other Chroniclers, namely, Arisīmha, Udayaprabha, and Kṛishṇaji also state that Mūlarāja was the son of the sister of the last Chāpotkaṭa king.³ We also learn from the drama *Moharājaparājaya* that the Chāpotkaṭas were notorious drunkards.⁴ Mūlarāja claims in one of his inscriptions that he conquered the "province watered by Sarasvatī through the strength of his arms".⁵ Thus it seems that the transference of power from the Chāpotkaṭas to the Chaulukyas was not peaceful and Mūlarāja was most probably the nephew of the last Chāpotkaṭa king.

However, Merutuṅga's story suffer from one great drawback. According to him Sāmantasīmha reigned only for seven years. If, therefore Rāji married Sāmantasīmha's sister during the latter's reign, the child of that marriage could at most be about six years old at the time of Sāmantasīmha's death. The absurdity of a child of six or seven

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murdering his uncle and ascending the throne was pointed out long ago by Bühler, who entirely dismissed the story of the Gujarat Chroniclers and suggested that Mūlarāja was a conqueror of Sāmantasimha's kingdom.

There is no doubt however that Mūlarāja removed the Chāpotkata king, for we find in the Vadnagar-*praśasti* the following statement: "Illustrious Mūlarāja.....by excessively light taxes gained the affection of his subjects. He made the Fortune of the Chāpotkata princes, whom he took captive at his will, an object of enjoyment, for the multitude of his relations, of Brahmins, bards and servants".⁶ This statement, according to Bühler, "agrees with that contained in Mūlarāja's land grant, where it is stated that he conquered the province watered by Sarasvatī through the strength of his arms," and furnishes an additional argument for assuming that the first Chaulukya gained Gujarat by conquest, not as Prabandhas narrate by the treacherous murder of the last Chāpotkata, his near relative."⁷ Someśvara, however, gives the following slightly different version in his *Kīrtikaumudī* and the Dabhoi-*praśasti*: "Won over by the eminent qualities of this conqueror of his foes, the guardian goddess (Śrī) of the Gūrjara princes became of her own choice his bride, just as (the goddess Śrī became the bride) of (Vishnu), the foe of Bāṇa, (at the churning of the ocean)".⁸ In his *Suratholsava*, Someśvara does not give any further information regarding Mūlarāja's accession to power, but simply adds that the latter created Sola as his family priest.⁹ This lead Bühler to conclude that "the appointment of a new Purohita proves that on Mūlarāja's accession considerable changes in royal household was made. Such things would not have happened, if the Chaulukya prince had ascended the throne of Gujarat by the right of succession on the extinction of the Chavda line. But they were only too natural, if Mūlarāja I, as his land grants assert, conquered the Gūrjara-*maṇḍala* by the strength of his arms."¹⁰ Bühler's contention would have been correct had the Chroniclers related a peaceful transference of power to Mūlarāja after the extinction of the Chāpotkata dynasty. Taking the evidence accepted by Bühler we find that, on coming to the throne, Mūlarāja imposed very light taxes to gain the affection of his subjects. Hemachandra also indicates in a very clever pun that Mūlarāja fixed the taxes,¹¹ so that we may accept as true the report that on his accession Mūlarāja reduced taxation and fixed it to please the people; also that he then distributed part of the wealth gained from the Chāpotkaṭas amongst the learned, the Brahmins, bards, servants and his relatives and that he appointed a new family priest. All of these may have been the political actions of a very clever conqueror, but they appear suspiciously like the acts of an usurper who having captured the throne by some nefarious means is intent on stabilising his position, as did 'Ala-ud-Din, by befriending the common

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people and the *élite*. A conqueror generally has an army at his disposal which frees him from the necessity of using such soft measures in order to gain the affection of his subjects. Hemachandra has described the exploits of Mūlarāja in six long cantos and in his dedicatory verses to Mūlarāja in his *Siddha-Hemachandra* praises the latter in the unmeasured terms customary in a court poet. But, both he and the other court poet, Someśvara, are entirely silent about Mūlarāja's pedigree and his mode of accession to the throne. Had Mūlarāja come as a conqueror, it would have been reasonable to expect at least one of them to have mentioned the fact in his eulogy. Hence their silence may be taken to be significant; it fits well with Merutuṅga's statement that Mūlarāja murdered his uncle, the last Chāpotkaṭa king. And there it seems, until further evidence is available, the question must rest at present.

Career of Mūlarāja

The kingdom of Mūlarāja at his accession probably consisted of only the Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* which is represented to-day by the Mehsanā *Prant*, Radhanpur and Palanpur states minus Dehgam *Taluka*.¹² Mūlarāja enlarged this small principality into a strong and well knit kingdom, which at his death stretched from Lāṭa to Mt. Abu. The expansion was a result of a series of successful campaigns which he led against his neighbours. The Gujarat Chroniclers have left interesting accounts of several campaigns which we shall now describe.

Invasion of Saurāshṭra and Kachchha

It appears from the chronicles that Mūlarāja invaded and defeated the kings of Saurāshṭra and Kachchha. The king of Saurāshṭra was one Grāharipu or Grāhāri, and his defeat at the hands of Mūlarāja is described by Hemachandra alone, though the conquest of Kachchha is described by other Chroniclers as well.

According to Hemachandra, Mahādeva appeared to Mūlarāja one night in a dream and asked him to destroy Grāharipu. Next morning Mūlarāja consulted Jambaka and Jehula, who, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, were his *Mahāmantrin* and *Mahāpradhāna* respectively. Mūlarāja told them of his dream, but added that as he himself had established Grāharipu he felt some compunction about uprooting him, even though he be guilty of torturing pilgrims.¹³ Jehula replied that Grāharipu the ruler of Saurāshṭra was an Ābhīra,¹⁴ that he tyrannised over pilgrims and killed them, ate goary flesh and drank wine. This tyrant huge in person had defeated many kings, particularly Sindhupati, who, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, was the king of Sindh (*Sindhudeśādhipa*);¹⁵ the king of Sindh had been forced to pay a tribute of horses and elephants to Grāharipu. Grāharipu had moreover committed the sacri-

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lege of hunting 'chamari' deers in Ujjayanta. For these vices, the minister advised the king to kill Grāharipu.

Then Jambaka began to give a description of Grāharipu's strength. He was a mighty king, and had a most important ally in Laksha who had freed Kachchha from the Turushkas;¹⁶ this Laksha was the son of Phulla and was an inseparable friend of Grāharipu.¹⁷ With the help of such powerful ally Grāharipu was very strong. Jambaka therefore exhorted Mūlarāja to destroy him, as none but the Chaulukya king, who was as strong as Arjuna, could accomplish this task.¹⁸

This decided Mūlarāja. He set out after the Vijayādaśamī day in the month of Āśvina with a large army and all due pomp and ceremony. In the course of a few days he reached the Jambumāli forest.¹⁹ There a messenger from Grāharipu came to parley and reminded Mūlarāja that he had no quarrel with the Ābhīra king, and requested him to go back. But Mūlarāja was inexorable. He replied that Grāharipu was a despicable man who molested pilgrims, lived with other people's wives, had destroyed Prabhāsatūrtha and had hunted in the Ujjayanta; obviously all this was because he was born of a Mlechchha woman.²⁰ Thus Mūlarāja turned away the messenger.

This attempt to restore peace having failed, Grāharipu began to prepare for the fight. He was joined by the Medas, (who, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi were Bhillas), the famous king Laksha, and his own sons. Various forms of spirits appeared revealing bad omens.²¹ Nevertheless within a very short time Grāhāri "passed through the great forests on the bank of the river (which was) the daughter of the wife of Sūrya, (thereby) causing a panegyric to be written, as it were, in Yavana alphabets, by the (profuse) ichor of tuskers satisfied by the barley plants spoiled by the cold (touch) of the great forest."²²

Then Grāharipu with his army reached the Jambumāli river, which has been identified with the river Bhogavati or Bhogao, which passes the village Jambu to the east of Vadhvan.²³ There he was joined by a king called Sindhurāja.²⁴ Then came Laksha ready for battle.

Mūlarāja also arranged his army and was joined by kings called Revatimitra, Sailaprashta, Mahitrāta and Revatimitra's friend Gaṅgama the king of Gaṅgadvāra and his brother Gaṅgāmāha.²⁵ Then came the Bhilla army, the Kauravas who were the sons of Kuru kings and the friends of the desert king. Then after the fight began, Mūlarāja was joined amongst others by his Gujarāti soldiers and the king of Saptakāśī. The Paramāra king of western Abu who lived at Śrīmāla also joined him.²⁶ When the fighting became serious Grāharipu received the help of one *akshauhiṇī* of Mlechchhas, who, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains, came from Turushka.²⁷ Then there arose a long drawn out combat between Mūlarāja and Grāharipu at the end of which Mūlarāja struck his opponent down with a terrible blow and had him

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securely bound.²⁸ Thereupon Laksha came and asked Mūlarāja to release Grāharipu, but Mūlarāja refused, for Grāharipu was a beef eater.²⁹ Then there was a terrible fight between Mūlarāja and Laksha till at last Mūlarāja pierced Laksha with a spear and killed him.³⁰ Then the people of Saurāshṭra came to Mūlarāja dressed as women, whereupon he released the prisoners and left the battlefield to visit the holy city of Prabhāsa.

From this account left by Hemachandra it appears that Grāharipu was a vassal of Mūlarāja whom the latter attacked upon some flimsy pretext. The dream from Mahādeva was a favourite device of the Sanskrit authors to excuse the dark deeds of their heroes; for example, we find in the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, Mahādeva appears in a dream to Vikramāditya VI and orders him to fight against his elder brother and lawful king. Hence if there is any truth in Hemachandra's story, Mūlarāja was clearly the aggressor who at an opportune moment attacked and destroyed his potential enemy.

It appears that most of the allies mentioned by Hemachandra are fictitious persons introduced by him as grammatical examples. But king Laksha of Kachchha is an exception. *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Vasantavilāsa* and *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana* mention this fight in single verses and state that Mūlarāja defeated Laksha the Kachchha-*bhūpāla*. Merutuṅga has left a more detailed account. According to him, Laksha (or Lākhā) was the son of a meat-herd named Phulaḍa who under romantic circumstances came to marry princess Kāmalatā, daughter of the Paramāra king Kīrtirāja. Laksha was the king of Kachchha who had repulsed the army of Mūlarāja eleven times; but Mūlarāja besieged him in some fort in the twelfth campaign and Laksha was killed by Mūlarāja in a duel. As Laksha lay dead, Mūlarāja touched the beard of his dead enemy with his feet, and Laksha's mother cursed him saying: "Your race shall be afflicted with leprosy."³¹

It is difficult to assess the value of Merutuṅga's version of this story. However, judging from the fact that so many Gujarat chronicles refer to this incident it may be concluded that Mūlarāja did defeat and kill a king of Kachchha named Laksha who was the son of Phula. The Jadeja princes of Cutch claimed to have had a very ancient descent and among their ancestors counted one Lākhā Phulāni. The bardic chronicles vary widely regarding the date of this Lākhā and put it at any time between A.D. 841 and 1144. Burgess recorded the existence of a Paliya grant said to be of Lākhā, but unfortunately he did not see it, and the dates as reported to him varied between V.S. 901 to V.S. 1101. Though it is not possible to identify him with any certainty, the Laksha of the chronicles may be the Lākhā Phulāni of the Jadeja princes.³²

It is difficult to say whether as a result of Mūlarāja's victory both Saurāshṭra and Kachchha were permanently annexed to the Chaulukya

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kingdom. We shall see later some of Mūlarāja's descendants fighting against the chieftains of Saurāshtra and Kachchha, and we shall also see Mūlarāja himself taking refuge in a fort in Cutch. Somanath also seems to have been included within the Chaulukya kingdom from the time of Mūlarāja or his immediate successor.³³ Hence it is possible that Mūlarāja succeeded in breaking down the powers of the two countries and annexed parts of them, though he could neither subjugate nor totally annex either country.

Mūlarāja and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī

According to Merutuṅga, Mūlarāja was simultaneously attacked by Bārāpa from Lāṭa and the king of Sapādalaksha, and the latter reached the frontiers of Gujarat. Mūlarāja took counsel with his ministers who advised him to take refuge in Kanthādurga till the king of Sapādalaksha departed on the Navarātri day to perform the customary worship of his family deity. The respite thus gained was to enable Mūlarāja to fall on Bārāpa and destroy him, thus freeing himself from having to fight on two fronts. Mūlarāja accepted this advice and sought shelter in the fort of Kanthā, which has been identified with Kanthkot in Cutch.³⁴ However, on the expected day the king of Sapādalaksha did not depart. Mūlarāja then had recourse to a bolder plan. He composed a state paper, circulated it, and by various other means collected a large number of soldiers. Then, on a fixed day, he placed his troops near the enemy camp in the early hours of the morning. Once inside, he managed to gain the royal pavillion where, brushing aside the doorkeeper, he came face to face with his enemy, the Sapādalaksha king, who, after a short conversation was so impressed by Mūlarāja's valour that he forthwith promised lifelong amity. Thus freed from anxiety Mūlarāja marched upon Bārāpa and killed him.³⁵

This Sapādalaksha king has been identified with Chāhamāna Vighraharāja II of Śākambharī. According to the *Prithvīrājaviṇaya*, Vighraharāja forced Mūlarāja to take shelter in Kanthādurga. Later, it is said, Vighraharāja advanced as far as Bhṛigukachchha, where he built a temple to the goddess Āśāpuri.³⁶

As both the chronicles testify, Mūlarāja had probably been forced to take refuge in a fort in Cutch in the face of a Chāhamāna attack. But it is not possible to say how the hostility ended. Mūlarāja might have bought off the Chāhamāna king. It is also likely that Vighraharāja joined Mūlarāja in the latter's expedition against Bārāpa, so that Vighraharāja had no difficulty in reaching Broach once the Lāṭa chief was defeated.³⁷

Conquest of Lāṭa

Many Gujarat chronicles mention Mūlarāja's victory over Bārāpa,

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the king of Lāṭa. According to Hemachandra, one day, while examining tributes from the feudatory kings, Mūlarāja's son Chāmuṇḍarāja found that Bārāpa had sent an elephant of particularly ill omen. This enraged the young prince who was with difficulty restrained by his father. Then on an auspicious day the prince started with an army, crossed the river Śvabhṛavatī, entered Lāṭa and defeated Bārāpa.³⁸ Someśvara, however, gives Mūlarāja the credit for killing Bārāpa and taking from him his troop of elephants.³⁹ Someśvara's contemporary Arisimha states that Bārāpa was the general of the king of Kānyakubja and that Mūlarāja obtained from him many elephants.⁴⁰ It is known from the inscription of one of his descendants that Bārāpa's mother was a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess from Kānyakubja,⁴¹ which is probably the origin of Arisimha's garbled account. Merutuṅga was much nearer the truth when he stated that Bārāpa was the general of the king of Tiliṅga, that is probably the Western Chālukya king Taila II. Merutuṅga also differs from all other Chroniclers in stating that Mūlarāja was attacked simultaneously by Bārāpa and the king of Sapādalaksha.⁴² We have seen how Mūlarāja, according to this version, managed to overcome the enmity of the Sapādalaksha king and destroy Bārāpa.

Fortunately more is known about Bārāpa than the meagre details left by the Gujarat Chroniclers. He belonged to a Chaulukya dynasty. The Surat grant of Trilochanapāla states that his ancestor Bārāpa "having obtained the country of Lāṭa verified to the delight of the people the maxims of the science of politics," thus winning over his subjects and destroying his enemies." Bārāpa's son was Goggirāja "the native land of victory . . . the first home of the family, who relieved his own land like the greater Vishṇu, the land that was siezed upon by powerful enemies."⁴³ This grant was issued by Trilochanapāla who was fifth in descent from Bārāpa, so that the latter in all probability lived during the middle of the 10th century A.D. It is clear that Bārāpa received the territory of Lāṭa from someone: one of his descendants named Kīrtirāja is actually called a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.⁴⁴ As already mentioned Merutuṅga calls Bārāpa a general of the king of Tiliṅga, and it is extremely likely that Bārāpa was a Western Chālukya feudatory placed in charge of Lāṭa after Taila had overthrown Rāshṭrakūṭa Kokkala in A.D. 973. As Bārāpa's son Goggirāja is definitely credited with relieving his country from powerful enemies, it would seem that Lāṭa had been conquered during Bārāpa's time as stated by Gujarat Chroniclers, and there is scarcely any valid reason for disbelieving them when they unanimously state that Bārāpa was defeated and Lāṭa annexed during the reign of Mūlarāja. We shall see later that there are reasons for believing that Lāṭa remained a part of the Chaulukya kingdom during the reign of Mūlarāja.

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Mūlarāja and the Paramāras of Mālava

Probably the conquest of Lāṭa brought Mūlarāja into conflict with the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja. The Udayapur-*prāśasti* records the victory of Muñja over the people of Lāṭa,⁴⁵ which has led some scholars to suggest that Bārāpa was overthrown by Muñja. But in view of the testimony of the Gujarat chronicles cited above it is more likely that Bārāpa had already been overthrown by Mūlarāja, who then came into conflict with the Paramāra king over the possession of the province.

According to Padmagupta, the court poet of Muñja, a Gūrjara king refrained from eating, drinking and enjoying the company of women, and performed various other penances of a like nature in the forest of Marwad to obtain an atom of dust from the feet of the Mālava king. Padmagupta also describes in another couplet the pathetic condition of the wandering, foolish Gūrjara queen.⁴⁶ The Bijapur inscription of the Rāshtrakūta king, Dhavala, states that he gave shelter to a Gūrjara king defeated by Muñja.⁴⁷ Both these Gūrjara kings have been identified as Mūlarāja, and it has been suggested that for a time he was deprived of his kingdom by Muñja.⁴⁸

It is difficult, however, to accept at their face value the exaggerated eulogies of their patrons by Sanskrit poets. For example Mūlarāja himself is thus described in a verse by Udayaprabha: "(He) whose fierce combative power reaching the end of the world made the king of Pāṇḍya continually wear the dress of a mendicant, the effect of whose combined prowess upon the king of Karṇāṭa made him (the Karṇāṭa king) go without clothes like a naked mendicant, the king of Mālava left the battlefield out of fear, little need be said about the character of Kāñchi's king (while) the Turushka was struck down with fear".⁴⁹ Probably the Mālava king referred to here is Muñja, but it is useless to try to arrive at any conclusion on the basis of this verse which contains much that cannot possibly be true. Similarly the *prāśasti* of Dhaṅga contains the statement that the Chandella king kept as prisoners the queens of Kāñchi, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga.⁵⁰ It is hardly necessary to point out that no great importance can be attached to such uncorroborated statements of *prāśasti*-writers.

We have seen that Dhavala's inscription mention that he gave shelter to a Gūrjara king. This has generally been taken as corroborative evidence of Padmagupta's statement. The inscription, however, states that Dhavala gave "shelter to the armies of a king (whose name is lost) and of the lord of the Gūrjaras, when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāta in Medāpaṭa". The exact words used, however, are *Gūrjareṣe vinashṭe*, which would indicate that the Gūrjara king had died so that his army fled and took shelter with Dhavala. It does not appear that Mūlarāja was the prince intended by the inscription since he was probably alive after Muñja's death. Moreover, it hardly seems likely that the inscrip-

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tion would have failed to mention Mūlarāja by name had he been the Gūrjara prince whose army took shelter with Dhavala, as his name is mentioned later in the same inscription. Who was then the unnamed Gūrjara prince whose army was sheltered by Dhavala? Now, it is known that Ujjain was in the possession of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras at least until V.S. 1003, the date of the Pratapgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II.⁵¹ But that city must have passed into the hands of the Paramāras some time before V.S. 1031 (A.D. 973-974), for in that year Muñja issued a grant from Ujjain.⁵² Most probably Ujjain came under the Paramāras during the reign of Muñja; Padmagupta lamenting over his death refers to him as "*Hā dev-Ujjayinī-bhujaṅga*".⁵³ It is therefore likely that the Gūrjara prince killed by Muñja was not Mūlarāja but a Gūrjara-Pratīhāra prince of Ujjain.

Mūlarāja and Dharaṇīvarāha

The inscription of Dhavala also states that he gave asylum to a king named Dharaṇīvarāha, when the latter was driven out of his kingdom by Mūlarāja. The Kiradu inscription of Kumārapāla's reign issued in V.S. 1218, mentions one Dharaṇīdhara, the grandfather of Dhandhuka the Paramāra king of Abu.⁵⁴ There is a tradition that one Dharaṇīvarāha was a Paramāra king of Navkot.⁵⁵ Probably Dharaṇīvarāha is identical with Dharaṇīdhara, the grandfather of Dhandhuka. As Dhavala's inscription was issued in A.D. 997, Mūlarāja must have driven Dharaṇīvarāha from Abu before that date. It is possible that later Dharaṇīvarāha was restored to his kingdom by Mūlarāja on conditions of vassalage, for we find that his grandson was a feudatory of Mūlarāja's grandson.

Mūlarāja and the Kalachuris

In the Bilhari Chedi inscription it is stated that the Kalachuri king Yuvarāja ornamented the foreheads of the Lāṭa women. Probably, this means that Yuvarāja carried a raid into Lāṭa. His son Lakshmaṇarāja seems to have pursued the policy of his father further. In the Bilhari inscription it is said that having bathed in the sea, Lakshmaṇarāja worshipped Someśvara.⁵⁶ The Goharwa grant of Lakshmī-Karṇa gives him credit for conquering, among others, the kings of Lāṭa and Gūrjara.⁵⁷ As Lakshmaṇarāja was probably a contemporary of Mūlarāja, it is possible that he had to defeat Mūlarāja while going to Somanātha.

Extent of Mūlarāja's kingdom

This is practically all that is known about the career of Mūlarāja. After his accession he seems to have been left in peace for a long time

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by his neighbours; how or when he began his aggressive career cannot be determined. But before his death he managed to bring under his control a large part of modern Gujarat.

From epigraphic evidence we learn that the kingdom of Mūlarāja had its capital at Anahilapātaka and comprised the Viramgram, Chansana, Patan and the Mehsana Taluks, that is practically the whole of the Kadi district and the Viramgram Taluk. The Balera plates show that Sanchor was included within his kingdom. In the south he probably conquered the whole of Lāṭa upto Narmada. Hence from north to south his territory may be said to have extended at one time from Sanchor to Narmada. It is not possible to trace from his records the eastern and western limits of his kingdom, but as neither his inscriptions nor those of his successors for many years mention a place east of the Savramati river, it may be tentatively accepted as the eastern frontier of Mūlarāja's kingdom. In the west as we have seen he most probably annexed parts of Saurāṣṭra and Kachchha.

Administration and Character

Mūlarāja probably lowered the land revenue and by fixing it at the reduced rate improved the condition of the peasants. He also adopted other methods to alleviate the misery of the people. He appointed three brothers named Mādhava, Lūla and Bhūbha to supervise his charities and commissioned them to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as the erection of houses of refuge, colleges, temples, alms-houses, markets, towns, villages, drinking fountains and halls.⁵⁸

Mūlarāja appointed as his chaplain Sola, the ancestor of the poet Someśvara the author of *Kīrtikaumudī*, and thereafter the descendants of Sola continued to serve the Chaulukyas in that capacity.⁵⁹ He appointed one Vīra, probably a Chāpotkātā officer, as one of his ministers. The *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vimāla, better known as the builder of one of the Abu temples, was the son of this Vīra, and the family claims to have supplied a long line of high officials to the Chaulukyas.⁶⁰

Mūlarāja married Mādhavī, the daughter of a Chāhamāna prince named Bhoja.⁶¹ The name of Bhoja does not appear in any Chāhamāna record, so that it is not possible to identify him. It has been suggested that he might have been the Bhoja mentioned in the Apabhraṁśa work *Kathākośa* of Śrichandra.⁶² Mādhavī was the mother of Chāmuṇḍarāja the successor of Mūlarāja.

According to *Ratnamālā*, Mūlarāja was of a treacherous disposition, and being unskilled in war he would destroy his enemies by inspiring false confidence. He was stern with a strong will but passionate and miserly. In person he was handsome but dark.⁶³

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Death of Mūlarāja and Accession of Chāmuṇḍarāja

Mūlarāja had appointed his son Chāmuṇḍarāja as the *Yuvarāja*, and had granted him the important right of issuing land grants without his (Mūlarāja's) sanction as early as V.S. 1033. According to Hemachandra, after Chāmuṇḍa's return from the victorious campaign against Bārapa, Mūlarāja invested him with full royal powers, and had his *abhisheka* performed. Then Mūlarāja retired to Śrīsthala or Siddhapura where he gave up life by immolating himself on a funeral pyre on the banks of Sarasvatī.⁶⁴ Meruṭuṅga gives a different version of the abdication of Mūlarāja.⁶⁵ It may therefore be concluded that shortly before his death Mūlarāja abdicated in favour of his son, most probably in V.S. 1053 (A.D. 997-8).

With the inadequate accounts that we possess it is not possible to give an estimate of Mūlarāja's character. He was a successful man probably with the qualities and defects of an adventurer; but he possessed some other qualities too, which enabled him to establish a dynasty and to herald an era of prosperity and glory in Gujarat. It is not known what administrative measures he undertook to stabilise his kingdom, but whatever those were, his descendants succeeded peacefully to his throne and were strong enough to tide over the storm of the Muslim invasion which came within thirty years of Mūlarāja's death.

CHAPTER IV

*Chāmuṇḍarāja (c.V.S. 1053-1066), Vallabharāja (c.V.S. 1066),
and Durlabharāja (c.V.S. 1066-1080)*

Chāmuṇḍarāja, the son of Mūlarāja, probably ascended the throne some time in A.D. 996-97.¹ As early as V.S. 1033, Chāmuṇḍa as a Yuvarāja was issuing land grants² which show that he was at that time old enough to be entrusted with such considerable power. Hence at the time of his accession, he must have been quite advanced in age.

No inscription issued during the reign of Chāmuṇḍa or his two successors has yet been discovered, and the chronicles record little about them. We have already seen that Hemachandra gave the credit to Chāmuṇḍa for defeating Bārāpa during the reign of Mūlarāja; but as all other chronicles ascribe this victory to Mūlarāja himself, it seems that Chāmuṇḍa fought under his father, though he may have led the army during the actual combat.

Chāmuṇḍa and Sindhurāja

Two conventional verses in the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti* describe Chāmuṇḍa as having decorated the earth with the heads of the enemy princes, and his sword is compared to the well of the goddess Harisiddhi, wherein the ruthless enemies, prepared for death, earned fame by pouring their blood.³ Jayasimha Sūri mentions more specifically that Chāmuṇḍa killed in battle one Sindhurāja who was as ungovernable as the sea.⁴ This Sindhurāja can be no other than the Paramāra Sindhurāja of Mālava who was Chāmuṇḍa's contemporary. Sindhurāja's court poet Padmagupta mentions his victory over the princes of the Hūnas, and Keralas, and the inhabitants of Vāgaḍa, Lāṭa and Murala.⁵ Vāgaḍa was the country comprising Banswara and the Dungarpur states, which lies to the north-east of Gujarat, and Lāṭa was southern Gujarat. Padmagupta does not mention the names of the kings with whom Sindhurāja had to fight for Lāṭa, but it could be either Chāmuṇḍa or Goggirāja. The history of Lāṭa during this period is confused. Most probably Sindhurāja attacked while Lāṭa was under Chāmuṇḍa, who soon after took his revenge. For, apart from the Gujarat chronicles mentioned above, the *Vādnagar-praśasti* composed about two centuries before Jayasimha Sūri's work, records that on seeing from afar the armies of Chāmuṇḍarāja, Sindhurāja together with his elephant forces beat such a cowardly retreat that he thereby lost all his well established fame.⁶ There is no doubt therefore, that Sindhurāja was thoroughly beaten by Chāmuṇḍa, though the statement of Jayasimha Sūri, that Sindhurāja was

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killed need not be taken as literally true. The effect of Chāmuṇḍa's victory probably led to a diminution of the Paramāra influence in Abu and Mewad where Chaulukya influence predominated.

Lāṭa

It has been held that the Western Chālukyas during this time conquered Lāṭa. It is possible that Chāmuṇḍa was obliged to withdraw his troops from Lāṭa after Sindhurāja's raid in order to fight with him elsewhere. The Western Chālukyas may have taken advantage of this situation and conquered Lāṭa during this period, and set up Goggirāja the son of Bārāpa on his father's throne.

The conquest of Lāṭa by the Western Chālukyas is assumed on the basis of an inscription found at Lakkundi which refers to one Attimabbe who took permission from Satyāśraya to issue a grant soon after the king's return from a successful campaign in the Gūrjara country.⁷ This statement is supported by the Kanarese work *Gadāyuddha* or *Sahasā-Bhīma-vijaya* of the poet Ranna who flourished during the reigns of Taila II and Satyāśraya.⁸ Ranna states that it was on account of his elephants that Satyāśraya was able to defeat the Gūrjaras.⁹ The date of Lakundi inscription (Śaka 929; A.D. 1007), and the fact that it mentions Satyāśraya as having recently returned from the conquest of Gūrjara land has been assumed to indicate that the king defeated by Satyāśraya was Chāmuṇḍa. This identification is based on the assumption that Chāmuṇḍa at that time was known as the Gūrjara king, or that Lāṭa was at that time known as Gūrjara land. But there is nothing to connect either Chāmuṇḍa or Lāṭa with Gūrjara at this period. Satyāśraya may have defeated some unknown descendant of the Gūrjaras of Nāndipurī, who may have been an ally of Chāmuṇḍa, for, as we shall see there are other indications of the collapse of Chaulukya power in Lāṭa during this period.

We learn from the Surat plate of Trilochanapāla that Goggirāja "relieved his own land like the greater Vishṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons."¹⁰ Goggirāja's son Kīrtipāla, refers to himself in his own inscription as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara,¹¹ and though he does not name his suzerain, it may be presumed that both Kīrtipāla and his father were feudatories of the Western Chālukyas and that Goggirāja regained Lāṭa with the help of the Western Chālukyas.¹² "Powerful enemies like demons" who had seized the land would be the Chaulukyas who had defeated Bārāpa and occupied Lāṭa.

Last days of Chāmuṇḍa

According to Hemachandra, Chāmuṇḍa had three sons, namely, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja and Nāgarāja. After their education had been completed, Chāmuṇḍa asked Vallabha to uproot a 'thorn,' that is

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an enemy. In obedience to his father's command Vallabha set out with an army.¹³

This is the information left by Hemachandra, but in commenting on this verse Abhayatilaka Gaṇi has added a great deal of information which is of sufficient importance to be discussed in detail, particularly as it has led to some misunderstanding of a serious nature. After describing how the three princes received instructions in the management of horses and elephants Hemachandra states: "When Vallabha in obedience to his father's command proceeded to remove the thorn with a large cavalry, the earth was rent asunder like the mouth of a tortoise (under great burden)."¹⁴ Commenting on this verse Abhayatilaka Gaṇi states: "*Chāmuṇḍarājaḥ kil-āti-kāmāt vikālībhutaḥ san bhaginyā Vāchinidevyā rājyāt sphetayitvā tat putro Vallabho rājye pratishṭhitaḥ.*" It seems therefore that Chāmuṇḍarāja, having become licentious, was deprived of his kingdom by his sister Vāchinidevī, who placed Vallabha on the throne. It is far from clear, however, how Vāchinidevī, otherwise unknown, could become so powerful as to replace her brother by his son. This sentence of Abhayatilaka Gaṇi was taken by Forbes to mean that Chāmuṇḍa had some improper relations with his sister. But neither the text nor the commentary lend themselves to such a meaning, and it is evident that this slur upon Chāmuṇḍa's character is baseless.

Continuing this narrative while commenting on the same verse Abhayatilaka Gaṇi relates that after being deprived of his kingdom, Chāmuṇḍarāja, suffering from injured pride, left for Banaras. On his way, while passing through Mālava, Chāmuṇḍa was robbed of his royal umbrella presumably by the Mālava king. The outraged Chāmuṇḍa then returned to his capital and told his son: "If you are my real son you must go and get back the umbrella et cetera from Mālava king." This, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, was the cause which led Chāmuṇḍa to order his son to uproot the enemy. According to Merutuṅga, however, it was Durlabha, who passed through Mālava after his abdication in favour of his nephew Bhīma, who was robbed of his umbrella by the Mālava king. Durlabha thereupon returned and asked his successor Bhīma to attack Mālava, which according to Merutuṅga was the primary reason for the rooted enmity between Gujarat and Mālava. Merutuṅga has here contradicted himself for he has admitted that Vallabha died while he was besieging Dhārā; hence there was reason for enmity between the two countries even before Durlabha came to the throne, and it would have been extremely unusual, not to say imprudent, for Durlabha to have attempted to pass through a country, the capital of which his brother had attempted to capture about a decade earlier. This argument of course applies with even greater force to Chāmuṇḍa, who had actually fought against Paramāra Sindhurāja. Moreover, neither Abhayatilaka Gaṇi nor Merutuṅga explains the use of a royal umbrella by an abdicated

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monarch on his way to Banaras. However, although both versions present practically the same difficulties, there are reasons for accepting Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's version in preference to Merutuṅga's.

Accession of Vallabha

The rejection of Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's version would present us with the problem of determining the date of Vallabha's accession. Hemachandra nowhere refers to Vallabha as a king, far less does he mention his coronation in the *Dvyāśraya*, though a benedictory verse in the *Siddha-Hemachandra* is devoted to Vallabha,¹⁵ which shows that Hemachandra regarded Vallabha as a king, for those verses were composed in honour of only the Chaulukya kings. The *Vadnagar-praśasti* composed during the time of Hemachandra includes Vallabha in the list of the Chaulukya kings. Some Chaulukya inscriptions do not include the name of Vallabha in the Chaulukya genealogy, but most inscriptions do.

The reason may be as suggested by Bühler, that the shortness of the reign induced the writers of inscriptions to sometimes omit his name; it may also be due to the possible fact that his father Chāmuṇḍa was living when he died, as suggested by Dr. Ray. In view of the insertion of the incidents mentioned above by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, the suggestion of Dr. Ray seems to be the correct solution to the problem.¹⁶

Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* states that Vallabha ascended the throne after the death of Chāmuṇḍa and reigned for six months.¹⁷ But in his other work, namely, *Vichāraśreṇī*, he has assigned Vallabha a reign of fourteen years, and has placed Chāmuṇḍa in the list of Chāpotkaṭa kings.¹⁸ Probably Merutuṅga gave the correct version in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, but it is evident from his conflicting testimonies that his source of information for this particular period was corrupt. This confusion of the narrator can be explained if we assume that Vallabha actually ruled during the life time of his father Chāmuṇḍa, which Merutuṅga was loath to believe probably because assumption of royalty by a son during his father's life time was beyond the range of his knowledge. But in those days abdication in favour of a son, though rare, was not unknown. A famous example is that of the Sāhi king Jayapāla who, according to Muslim historians, abdicated in favour of his son Ānandapāla.¹⁹ Another example is afforded by a statement found in two Kalachuri inscriptions from which it appears that the Kalachuri king Yaśaḥ-Karṇa was crowned while his father Lakshmī-Karṇa was still alive, and the latter performed the coronation ceremony of his son.²⁰ Hence it may be concluded that Vallabha was crowned king after the abdication of his father Chāmuṇḍa.

Reign of Vallabha

The short reign of Vallabha, which probably did not exceed six

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months seems to have been mostly spent in the campaign he undertook against his enemies. We have already seen the version of the Chroniclers regarding the cause which led Vallabha to embark on a policy of aggression; we shall now try to identify the enemy whom Vallabha attacked.

Abhayatilaka Gaṇi was probably the earliest writer to state that Vallabha attacked Mālava. But in the verse from which he deduces this conclusion Hemachandra merely states: "The kings met him (Vallabha) with presents and said 'The rivers Pārā and Sindhu join here, (in this country), here is the way to Kuntala'".²¹ Now, Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharāṇa* definitely states that the country where these two rivers met belonged to the Nāga kings.²² Moreover, if Vallabha really wanted to go to Mālava he should have gone due west from his capital through Panchmahal; going to the confluence of those two rivers would have meant a long detour for him.²³

The *Vadnagar-praśasti* composed during the time of Hemachandra, declared that Vallabha "astonished the circle of the earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke rising from the empire of the Mālava kings, who quaked on hearing of his marches indicated the spread of the fire of his anger."²⁴ In a sense this indicates that Vallabha started for Mālava but did not reach that country. But Merutuṅga definitely states that Vallabha actually besieged Dhārā.²⁵ This theme was further embellished by Jayasiṃha Sūri who wrote: "The king of Avanti, Muñja, scorched by the heat of his (Vallabha's) prowess could not regain his composure (even though) he took recourse to a cool shower bath."²⁶

Thus we see that in the earliest reference, namely that of Hemachandra, Mālava is not mentioned in connection with Vallabha. *Vadnagar-praśasti* does not mention that Vallabha attacked Mālava. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi mentions that Vallabha entered Mālava, while Merutuṅga actually makes Vallabha besiege Dhārā. Jayasiṃha Sūri proceeds a step further towards falsifying history by bringing to life the long dead Muñja, so that some one with a famous name might be made to tremble. But Hemachandra lived at the time when Siddharāja gained his famous victory over the Paramāras of Mālava; hence he may be expected to know better than the later Chroniclers the history of the early relation between the two countries. Until therefore, further proof is forthcoming, the testimony of all the later Chroniclers has to be rejected in favour of Hemachandra's. It is however possible that by the term *kaṇṭaka* Hemachandra meant the Paramāras of Mālava, who were the hereditary enemies of his patron's family. In that case Chāmuṇḍa probably sent the young Vallabha towards the northern frontier of Mālava to secure allies for an attack on Mālava which was to come later. But Vallabha was not destined to lead that attack. For, it is evident

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from *Dvyāśraya* that Vallabha died before he could achieve any tangible result.

Abhayatilaka Gaṇi has supplied some details about the death of Vallabha. From the description of the disease left by Hemachandra, the commentator rightly concludes that Vallabha was attacked by small-pox, and this is corroborated by Merutuṅga. At first the disease was not properly diagnosed, but with the appearance of eruptions all hope of life was given up. Vallabha then called to his death bed all his advisers (*mantrins*) and chided them for not being able to come to a decision even when he was alive. He then called for the commander of the army and ordered that officer to keep his death a secret. Vallabha then offered the officer some gifts and added: "If you remember any benefit derived from my father, return immediately to Aṇahilapātaka with the army." The unhappy officer had to carry out his orders, but could not prevent the news of the king's death from spreading. But the army returned safely to the capital, though mourning the loss of the gallant prince, who, placing the safety of the army before his own, had chosen to die alone.²⁷

The death of his eldest son under such tragic circumstances naturally affected Chāmuṇḍa, who placed his second son Durlabha on the throne and retired to Śuklaīrtha on the banks of the Narmada where he died some time later.²⁸

Accession of Durlabha and the conquest of Lāṭa.

Durlabha ascended the throne some time in V.S. 1066. The most important event of his reign was the reconquest of Lāṭa. The *Vadnagar-praśasti* states that, "when filled with anger he somewhat contracted his arched eyebrows, that forthwith indicated its result, the destruction of the Lāṭa country."²⁹ Jayasimha Sūri also writes: "Then Durlabhārāja having obtained his kingdom, a cloud of the forest having destroyed the lord of the Lāṭadeśa, enjoyed his land with his fortunes."³⁰ It is known from the Surat grant of Trilochanapāla that Kīrtipāla, the son of Goggirāja lost his kingdom.³¹ An inscription of Kīrtipāla of Śaka 940 (A.D. 1018) has been found.³² Hence Kīrtipāla's reign lasted at least upto A.D. 1018. Durlabha's reign probably came to an end in A.D. 1024, so that the conquest of Lāṭa probably took place between A.D. 1018 to 1024.

We have already suggested that Kīrtipāla was a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyani.³³ The Western Chālukya king Jayasimha Jagadekamalla was busy fighting the Chōlas from Śaka 941 (A.D. 1019) to Śaka 946. Even in Śaka 946 Jagadekamalla is known to have encamped with his victorious army at Kolhapur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish the ruler of the Konkan.³⁴

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It is likely that taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Western Chālukya king, Durlabha annexed Lāṭa.

Extent of Durlabha's kingdom

An inscription of Durlabha's successor Bhīma I, of A.D. 1029, records the grant of some land in Cutch.³⁵ As Bhīma is nowhere credited with having conquered that country, it may be concluded that Cutch continued without any break to be a part of the Chaulukya kingdom from the time of Mūlarāja. Durlabha's successor Bhīma also tried to defend Somanātha and it seems that the famous city had also remained all along a part of the Chaulukya kingdom. Thus Durlabha's kingdom practically covered the same area as that of Mūlarāja, though there is no record of the northern limits of his territory.

Matrimonial Alliances

According to Hemachandra, Durlabha was invited by Mahendra to attend the *svayamvara sabhā* of his sister. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that Mahendra was the king of Naddula in Maruḍeśa.³⁶ He is probably identical with the only Mahendra king of Naddula that we know of who was a Chāhamāna king of that branch,³⁷ whom Kielhorn identified with the prince of the same name who took shelter with Rāshṭrakūta Dhavala when chased by Chāhamāna Durlabharāja.³⁸

Hemachandra devotes practically half a canto to the description of the *svayamvara sabhā* which was held at Naddula. Durlabha went there and was accorded a fitting reception by Mahendra and almost all the girls of the city hastened to catch a glimpse of the good looking Chālukya king.³⁹ At last Durlabha reached the *svayamvara maṇḍapa* where he was given a seat befitting his exalted rank. Then Durlabhādevī, the sister of Mahendra, entered the pavillion, leaning on a female attendant. The attendant pointed out to the princess the kings of Aṅga, Kāśī, Avantī, Chedi, Kuru, Hūṇa, Mathurā, Vindhya, Andhra, and Gūrjara. But Durlabhā selected Durlabha and garlanded him. After the marriage ceremony was over, Mahendra gave his younger sister in marriage to Durlabha's younger brother Nāgarāja, and according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, Lakshmī was the name of this princess. But the rejected suitors had become very angry with the successful Durlabha, and attacked him when he was returning to Gujarat. Durlabha, however, defeated them with comparative ease and returned home with his bride.⁴⁰

It is difficult to accept the whole of this narrative as historical truth. During the time when the marriage of Durlabha is supposed to have taken place, north India was reeling under the remorseless raids of Sultan Mahmud. Hence it would have been remarkable for so many monarchs of north India to have left their domains for the purpose of attending

the *svayamvara sabhā* of an insignificant Naddula chief's sister. But what sets the stamp of real imagination on the whole episode is the defeat by Durlabha of all the assembled kings. It is not surprising that this brilliant feat of Durlabha is not recorded in any Chaulukya record, nor is it noticed by any other chronicler; there is hardly any doubt that it was introduced by Hemachandra so that his *mahākāvya* might not suffer from an want of the elements that characterised the classical *svayamvara* of Indumatī as described by Kālidāsa.⁴¹

But the marriage of Nāgarāja with Lakshmī, which Hemachandra describes unostentatiously in a single verse may be a fact. Moreover, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi supplies the name of Nāgarāja's wife, which he would hardly have done unless he was sure of it. Hemachandra is also unlikely to have taken any liberty regarding the parentage of Bhīma. But the marriage of childless Durlabha with Durlabhā belongs to another class altogether. Thus it seems, that round a core of truth Hemachandra spun out a heroic story which fulfilled the double purpose of providing his *mahākāvya* with a *svayamvara*, and Durlabharāja with some glamour, which in truth that king did not possess.

Establishment of the Kharataragachchha

At the end of his commentary of Maheśvarakavi's *Śabdabhedā-prakāśa*, Jñānavimala gives the spiritual lineage of the Kharatara sect to which he belonged, and traces its beginning to the year V.S. 1080 (A.D. 1024), when the great Jaina monk Vardhamāna Sūri and his disciple Jineśvara visited the court of Durlabha in Aṇahilapāṭaka. There, under royal patronage was held a great debate in which Jineśvara defeated the Chaityavāsins. Chaityavāsins then had to carry out the conditions of defeat and left the capital accordingly, and Durlabha pleased with the acumen of Jineśvara conferred on him the title of *Kharatara* (very keen). When Jineśvara succeeded his preceptor, *Kharatara* became the name of the sect or *gachchha* which he led.⁴² Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, who belonged to this sect, has, with pardonable pride, taken the liberty of introducing a slightly different version of this incident while commenting on a verse of *Dvyāśraya*; he has further added that Durlabha received from Jineśvara Sūri lessons in Jainism.⁴³ It is possible that Durlabha learnt from the brilliant young monk the tenets of a faith which was rapidly gaining ground in his realm, but he remained to the last a staunch Hindu.

According to Merutuṅga, Durlabha built in Aṇahilapāṭaka a seven storeyed palace, with a disbursement office and an elephant stable and a clock tower. Moreover he had built the temple of Madanaśaṅkara for the welfare of the soul of his brother Vallabharāja, and he also had the tank of Durlabha excavated.⁴⁴

We have seen that according to the Kharataragachchha tradition

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Durlabha was on the throne in V.S. 1080. But Durlabha must have died or abdicated in that year, for in the next year Gujarat was invaded by Sultan Mahmūd, and as we shall see, this took place in the reign of his successor Bhīma.⁴⁵

CHAPTER V

Bhīma (c.V.S. 1088-1122) & Karṇa (c.V.S. 1122-1150)

According to Hemachandra, the childless Durlabha was very fond of his nephew Bhīma, son of Nāgarāja. When Bhīma came of age Durlabha had him crowned king inspite of his protests. Nāgarāja, also retired from all public activities at the same time and the two brothers died soon after.¹ These incidents probably happened at the beginning of A.D. 1024.²

Invasion of Sultān Mahmūd

Within a year of his accession Bhīma was faced with the invasion of Sultān Mahmūd. Save for a punitive expedition against the Jats, this was Sultān Mahmūd's last Indian expedition and he planned it with as much care as the dexterity with which he executed it. This one raid earned for him more honour and greater distinction than he had received for any other invasion, and Muslim historians—both ancient and modern—have singled out this campaign for treatment with particular satisfaction and have given great detail. But, as is well known, Hindu sources do not give any information regarding the raids of Sultān Mahmūd, so that what follows is based solely on the testimony of Muslim authors.³

Gardizi was the first historian to describe Sultān Mahmūd's Gujarat campaign.⁴ He states that Mahmūd decided to attack Somnath after he had reached Hindusthan.⁵ By this he probably means that Mahmūd made his final preparations after reaching Multan. This is corroborated by later historians such as Ibnu'l Athīr and others who state that Mahmūd started from Ghazni with his army on 18th October, 1025 (22nd Sha'ban 416 A.H.) and upon reaching Multan on about 9th November (15th Ramḍān), halted there to fix up his route of march, and to prepare for the final part of the journey to Gujarat. Mahmūd carried provisions with him—water and corn—on 30,000 camels, for the way from Multan to Gujarat lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food.⁶ He also gave orders for the troops to provide themselves with several days water and provisions as also with provender for their horses besides which 20,000 camels were laden with supplies.⁷ After a stay of just over a fortnight, Mahmūd completed his preparations and left Multan for Gujarat on 26th November (2nd Shawwāl).⁸

The first place of importance that lay in the path of Mahmūd was the strong fort of Lodurva about ten miles north-west of Jaisalmere. From there he continued his march along the ridge that traverses the Jaisalmere state and Mallani and then, probably passing close to the

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Chiklodar Mata hill, he reached Anahilapātaka by the end of December, (beginning of Dhu'l-Qa'da) after a march of one month across the desert, only to find that its king had already left the capital.⁹

The king of Anahilapātaka or Nahrwāla as it is called by the Muslim historians, has been given various names by the Muslim authors. Farrukhi, whose *qasida* describes the route taken by Sultān Mahmūd whom he is said to have accompanied on this expedition, states that Bhīma was at that time the king of Nahrwāla. He is supported in this by Ibnu'l Athīr who also says that the king of Nahrwāla at this time was Bhīma. Ferishta however, states that Param Dev was then the king of Nahrwāla.¹⁰

Garidizi, Nizām ud-Dīn, and Badaunī do not state the name of the king of Nahrwāla. These three authors state that a king 'Param Dev' tried to block the way of Sultān Mahmūd on his return journey. Ferishta also states that Param Dev—king of Nahrwāla—tried to oppose Mahmūd on his return journey and that he collected an army in the desert for that purpose. Further while writing of Bhīma II Ferishta states that Bhīma II was a lineal descendant of 'Param Dev' who opposed Sultān Mahmūd.¹¹ It is apparent therefore that Ferishta and the other authors were referring to Bhīma I whom they called Param Dev. That Ferishta should get the name of Bhīma II correct but not that of Bhīma I may be explained by the fact, that he took the history of Mahmūd from non-Indian sources which were prone to make mistakes when writing Indian names, whereas he got the name of Bhīma II from Indian sources, and being an Indian himself made no mistake in transcribing it properly; it was probably from Indian sources that he learnt of the relationship between Bhīma I and Bhīma II.

Some scholars are of the opinion that the Param Dev who opposed Mahmūd was a king of Abu.¹² But at this period the king of Abu was Paramāra Dhandhuka, who was removed from his throne by Bhīma. It is most unlikely that such an insignificant prince as Dhandhuka would have dared to oppose Mahmūd. Hence it is difficult to believe that he was the Param Dev of the Muslim historians. The most likely explanation, therefore, is that 'Param' is a mistake for Bhīma, which might have crept in through the error of the copyists or might have been due to the inability of the early Muslim historians, who were foreigners, to pronounce or transcribe Indian names properly.¹³ This view is supported by the statement of Ferishta which has been noted above. Moreover, Vimala who was a *Danḍapati* of Bhīma completed his temple on Abu in A.D., 1032. As this temple must have taken at least five years to build it is most probable that Abu was under the control of the Chaulukyas at the time of Mahmūd's invasion.

All the Muslim historians are agreed that Mahmūd entered Anahilapātaka unopposed. This has led some modern scholars to

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accuse Bhīma of cowardice, but the facts as they are known may be construed in quite a different way. Anāhilapāṭaka was situated in an entirely flat sandy country without any strong natural defence. The river Sarasvati gave no protection as it was easily fordable, and beyond the river the country was eminently suitable for the cavalry charges for which Mahmūd's army was famous. To these disadvantages was probably added the element of surprise, for the route chosen by Mahmūd was not the usual one from Multan to Gujarat, it is therefore likely that Bhīma did not learn of Mahmūd's approach till very late. When he found it hopeless to defend his capital he tried at least to save his army by removing it elsewhere. Probably Bhīma removed his family to Kanthakot from which Ibnu'l Athīr concluded that Bhīma himself fled there.

In those days Anāhilapāṭaka was not the large city it became later, and it was more or less evacuated, for we do not hear the descriptions of massacre and loot which a Muslim historian is generally only too glad to describe. Mahmūd stayed there for a few days, replenished his stores of water and provisions and left for Somnath.¹⁴

The short stay of Mahmūd at Anāhilapāṭaka may also have been influenced by the news of the defence which was being prepared at Modhera, eighteen miles to the south of Anāhilapāṭaka. There the Indians made a determined attempt to check the Muslim advance, but failed after offering a stiff resistance. As the number of Indian defenders is put at only 20,000,¹⁵ this does not seem to have been the main army. Probably this gallant action was commemorated later by the building of the famous temple at Modhera which bears an inscription dated V.S. 1083 (A.D. 1026-27),¹⁶ which has been taken to be the year of the erection of the temple.¹⁷

After Modhera, the next place of importance on Mahmūd's march was Delavada near Una. This town surrendered without struggle but Mahmūd massacred all the inhabitants.¹⁸ From there Mahmūd started on the final stage of his journey and reached Somnath on 6th January, 1026 (14th Dhu'l-Qa'da, 416 A.H.).¹⁹ According to all the Muslim historians the city of Somnath had its defences, which probably consisted of a fort guarding the temple.²⁰ Mahmūd now laid siege to this fort, whose commander, according to Gardizi, left the fort with his family and escaped to an island near by.²¹ Even if this story is true, the desertion by their commander did not demoralise the stout hearted defenders of Somanātha.

The day after his arrival Mahmūd began his assault on the fort of Somnath. A deadly shower of arrows forced the defenders to leave the battlements, and the Muslims scaled the ramparts of the fort by the afternoon of the 7th January, 1026; but a renewed charge by the Indians drove the Muslims out of their positions. The next morning (8th

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January) the Muslims renewed their attack and having captured the fortifications forced the Indians to retreat to the gates of the temple.²² It is probable that Bhīma tried to relieve the besieged garrison but was forced to retreat after a bitter contest.²³ Then the Indians displayed the supreme strength of their faith by sacrificing their lives in a stubborn resolve to save their deity. But their desperate fury to save their temple was unsuccessful although 50,000 defenders are said to have lost their lives. Some survivors are said to have tried to escape in a boat, but they were followed and drowned or slain by guards whom Mahmūd had cunningly posted along the sea coast.²⁴

"The stone idol was then taken out from its foundation in the ground and broken into small pieces. Some of these were taken to Ghazni on camels where they were placed under the steps of the mosque. There was some treasure under the idol. All that treasure was taken. A large amount of property was thus obtained, consisting of silver idols, jewels, and treasures of various kinds."²⁵

Mahmūd did not stay at Somnath for more than a fortnight;²⁶ probably by that time Bhīma had completed his preparations for meeting him, which led to this hasty retreat. Gardizi definitely states: "Mahmūd now returned. For Param Dev, Badshah of the Hindus, stood in his way disputing his path. Mahmūd decided therefore to leave the right road back to Ghazni from fear lest this great victory of his should turn into defeat (results of this great victory be thrown away). He left by way of Mansura towards Multan. His soldiers suffered many hardships partly on account of water and partly on account of the Jats of Sindh and on other grounds. Many of the soldiers of Islam lost their lives in this way. At last Multan was sighted and Mahmūd marched on to Ghazni."²⁷

It is stated that on his way to Mansura from Somnath, Mahmūd reduced a fortress in which Bhīma was hiding. Ibnu'l Athīr states that Bhīma went there at the approach of the Muslims leaving Aṇahilapāṭaka, while Ferishta states that Bhīma retired there after the fall of Somnath; Ferishta adds that Mahmūd returned to Aṇahilapāṭaka from Somnath and on learning of Bhīma's whereabouts proceeded to capture that place.²⁸ This testimony of Ferishta,²⁹ has to be rejected as he has no authority for stating that Mahmūd ever returned to Aṇahilapāṭaka. Moreover, it has already been shown that the Param Dev of the Muslim historians was undoubtedly Bhīma, and he was at that time busy preparing his attack on the retreating Muslim army; hence he could not possibly have been confined in any fortress. Therefore, the real facts seem to be related by Khond Mīr when he states that after the victory of Somnath, Mahmūd "reduced a fort in which governor of Nahrwāla had taken refuge."³⁰ It is therefore most likely, as has been pointed out, that "Mahmūd in his anxiety to avoid Bhīma's armies in the

neighbourhood of Anāhilapāṭaka, avoided that route, and with the assistance of guides tried to find a shorter and less frequented road to Sind. During these movements he defeated, as Khond Mīr says, a section of Bhīma's army, which may have been sent from Anāhilapāṭaka to Cutch to block that line of retreat."³¹

It is said that during his hasty retreat through Cutch, Mahmūd was forced to accept an Indian as his guide. To avenge the spoliation of Somanātha he led Mahmūd astray to a waterless desert. After suffering terrible privations Mahmūd was able to extricate his army from the peril and reached Mansura.³² From there his wretched army harassed in the rear by the Jats reached Multan and safety, and at last on 2nd April 1026³³ (10th Safar, 417 A.H.) they arrived at Ghazni.

Thus it took Mahmūd a little more than six months to complete the most famous of his campaigns. His opponent Bhīma probably did not learn that an invasion of Gujarat was impending till Mahmūd had made a fair advance from Multan which he left on 26th November. But Bhīma must have had some advance information in order to leave his capital in time and organise a defence at Modhera by the end of December. Hence he cannot be said to have been taken entirely by surprise. But Mahmūd pressed his initial advantage relentlessly, and allowing his troops practically no rest after the action at Modhera, marched on to Somnath. Between Modhera and Somnath Mahmūd met with no resistance. The reason cannot be as stated by the Muslim historians that the Indians hoped that their gods would crush Mahmūd, but probably because after the reverse at Modhera, Bhīma was left with hardly enough troops to garrison Somnath. Probably he had taken the major part of his army to some place near Jaisalmer expecting Mahmūd to return by the route that he had followed during his advance. There may be some truth in Ferishta's statement that Bhīma himself tried to relieve the garrison of Somnath and fought there bravely but was foiled in his attempt to pierce through the encircling Muslim army. Bhīma thereafter may have joined his main army and awaited Mahmūd's return in order to fall on him, and sent a small garrison at Cutch under the governor of Anāhilapāṭaka to engage Mahmūd or possibly to hang at his rear and harass him should he as a desperate measure try to return through Cutch and Sind. Realising his enemy's strategy the value of which he did not underestimate, Mahmūd, with great difficulty and in the face of personal danger, conquered the fortress, overcoming those natural defences which had probably led Bhīma to select it.

Thus Mahmūd avoided an encounter with the main army of the Chaulukyas. In fairness to Bhīma it should be noted that by refusing to engage Mahmūd on the plains of Gujarat and choosing instead to meet the retiring Muslim army at a place which was obviously most

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disadvantageous to the latter, he showed a sense of strategy which unfortunately most of his contemporary Indian kings did not possess. Bhīma clearly intended that the tired soldiers of Mahmūd, weary after their long and arduous march and laden with booty—which always diminishes the effectiveness of fighting troops—should meet the Gujarat army at a spot selected in advance by him. That Mahmūd should foresee this and have eluded him does not reflect on the intrinsic merit of his plan nor on his valour. It only proves that the experience gained in thirty years of constant fighting was superior to the strategy of a young soldier, who, nevertheless probably succeeded in forcing Mahmūd to leave Gujarat much earlier than he intended.³⁴

Bhīma defeats the king of Sind

It was probably soon after the departure of Sultān Mahmūd that Bhīma defeated a king of Sind, who, according to Hemachandra, was called Hammuka. It is possible that Bhīma tried to follow the retreating Muslim army and attack it from the rear but was disappointed; for, there is no evidence that he was ever able to contact the Muslims. Muslim historians have only stated that the Jats hanging at the rear of the Sultān's army harassed it, and the following year Sultān Mahmūd came to India on his last expedition to chastise the Jats.³⁵ It is therefore clear that the retreating army of Mahmūd was not strong, and, what is more important, he did not leave any adequate force behind him capable of even chastising the Jats. Hence it is not unlikely that after learning of the route followed by the retreating Muslims, Bhīma marched on to Sind and gained a victory there.

Hemachandra describes in some detail Bhīma's victory over King Hammuka. According to him, one day two spies reported to Bhīma that he (Bhīma) was a great king, obeyed by the kings of Puṇḍra, Andhra, and Magadha;³⁶ but that the kings of Sindhu and Chedi in their pride not only refused to proclaim Bhīma's fame but actually defamed him.³⁷ The king of Sindhu was a mighty monarch who had defeated the king of Śiṣāṇa;³⁸ the kings of Chīna, Barbara, and Tejā also obeyed him.³⁹ The king of Chedi was so powerful that he who would not be on friendly terms with him or respect him when he set out to war,⁴⁰ was indeed a mighty prince.⁴¹ Hearing of this Bhīma advanced with his army and reached the banks of the Indus,⁴² bridged the river and crossed it.⁴³ Then Hammuka the king of Sind offered battle,⁴⁴ was defeated and had to submit to Bhīma.⁴⁵

Hemachandra has also celebrated Bhīma's conquest of Sind in a laudatory verse in *Siddha-Hemachandra*. Merutuṅga also records Bhīma's victory in Sind.⁴⁶ There is however, no epigraphic evidence to corroborate these statements of the two Chroniclers, but, as has been stated above, it is not improbable that the youthful monarch would

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have led his army into Sind which lay just beyond the western borders of his kingdom.⁴⁷ Whether he reached the Indus or not is another matter, which cannot be answered with certainty on the evidence at present available.

The laudatory verse of *Siddha-Hemachandra* states: "Śrī Bhīma has now recast the *Mahābhārata* in as much as he has won over Karna and (also) Sindhurāja who was hard to conquer in battle".⁴⁸ The broad pun used here is obviously that the epic heroes Sindhurāja (Jayadratha), and Karna, both killed in the Bhārata war by Arjuna, were killed by Bhīma. Now, Hemachandra in describing the campaign of Bhīma against Hammuka uses the word 'Saindhava' which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains as 'Sindhur-aviṣṇo'.⁴⁹ But elsewhere in another verse in *Dvyāśraya*, the Saindhavas and the Kachchhas are mentioned together from which it may be inferred that Hemachandra wanted to indicate that these two peoples were close neighbours.⁵⁰ The recently discovered plates of the Saindhavas prove that there ruled in western Kathiawad, with their capital at Ghumli (25 miles north-east of Porbandar), a line of petty princes of the Saindhava family, who claimed the epic hero Jayadratha as the founder of the family.⁵¹ If therefore one is right in concluding from *Dvyāśraya* that the Saindhavas and the Kachchhas were neighbours, then it is possible to identify Hammuka as a Saindhava king. Moreover, the unusual name Hammuka which does not appear to be Muslim, is similar to the names of such Saindhava kings as Ranaka, Jaika, and Agguka, the last name being borne by three Saindhava kings. The last known date of the Saindhavas is A.D. 919. Probably the dynasty continued to rule and Hammuka was a king of this dynasty who was defeated by Bhīma.

Re-conquest of Abu

We have already seen that Mūlarāja ousted Dharaṇīvarāha, probably from Abu. We know that Dharaṇīvarāha's grandson Dhandhuka was a feudatory of Mūlarāja's grandson Durlabha, but that he rebelled against Bhīma. Bhīma defeated this Dhandhuka, who thereupon took refuge at Chitrakūṭa which was then included within the territory of the Paramāra king, Bhoja of Mālava. Thereafter Bhīma appointed Vimala, the builder of the famous temple, as his *Dandapati* at Abu. Later it appears, at the instance of Vimala, Bhīma reinstated Dhandhuka.⁵² An inscription in Vimala's temple, obviously executed after the temple was built is dated V.S. 1088 (A.D. 1032). As it took at least five years to build the temple the construction must have been started in about A.D. 1027. Probably Bhīma reconquered this territory from Dhandhuka shortly before this date.⁵² Probably Dhandhuka once again revolted, for, an inscription of Dhandhuka's son Pūrṇapāla dated V.S. 1099 (A.D. 1042) describes him as a *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling over

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Arbuda-maṇḍala, having conquered his enemy.⁵³ But the restoration of the Abu Paramāras was short lived, for another of Vimala's inscriptions dated V.S. 1119 (A.D. 1062)⁵⁴ shows that by that date Abu again formed a part of Bhīma's kingdom. After this Abu remained a part of the Chaulukya kingdom, till the end of the thirteenth century, though the Paramāras were allowed to rule there as vassals. It is possible that the second conquest of Abu by Bhīma was due to the downfall and death of Paramāra Bhoja.

Bhīma and the Paramāras of Bhinmal

Bhīma then turned his sword against another branch of the Paramāras.⁵⁵ From the Sundha Hill inscription we learn that Kṛishṇadeva of the Bhinmal branch of the Paramāras was for a time a captive in the hands of Bhīma and was released by the Naḍḍula Chāhamāna Aṇahilla who defeated Bhīma. Thereafter Kṛishṇarāja ruled as an independent king and his inscriptions refer to him as Mahārājādhirāja.⁵⁶

Bhīma and the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula

It was probably the growing power of the Chaulukyas under Bhīma that brought the Naḍḍula Chāhamānas into conflict with Bhīma. Naḍḍula Chāhamāna Aṇahilla was probably Bhīma's cousin and jealousy may have played a part in this conflict which was rather a protracted one. The Sundha Hill Inscription of Chāchigadeva, which gives a genealogy of the Naḍḍula Chāhamānas, does not mention any relationship between the Chaulukyas and the Chāhamānas.⁵⁷ On the other hand it states that Ahilla, the grandson of Mahendra (in this inscription called 'Mahindu')⁵⁸ defeated an army of the Gūjara king Bhīma, who is undoubtedly the first Chaulukyan king of that name. Ahilla's paternal uncle, Aṇahilla, who succeeded Ahilla, is also stated to have defeated Bhīma. Another Chāhamāna inscription which describes Aṇahilla as having succeeded Mahendra, states that at Pratishṭhānaka (modern Paithan) Aṇahilladeva killed Bhīma's best elephants.⁵⁹ (The Sundha Hill Inscription also mentions that Aṇahilla defeated the elephant force of Bhīma). Aṇahilladeva is also said to have destroyed the army (?) of king Bhīma and confiscating the villages which belonged to the latter turned the country of Saptasāta (lit. consisting of 700 villages) into one consisting of seven thousand.⁶⁰ A Saptasāta-vishaya is mentioned in the Sevadi copper plate of Ratnapāla and it is not unlikely that this part of the country has been alluded to as Saptasāta-deśa.⁶¹ Aṇahilla had two sons Bālaprasāda and Jendrarāja. According to the Sundha Hill Inscription, Bālaprasāda forced Bhīma to release from prison a king Kṛishṇadeva who has been identified with the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja of Bhinmal referred to above. Bālaprasāda's brother Jindurāja or Jendrarāja is stated in the Sundha Hill Inscription to have fought victoriously at

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Sanderao, the modern Sanderao in Jodhpur state, south-west of Nadol. The other inscription mentions that at Shanderaka the defeated army belonged to Bhīma against which Jendrarāja acted as the 'marine fire in the sea'⁶². From the places where the battles took place it is evident that Bhīma was the aggressor, and that the Chāhamānas resisted him effectively during his reign. This struggle with the Chāhamānas continued during the reign of Bhīma's son Karṇa.

Bhīma and the Paramāras of Mālava

Bhīma played an important part in the downfall of Paramāra Bhoja of Mālava, which for a time left the Paramāras totally powerless. The defeat of the great Paramāra monarch was naturally considered the high watermark of Bhīma's glory, and almost all the Chroniclers, with the surprising exception of Hemachandra, have recorded this victory in suitable verses. The *Vadnagar-praśasti* states: Illustrious king Bhīma-deva, who, though terrible (*bhīma*) to his foes, ever granted enjoyment to his friends, as ruler, carried this load of the earth. What wonder was there that his horses, supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called *dhārā*) quickly gained Dhārā the capital of Mālava?"⁶³ The chaplain Someśvara states that, just as on the rising of the moon the lotus withers, so did Bhoja wither away by (the power) of Bhīma. "He (Bhīma) who has conquered the lord of Dhārā (*eka-Dhārā-pati*) with a two bladed sword (*dvidhārā*), what wonder is there, that he (Bhīma) should conquer hundreds of swordsmen. By whose (Bhīma's) strong bow, though it reached his neck, Bhoja, when fleeing, was hurled from his horse, as if supposing that he was virtuous (or strung)." ⁶⁴ The *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti* states that it was proper that upon this attack the goddess of wealth left Bhoja's heart, the goddess of learning his mouth, and the sword his hands.⁶⁵ Arisimha and Bālachandra describe in a matter of fact manner how Bhīma defeated Bhoja,⁶⁶ but Jayasimha Sūri writes: At the setting in of the frost of his greatness the arm of Bhoja faded away like the lotus (and that) very properly."⁶⁷

Merutunga gives the most detailed information regarding the relationship between Bhīma and Bhoja, though as usual he weaves around these two historical figures a number of interesting anecdotes, so that it often becomes difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction. Shorn of the anecdotes Merutunga's account would be as follows:

Bhīma and Bhoja were contemporaries⁶⁸ and there was a league of friendship between them.⁶⁹ Bhoja wanted to put an end to these peaceful relations, but Bhīma managed to maintain them. In a certain year famine was raging in Gujarat owing to a draught, and Bhīma was informed by his spy⁷⁰ that king Bhoja was for this very reason preparing to invade Gujarat. Bhīma became anxious and sent the following orders to his diplomatic agent named Dāmara: "Whatever we may have

to pay by way of fine ⁷¹ King Bhoja must be prevented from coming to this country during the present year." So Dāmara went to Bhoja and tried to dissuade him but without success.⁷² Bhoja ordered that the drum for the advance should be beaten, and then proceeded to witness a dramatic performance in which Tailapadeva was mockingly represented as rotting in a gaol. This provided Dāmara with a cue, and he sarcastically reminded Bhoja that this same Tailapa had had the 'head of king Muñja fixed on a stake.' This timely reminder of his ancestor's fate diverted Bhoja's attention to Tilinga, but when he heard that Tailapa was advancing with a very large force, he became very anxious. At this crucial moment Dāmara came and showing Bhoja a 'forged royal rescript,' informed him that Bhīma had reached Bhogapura. Bhoja took this false news seriously, and begged Dāmara to check the further advance of his master by any means. After repeated requests from Bhoja, the clever Dāmara accepted a male and a female elephant from Bhoja and sent them to Bhīma, ostensibly to appease him.

Later, when Bhīma was engaged in conquering Sind,⁷³ Bhoja sent a Digambara named Kulachandra against Gujarat. Kulachandra sacked Anahilapataka and had cowries sown at the gate of the clock tower of the palace. This disturbed Bhoja, who took the sowing of cowries to indicate that money from Mālava would flow to Gujarat. Dāmara was again sent to Bhoja's court, where, by describing Bhīma as exceedingly handsome, he made Bhoja curious to see Bhīma. Bhīma came to Bhoja's court disguised as a betel-box bearer, but fled before he could be identified. Thereafter diplomatic relations were maintained, for, we find that a representative of Gujarat retorted to Bhoja's remark that Gujarati's were stupid.⁷⁴ On another occasion Bhīma sent Bhoja four persons whom he had asked for in a cleverly composed verse.⁷⁵ Then one day Bhoja went, as was his habit, to worship in his family temple situated on the outskirts of Dhārā, and the goddess appearing to the king warned him that he was surrounded by enemy soldiers. Bhoja came out and found himself really surrounded by Gujarati soldiers; however, he managed to escape on his swift steed. As he was entering the gates of Dhārā, two mounted Gujarati soldiers, Ālūyā and Kolūyā,⁷⁶ threw their bows over his neck and saying, "So near have you come to being killed," let him go.

Then one day, Merutuṅga continues, Kalachuri Karṇa of Dāhala⁷⁷ challenged Bhoja to a contest, saying that they should decide which of them was the superior, either by engaging their armies, or in a duel, or in munificence, or in a dispute in the four sciences. Bhoja was terrified and finally made Karṇa agree to his proposal that the two kings should begin to build temples, one at Banaras, and the other at Dhārā, and that the king who completed his temple first should be considered as winner. Karṇa won the wager, and as Bhoja would not keep to his

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part of the bargain, he (Karna) set out with his 136 feudatories, "and at the same time he invited Bhīma to attack the country of Mālava in the rear, promising him half of Bhoja's kingdom." Then Bhoja, attacked by these two kings, gradually lost his pride and, overtaken by a malady, he died. On hearing the news of Bhoja's death, Karna broke down the fort and appropriated all the wealth of the Paramāra king.⁷⁸

Thus we see that according to Merutuṅga, Bhoja was the aggressor: first he wanted to attack Gujarat when she was suffering from a terrible famine; next he actually invaded the country when Bhīma was away. Then apparently Bhīma sent Dāmara to the court of Lakshmī-Karna to seek his alliance against Bhoja. In the meantime Bhoja suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Western Chālukya king Someśvara I, who burnt his famous capital Dhārā as well as Ujjain. Then, probably taking advantage of the weakness of Bhoja, Bhīma and Lakshmī-Karna attacked him. From Merutuṅga's statement it appears that Bhīma was not at Dhārā when Bhoja died and Lakshmī-Karna stormed the city. For, Merutuṅga definitely states that Bhīma had to apply to Lakshmī-Karna, through his ambassador Dāmara, for news of Bhoja's condition, as all the mountain passes had been closed by Lakshmī-Karna's officers. But as all the other chronicles, as well as the *Vadnagar-praśasti* are definite that Bhīma entered Dhārā, it seems likely that he entered the city, not at the time of its fall after Bhoja's death, but at a later date. He may also have carried out a surprise raid on Dhārā when according to Merutuṅga two Gujarati soldiers had Bhoja at their mercy. This story is undoubtedly fictitious, but it may record an earlier invasion of Dhārā. But it is also possible that Merutuṅga confused the incidents in order to add to his number of *Prabandhas* and that the incident of Bhoja's encirclement by Gujarati soldiers happened while Bhīma in alliance with Karna was besieging Dhārā.⁷⁹ Probably Bhīma did not personally lead his soldiers, but sent a contingent of troops to his ally.

The struggle between the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras is recorded in several Paramāra inscriptions. The *Udayapur-praśasti* definitely mentions both Bhīma and the king of Chedi as having been defeated by Bhoja's mercenaries.⁸⁰ The undated Kalyana plates of the Paramāra feudatory Yaśovarman, which were probably issued at the end of Bhoja's reign, also state that Bhoja defeated the kings of Kaṇḥāṭa, Lāṭa, Gūjara, Chedi, and Koṅkana. The kings of Gūjara and Chedi were probably Bhīma and Lakshmī-Karna. The Panhera inscription of Paramāra Jayasimha also records that one Satyarāja fought against the Gūjaras and received a fortune from Bhoja. As the Mandhata plates of Paramāra Jayasimha were issued from Dhārā in V.S. 1112 (A.D. 1055) it is evident that by this time the Paramāra capital was free of enemies.⁸¹

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By defeating Bhoja with the help of Lakshmī-Karṇa, Bhīma showed statesmanship and diplomatic skill of a very high order. According to Merutuṅga, Lakshmī-Karṇa had 136 vassals; this number is certainly exaggerated, but Lakshmī-Karṇa, who has been compared to Napoleon, was the most powerful monarch in India at that time. Bhoja was also a powerful monarch. Probably during the earlier part of his reign Bhīma found that Bhoja was too strong for him, hence he formed the alliance with the Kalachuris and destroyed Bhoja, but he had to contend with the Kalachuris also.

Bhīma and Lakshmī-Karṇa

According to Merutuṅga, after the fall of Dhārā, the Kalachuri king appropriated all of Bhoja's wealth and Bhīma sent a peremptory message to his ambassador Dāmara, demanding half of Bhoja's kingdom as had been bargained, or Dāmara's head. "Accordingly, desirous of carrying out the orders of his sovereign, he (Dāmara) entered the royal pavillion with thirty-two foot-soldiers, and took Karṇa prisoner, when he was asleep in the middle of the day."⁸² Ultimately Dāmara satisfied Bhīma by extracting from Lakshmī-Karṇa a golden shrine for gods, of which the chief was Śiva, the *śālagrāma* (Chintāmaṇi) stone and Gaṇeśa.⁸³

The last part of Merutuṅga's story is supported by Hemachandra, according to whom, after the defeat of Hammuka, Bhīma turned upon the Chedi king, who collected some Bhilla soldiers.⁸⁴ The king of Chedi took counsel as to whether he should fight or conciliate Bhīma,⁸⁵ and Bhīma too sent his ambassador Dāmodara to demand from the Chedi king his minimum dues, just as Yudhishṭhira had demanded five villages through Kṛishṇa.⁸⁶ Dāmodara related to the Chedi king the extent of Bhīma's power: that among the kings who served him were the kings of Daśārṇa, King Bhadrabhaṭa of the Gajabandha country, and kings called Yanti, Ranti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Vanti, and Manti.⁸⁷ On hearing this Karṇa became afraid, and began to praise the lunar race of Bhīma and ultimately settled the affair by delivering a golden shrine which he had taken after defeating Bhoja the king of Mālava.⁸⁸ Then Bhīma returned to his capital.

It is apparent that the events narrated by Merutuṅga and Hemachandra have little relation to actuality. To take Hemachandra first, the names of the kings he mentions as Bhīma's allies or feudatories are all fictitious, and it is not credible that Dāmodara would have been able to frighten a king like Lakshmī-Karṇa,—or any man of the world—by such an absurd bluff. Lakshmī-Karṇa's fall was very rapid and Bhīma may have taken advantage of his former ally's adversity, but certainly not in the manner Hemachandra would have us believe. The fact that Hemachandra does not mention Bhīma's struggle with Bhoja and that Karṇa and Bhīma were once allies, render

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this part of his narrative unreliable. But the fact that Hemachandra mentions that Bhīma went away satisfied after having obtained Bhoja's golden shrine from Karṇa, probably indicates that the two kings fell out over the division of spoils.

Merutuṅga probably derived part of his material for *Bhīma-Bhoja-prabandha* from *Dvyāśraya* and part from the *Kīrtikaumudī* to which he probably added several stories which were current about Bhoja during his own time; he may also have invented a few.⁸⁹ In any case the story of Dāmara's capture of Lakshmī-Karṇa while that king was enjoying his mid-day siesta after his capture of Dhārā, that is when his power was at its zenith, is to say the least fantastic. Both the stories—of *Dvyāśraya* and of *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* were intended to show the cleverness of Dāmōdara or Dāmara, which even to-day is proverbial in Gujarat. To conclude that the alliance between Bhīma and Lakshmī-Karṇa came to an end over the division of spoils from Dhārā on the basis of these uncorroborated anecdotes, may not seem to be warranted. But a verse in the Rewah Stone Inscription of Lakshmī-Karṇa states that "when Karṇa approached (the Gūrjara country) tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gūrjara women living in the neighbourhood, and colour marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads." This is supported by a Piṅgala verse.⁹⁰ This shows that there was a struggle between Lakshmī-Karṇa and the contemporary Gūrjara king, Bhīma, and that most probably it took place after the defeat of Bhoja as the Chroniclers relate. So long as Bhoja was alive the Paramāra territory separated the Chaulukya and the Chedi kingdoms so that the chances of a conflict between the two were very remote.⁹¹ Bilhaṇa records that Someśvara I, the Western Chālukya king utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa,⁹² and it is possible that Bhīma sent his demands after the power of the Chedi king had been destroyed.

The last days of Bhīma

Udayamatī was the name of Bhīma's queen, but according to Merutuṅga, he was excessively fond of a beautiful courtesan named Bakulādevī whom he took into his *antahpura*.⁹³ Both Hemachandra and Merutuṅga say that Bhīma had three sons, but whereas they agree that the name of the eldest was Mūlarāja, and that another was Karṇa, the other son is called 'Kshemarāja' by Hemachandra and 'Haripāla' by Merutuṅga.⁹⁴ According to Hemachandra Mūlarāja died during the lifetime of his father, who thereupon offered the throne to Kshemarāja. Kshemarāja refused the crown, and he and Bhīma induced Karṇa to accept it.⁹⁵ As instances of such voluntary abnegations are extremely rare, it may not be a presumptuous reflection on the great monk's veracity to assume that he was glossing over the unsavoury genealogy

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of his royal disciple as befitted a courtier. For, Merutuṅga relates that Haripāla (who is undoubtedly the Kshemarāja of Hemachandra) was a natural son of Bhīma by Bakulādevī.⁹⁶

Great as the political importance of Bhīma's reign was, its significance in the history of Indian architecture was no less. It was during his reign that one of the finest temples extant was built,—the Dilwara temple at Abu. The two other important temples constructed during his reign are now in ruins, having been broken by later Muslim hordes. It is interesting therefore to find that the earliest known mosque built in India was erected during his reign and within his territory in A.D. 1035 (445 A.H.), at Ahmedabad.⁹⁷

Queen Udayamatī was also a famous builder. Merutuṅga says that she excavated at the capital a new reservoir which was much better than the Sahasraliṅga lake. Popular legend credits her with digging the 'Rānī ki vav', a well at Aṇahilapāṭaka, which is in ruins to-day, but its exquisite carvings still excite admiration.⁹⁸

Bhīma is described by Kṛishṇāji as dark, stout, tall, and hairy, but handsome, haughty, fond of war, and not afraid of the Mlechchhas.⁹⁹ Bhīma's reign probably came to an end some time in V.S. 1122.¹⁰⁰

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Karṇa, the youngest son of Bhīma, ascended the throne some time in A.D. 1066-7. His mother was Udayamatī.

Hemachandra states as usual that Bhīma abdicated and placed Karṇa on the throne, but we need not take his statement seriously, as he makes the same uncorroborated statement about all the Chaulukya kings except Siddharāja. Hemachandra further adds that immediately after Bhīma's death his only other surviving son, Kshemarāja, retired from public life to Dadhisthalī whither Karṇa sent the former's son Devaprasāda, to look after his father; but this was done probably to get rid of the two possible pretenders to the throne.¹⁰¹ In any case, this narrative of Hemachandra leads one to suspect that the indication is that the legitimate son Karṇa, forcibly occupied the throne and banished his step brother and nephew after Bhīma's death. This would explain the hatred shown by Siddharāja Jayasimha, son of Karṇa, towards Kumārapāla, the great-grandson of Kshemarāja.

Hemachandra records no other incidents in Karṇa's life except his marriage to a Kadamba princess under romantic circumstances, and Karṇa's prayer to the goddess Lakshmī for the birth of a son. Indeed, from the *Dvyāśraya* written by his son's court poet, one is led to believe that Karṇa's reign was a peaceful interregnum between those of his father and son. This may have been the effect intended by Hemachandra in order that the heroic deeds of his first patron, Jayasimha might stand out in greater relief. Probably partiality for the same king led Hema-

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chandra to remain silent over the activities of Bhīma and Karṇa in Mālava, so that the whole credit for conquering the Paramāras might be reserved for Jayasīṃha. But from the testimony of other Chroniclers, and the records left by other dynasties, it is known that the picture left by Hemachandra is by no means the correct one. As a matter of fact, though less successful, Karṇa was as aggressive as either his father or son.

Karṇa and the Paramāras of Mālava

We have already seen that Bhīma and Lakshmī-Karṇa defeated Bhoja; probably the Kalachuri king remained in occupation of Mālava after the death of the Paramāra Emperor, while the enemies of Lakshmī-Karṇa took advantage of his absence from Dāhala. For, the Chandella king, Kīrtivarman and Vīgrahapāla of Bengal are said to have defeated Lakshmī-Karṇa.¹⁰² But probably the worst defeat he suffered was from the Western Chālukya king Someśvara I, who is said to have attacked Dāhala and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Lakshmī-Karṇa.¹⁰³ Bhīma probably took advantage of Karṇa's downfall and broke away from the Kalachuris after disgracing Lakshmī-Karṇa by forcing him to yield certain booty, as we have already narrated.

During this time Mālava was passing through a critical period. It seems that after the death of Bhoja a dispute broke out amongst the Paramāra princes over the vacant throne. One of the claimants to the throne is said to have gone to Vikramāditya, while the latter's father Someśvara I was still alive, and sought the help of the Western Chālukya prince. Vikramāditya put down the enemies of the Paramāra prince and put him on the throne of Mālava.¹⁰⁴ This king of Mālava has been identified as Paramāra Jayasīṃha known from two inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ The next Paramāra king of Mālava was Udayāditya who was a *bhrātā* (brother or most probably a cousin) of Bhoja.¹⁰⁶

It is known from Paramāra inscriptions that before Udayāditya ascended the throne he had to defeat three kings, one of whom was Karṇa. Scholars maintain different opinions regarding the identity of this Karṇa, but it seems that the king Karṇa defeated by Udayāditya was the Chaulukya Karṇa of Gujarat, while the other two kings were most probably Someśvara II, and a Kalachuri king.¹⁰⁷

It is definitely known from chronicles supported by an inscription that Udayāditya had to fight Karṇa. An inscription of Kumārapāla's reign records that Karṇa defeated the Mālava (king) in the Sūdakūpa pass.¹⁰⁸ Arisīṃha also says that Karṇa defeated a king of Mālava and brought home a statue of Nīlakantha.¹⁰⁹ Thus it seems that at first Karṇa defeated the Mālava king, but it is evident that he later suffered a defeat in Mālava, for, we find Someśvara stating that, "when the territory of the king of Dhārā was overrun by the Chaulukyas, the former's priest called up by an incantation an evil spirit for the destruc-

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tion of his master's enemy (Karna). But Āma, the priest of Karna (also an ancestor of the poet) succeeded in countering by other potent incantations and turned back the evil spirit against the conjurer, who was immediately killed as a result."¹¹⁰ Someśvara, who belonged to the family of the hereditary chaplains of the Chaulukyas, was probably attempting to conceal the disgrace of the Chaulukya king, but the Chronicler of the Chahāmānas being under no such restraint frankly states:

"Ascendance (*unnati*) was attained by Udayāditya (king of) Mālava, just as fullness is gained by the sea from the lake (of origin) of the Mandākinī.

"To whom (Udayāditya) he (Chāhamāna Vighraharāja) gave a horse named Sāraṅga which had the speed of the mind; none except the 'ocean of milk' gives the (horse) Uchchaiṣravas.

"After receiving the horse (the king of) Mālava vanquished Karna (king of) Gūrjara; (just as) the thighless (Aruṇa) crosses the sky by getting (the advantage of) the chariot of the Sun."¹¹¹

An inscription of Udayāditya's son Jagāddeva records that Jagāddeva defeated the Gūrjaras near Abu and also king Karna. Here also it is apparent that the Chaulukya Karna is meant.¹¹²

Thus we see that Karna defeated a Mālava king who was most probably Udayāditya. Udayāditya thereupon went to the Chāhamāna king and with his help defeated Karna. Udayāditya's son and successor, Jagaddeva, most probably defeated the Chaulukya king, though it may be that Jagaddeva had accompanied his father when the latter defeated Karna. It is also possible that after the death of Udayāditya, Karna again attempted to invade Mālava but was defeated by Jagaddeva.

It has been suggested that Jayasinha, after gaining his throne through the help given him by Vikramāditya, became the latter's staunch supporter and loyal ally. After the death of Someśvara I, his eldest son Someśvara II became king. As Someśvara II and Vikramāditya were rivals, the former turned against Vikramāditya's protégé, Jayasinha, and with the help of Karna defeated and killed him. After that Udayāditya freed Mālava from those two kings.¹¹³

This suggestion does not take into account that Udayāditya defeated three kings.¹¹⁴ From the *Prithvīrājaviṣaya* we learn that Udayāditya entirely dependend on the Chāhamānas for his restoration. What chance was there for such a prince to have defeated this combination of the mightiest forces, two of which had defeated Bhoja? It is therefore possible that the three kings were fighting amongst themselves for the division of Mālava, so that Udayāditya had no great difficulty in driving them out of Mālava.

It is not known what actually happened in Mālava after the death of Bhoja, but it is apparent that Jayasinha and Udayāditya were rivals, since the name of Jayasinha is never mentioned in any record issued

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by Udayāditya or his descendants. There were probably other claimants to the Paramāra throne, as the expression '*rājye cha kulyākule*' shows.¹¹⁵ Jayasinha and Udayāditya were the two successful ones, the former being a candidate of the Western Chālukyas and the latter of the Śākambharī Chāhamānas. Probably there were other candidates backed by Chaulukya Karṇa and the Kalachuris respectively. We do not hear of their names because they were unsuccessful. The Kalachuris, as has been stated above, were severely defeated by the Western Chaulukyas. The Kalachuri king Yaśah-Karṇa was also defeated by Chaulukya Karṇa, who may have made common cause with the Chālukyas of Kalyani.

Karṇa and the Kalachuris

An indirect outcome of this tri-partite war was probably the annexation of Lāṭa to Gujarat. The Surat plates of Trilochanapāla were issued in A.D. 1053 and the Nausari plates of Karṇa in A.D. 1074, so that it is evident that Lāṭa was conquered by the Chaulukyas during this period.¹¹⁶ Both the Udayapur-*prāśasti* and the Kalyan plates of Yaśovarman state that Bhoja had conquered Lāṭa, which, may be a fact.¹¹⁷ We also know that Yaśovarman, a feudatory of Bhoja was ruling in the Śvetapāda country,¹¹⁸ and Śvetapāda and Lāṭa were conquered by Vapullaka, who claims to have defeated two kings. One of the two was named Trilochana who has been identified with Trilochanapāla of the Surat grant.¹¹⁹ The other king, whose name is not given, may have been the Kadamba king Shashṭha II (c. A.D. 1005-50) or his son Jayakeśī I (c. A.D. 1050-80). The existence of the Kadambas near Nausari is proved by the recent discovery of a plate of Shashṭha II.¹²⁰ It is known from other records of the Kadambas of Goa that Shashṭha II was a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of the Western Chālukyas, and it is quite likely that he was the prince defeated by the Kalachuri general. Shashṭha's son and successor was Jayakeśī, and Hemachandra, Prabhachandra and Merutuṅga state that Karṇa married Princess Mayanallādevī, the daughter of Kadamba Jayakeśī.

It is difficult to say whether Karṇa's relationship with the Kadambas influenced his course of action, but it seems that he drove the Kalachuris from Lāṭa and occupied the country. For, Someśvara states: "Karṇa, calling to memory as it were, that former enmity between Karṇa and Arjuna (of the *Mahābhārata*) caused Yaśah (of the family) of Arjuna to go to some other country."¹²¹ As we know that a Kalachuri general conquered Lāṭa, and Karṇa issued a grant from Lāṭa in A.D. 1074, it seems reasonable to conclude that Lāṭa was the country from which he expelled Yaśah of the Arjuna family, that is, Kalachuri Yaśah-Karṇa. Karṇa's Kadamba connection may have spurred him on to action and secured him against any attack from the Western Chālukyas. It seems that the province was not conquered much earlier than A.D. 1074, the

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year in which Karna's Nausari grant was issued; for some peculiarities of the duplicate grant to the same donee indicate that the province was but recently conquered.¹²² From a recently discovered inscription it appears that Karna lost Lāṭa within three years to Trivikramapāla.^{122a} In that case it was permanently annexed to Gujarat in the reign of Siddharāja, but further details of its conquest are not known.

Karna and the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula

Karna also inherited from his father the struggle with the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula. Jindurāja's son Prithvīpāla is said to have defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karna; and Prithvīpāla's brother and successor, it is said, occupied Anahillapura by force.¹²³ It is possible that while Karna was busy elsewhere, the Naḍḍula Chāhamānas carried a raid into the Chaulukya capital, which on account of its topographical situation was difficult to defend at any time.

Karna and the Bhils

Bardic tales credit Karna with having defeated the predatory tribes which had their principal haunts in the country which stretches from the eastern side of the lesser Runn of Kutch to the river Sabarmaty. Karna is said to have attacked a Bhil chieftain named Āśā, who lived at Āśāpallī, modern Ashawul near the city of Ahmedabad, and to have led an innumerable force of archers against him. Āśā was defeated and killed by Karna.¹²⁴

Karna's marriage with Mayaṇallādevī

About these grave political events in Karna's reign, both Hemachandra and Merutuṅga are completely silent. Bilhaṇa, the great Kashmirian court poet of Vikramāditya VI, who resided for some time in Karna's court, has stated in his drama *Karṇasundarī*,—of which Karna is the hero—that he (Karna) conquered Sind. But this statement, like most others in *Karṇasundarī* is likely to be apocryphal and need not be taken seriously. Curiously enough, all the three authors have singled out Karna's romantic marriage with a princess as the chief theme of their works. Bilhaṇa calls the princess 'Karṇasundarī,' whereas Hemachandra and Merutuṅga call her 'Mayaṇallā,' and Mayaṇallādevī, respectively. Bilhaṇa's heroine's name is apparently fictitious, and there is reason to believe that the three authors are referring to the same lady.

Bilhaṇa's drama *Karṇasundarī* is divided into four acts and its hero is undoubtedly the Chaulukya king, Karna. It describes how the king fell in love with Karṇasundarī of whom he first dreamt and then later saw her likeness in a portrait. Karṇasundarī was introduced into the palace by an intriguing minister but she aroused the jealousy of the queen who tried in revenge, to marry the king to a boy disguised in

Karṇasundarī's dress. This stratagem to deceive the king was frustrated by the clever minister who substituted the real Karṇasundarī. As a drama, Bilhaṇa's work has little to recommend it, and modern scholars have described it as "a poor recast of the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Viddha-Śālabhañjikā*."¹²⁵ It seems that Bilhaṇa grafted upon a worn out theme of a king's love and palace intrigue, a real romance in which Karṇa was involved.

Hemachandra in his *Dvyaśraya* treats Karṇa's love episode in an entirely different manner. According to him one day an artist happened to visit the court of Karṇa and showed him a roll of portraits. Among others the king saw the picture of an exceedingly beautiful maiden, and on inquiry learnt that she was Mayañallā, the daughter of the Kadamba king Jayakeśī of Chandrapura.¹²⁶ The artist added that having refused all her suitors she chanced one day to come across a portrait of Karṇa painted by a Buddhist and had immediately resolved to marry him. It should be stated here that Karṇa was famous for his good looks, but to continue with Hemachandra, the Kadamba princess became extremely lovesick and in the approved fashion of the heroines of Sanskrit literature started to beseech the birds for news of her beloved, and to abstain from any form of sustenance. In this pathetic condition, the dissimulating artist added, she had sent him to Karṇa to inform him of her unalterable resolution (to marry him) and her father had not only approved of this novel mode of proposal but had actually provided the messenger with presents for the Chaulukya king, which included an elephant. Karṇa deeply affected by this story received the gifts and went out into the garden to inspect the elephant. There in a bower¹²⁷ was Mayañallā herself waiting for him, and though Karṇa immediately recognised that she was the lady of the picture, he still verified her claims by sundry questions. This was naturally followed by their marriage with the usual pomp.¹²⁸

Merutuṅga has given a different version of the same story. According to him, a runaway horse carried king Śubhakeśī of Karṇāṭa into a forest, where, a fire broke out as the king was resting under a shady tree. Out of a sense of gratitude to the tree that had given him shelter, Śubhakeśī immolated himself along with the tree.¹²⁹ His son Jayakeśī was then placed on the throne by the ministers and in course of time a daughter was born to him named Mayañallādevī. She remembered her former life in which she had been a devout Śaiva, and had been prevented from proceeding to Somanath, being unable to pay the pilgrim tax at Bahuloda where she had been detained. In order that she might remit the iniquitous pilgrim-tax at Bahuloda, she resolved to marry the king of Gujarat and related the whole story of her former birth to her father. Then Jayakeśī asked Karṇa, through his ministers, to marry his daughter, but unfortunately the Kadamba princess was

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notorious for her plain looks so that Jayakeśi's offer was rejected. The resolute maiden then came to Karna with her father's permission, but her unprepossessing looks made him more determined than ever not to marry her, whereupon Mayanallādevī and her eight companions resolved to sacrifice their lives in order to compass the death of the Gujarat king. Unable to witness the death of the girls, Karna's mother, Udayamatī, also vowed to die with them. Then of course Karna had to marry the ugly princess but continued to neglect her. Then the minister Muñjala heard of a royal transgression and hit upon a plan. He secured the dress of the king's favourite and had Mayanallādevī put on those clothes and spend a night with Karna in this disguise. In the morning Karna was overtaken by remorse, for he did not suspect the truth, and remained under the impression that he had spent the night with a low born favourite. He had resolved to penance by embracing a red hot copper image, when the minister told him the truth. Karna was easily convinced, for Mayanallādevī—evidently remembering her *Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam*—had made Karna present her with his signet ring during the night, and had retained it.¹³⁰

It is possible to ignore entirely Bilhana's episode of Karnaśundarī, but the testimony of the two other authors—particularly that of Hemachandra—cannot be brushed aside so unceremoniously. Hemachandra was not only born during Karna's reign, but rose to fame under Mayanallādevī's son. Under the circumstances it is difficult to believe that Hemachandra would have invented the whole story regarding the lady. Moreover there was a Kadamba king called Jayakeśi, who ruled at Chandrapura,¹³¹ (c. A.D. 1050-80) which adds an historical element to his story. Hence it is necessary to examine the three versions, for it is evident that Hemachandra's story cannot be accepted in its entirety.

Of the three authors, Bilhana was the earliest and was a contemporary of Karna, in whose court he passed some time. It is probably for this very reason as well as the inveterate failing of a dramatist, who tries to exploit to the full the possibilities of a slightly uncommon incident in order to heighten the dramatic effect, that Bilhana's version is least trustworthy. But for his specific mention of Karna, one would have taken it as a drama without any historical background. The love of Karna, the jealousy of the queen, the intrigue of the minister, and a good heroine who was made to suffer were all well worn themes by the time Bilhana wrote, but the fact that he should write it probably means that he was weaving a real story into a set pattern.

Hemachandra was in a hardly less favourable position than Bilhana to relate the truth without any ornamentation, if he had had a mind to do so. Indeed he was better placed than Bilhana to perform the task. For, while Bilhana wrote, all the characters of the drama were alive, which naturally forced that courtier poet to be circumspect. But

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Hemachandra wrote during the reign of Kumārapāla when he was beyond the reach of Mayaṇallādevī's son. But probably his sense of gratitude and decorum induced him to describe Siddharāja's mother in the best possible light, and in the whole of *Dvayāśraya*, she is the only woman character of any importance.

The date of this marriage is not known, but as Jayakeśī died about A.D. 1080, it must have taken place earlier. If we take Bilhaṇa's Karṇasundarī to be identical with Mayaṇallādevī—Karṇasundarī certainly was a fictitious name—it is possible to be more specific about the date by checking Bilhaṇa's itinerary. It is known from *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita*, that Bilhaṇa stayed for some time in the court of Kalachuri Lakshmī-Karṇa and then, bypassing Mālava, came to Gujarat where he visited Somanath. It was apparently during his sojourn at Gujarat that he visited Karṇa's court and wrote *Karṇasundarī*. From Somanath Bilhaṇa embarked on a voyage to southern India and, spending some time on a pilgrimage, went to Kalyani where he was properly received by Vikramāditya VI who made him his Vidyapati, or court-poet. There Bilhaṇa wrote *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita* in about A.D. 1085. Presuming that Bilhaṇa would not have commenced the writing of his great work immediately after his arrival at Kalyani, one may be justified in concluding that he reached that court some time in A.D. 1080. As Bilhaṇa definitely states that in his southern travels he reached Ramesvar travelling in a leisurely manner, it must have taken him at least two years to reach Kalyani from Somanath. Hence his visit to Gujarat probably ended some time in A.D. 1078. Bilhaṇa we know visited Lakshmī-Karṇa's court before coming to Gujarat; the earliest known date of Lakshmī-Karṇa's son Yaśaḥ-Karṇa is A.D. 1073, so that it seems that Bilhaṇa left the Kalachuri court before A.D. 1073. Therefore Bilhaṇa seems to have visited Gujarat between A.D. 1072-1078; the marriage of Karṇa and Mayaṇallādevī probably took place earlier but not too early to lose all interest. As Karṇa probably did not ascend the throne before A.D. 1066, we may assume that the marriage took place in A.D. 1070.

It is more difficult however to say whether the mother of Siddharāja was handsome or just a plain looking princess who managed by an unbecoming intrigue to gain her husband's favour. Both Bilhaṇa and Hemachandra had reasons for declaring her to be extremely beautiful; Merutuṅga was free from any such obligation, but the trouble with this born story-teller was that he wrote whatever he heard. For example Jayakeśī's father was not Subhakeśī but Shashṭhi II. The impossible manner in which Merutuṅga believed Subhakeśī to have died has already been described and it remains to add that Merutuṅga's description of the reasons that led Jayakeśī to give up his life is not only equally ridiculous but was known to Muslim sailors as a 'wonderful

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story from India' centuries before Jayakeśī was born.¹³² But Merutuṅga agrees with Hemachandra in giving the name of the princess as Mayaṇallādevī and her father as Jayakeśī, whom he places correctly at Karnaṭa. His story of the palace intrigue in which Mayaṇallādevī is substituted for a courtesan has some similarity with Bilhaṇa's story where she is substituted by the minister for the impersonator. Merutuṅga's account of Mayaṇallādevī's dream of a previous birth had its proper sequel. He narrates how she later induced Jayasinha Siddharāja, her son, to remit the tax at Bahuloda, and this pious act of Siddharāja is recorded by another Chronicler¹³³ too. The remission of the tax was probably an historical fact and the rest of the story seems to have been developed round it. But it was not necessary for Merutuṅga's purpose to describe Mayaṇallādevī as ungainly, and as neither Bilhaṇa nor Hemachandra supports this, Merutuṅga must have been relying on an independent tradition which may be no less worthy of credit than the records left by the two court-poets.

The next question is naturally about the romantic part of the episode, and here the grammarian seems to have borrowed from the real poet the incident of falling in love by looking at a picture. But it is difficult to conceive of a girl at any period, outside romantic literature, behaving in the way Hemachandra depicts Mayaṇallādevī as having done. But Merutuṅga also states that the princess came uninvited, of her own accord and with her father's consent. If then Mayaṇallādevī was sent by her father to Karna there must have been some graver reasons than those advanced by Hemachandra and Merutuṅga. That reason could have been that Jayakeśī thought it necessary to propitiate Karna because he was faced with so grave a danger that assistance from Gujarat was necessary. But as no evidence is available to support such an assumption it is necessary to seek for a plausible cause of Jayakeśī's act elsewhere. It is known from Kadamba records that Jayakeśī's father and grandfather were both ardent devotees of Somanātha. The grandfather, Guhilladeva II, tried to reach Somanath by sea but was shipwrecked and had to take refuge with a rich Muslim merchant at Goa. Shashthadeva II, the father of Jayakeśī, was luckier, as he safely made his voyage to the holy place and returned.¹³⁴ It is possible therefore that Jayakeśī did not like visiting Somanātha by the perilous sea route and thought that if the king of Gujarat were his son-in-law, the overland route would be open to him. However most probably the match was first arranged and then Mayaṇallādevī was sent by her father with suitable presents, but her plain looks repelled Karna. His mother Udayamatī is most likely to have intervened on behalf of the Kadamba princess and forced Karna to marry her; and she probably became prominent after she had given birth to a son. But such a simple story would not appeal to Hemachandra; his version has the merit that it

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closely follows *Kumārasambhava* where Gaurī comes as a suppliant to Mahādeva and the son of the marriage is Kumāra, the soldier-god. On the other hand the garbled tradition preserved by Merutuṅga shows that he knew enough to connect the desire of Mayaṇallādevī's father to marry her to Karṇa with Somanātha, though the exact reason was hidden under thick layers of impossible stories. But whatever the indignities which Mayaṇallādevī had to suffer, she was later amply recompensed when she lived to see her son the most powerful king in north India.

Building activities of Karṇa

Like his father, Karṇa was also a builder. According to Merutuṅga, after defeating Āśā in Āśāpallī he built a temple to the goddess Kochharbā. He also laid out a new city called Karṇavatī, where he erected a big temple called Karṇeśvara and excavated a large tank called Karṇasāgara. In Aṇahilapāṭaka he built the temple of Karṇameru.¹³⁵ According to Forbes the river Rupin, flowing down from the hills beyond Kheraloo, was arrested in its course towards the Runn and compelled to relinquish its natural outlet and to empty its waters into Karṇasāgara; the dam broke down in A.D. 1814 after a heavy rain.¹³⁶

Religion of Karṇa

Like his ancestors Karṇa was a Śaiva, and maintained a friendly respect for the Jainas. The commentator Rājaśekhara (A.D. 1424) in his *pañjikā* on Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandali*, mentions that king Karṇa of Gujarat, perceiving the holy dislike of cleanliness of the celebrated Jaina monk Abhayadeva Sūri (a spiritual ancestor of Rājaśekhara), conferred on him the *biruda* of *Maladhāri*. The same Rājaśekhara informs us that Kheṅgara was at that time the ruler of Saurāshṭra, and that at the instance of Abhayadeva Sūri he made the deserted path to the shrine of Girnar full of the traffic of pilgrims again, that is he induced Kheṅgara to lessen or remit altogether the tax levied on pilgrims.¹³⁷ Peterson mentions a tradition according to which Karṇa became a disciple of Vardhamāna Sūri whose disciple Jineśvara won the debate at the court of Durlabha. But this statement must be wrong as we know that Vardhamāna Sūri consecrated Vimala's temple and shortly afterwards starved himself to death.¹³⁸

End of Karṇa

Karṇa was famous for his good looks; an inscription of Kumārapāla refers to him as '*rupaśrījītan-Manmatha*,' while an inscription of Bhīma II describes him as '*kāminī-Kandarpa*'.¹³⁹ According to Kṛishṇaji, Karṇa was fair and of middle stature, inclined to lust and low habits

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but later he became repentant and blamed himself; he was proud of his family.¹⁴⁰

According to *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, Karṇa was killed in battle by Chāhamāna Durlabharāja, but we have seen that according to *Prithvī-rājaviṣaya* Karṇa survived Durlabharāja. Karṇa's reign probably came to an end in V.S. 1150.

The Nausari plates of Karṇa are the earliest Chaulukya records to be issued from Lāṭa, and show that this province was under his control at least, for some time. He probably maintained intact the territory left by his father. Saurāshṭra was under his control though the area round Girnar may have been under Kheṅgara. By destroying the Bhils he consolidated his kingdom. He had the *biruda* of Trailokyamalla.¹⁴¹

Chapter VI

Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. V.S. 1150-1200)

Jayasimha, son of Karṇa and Mayanallādevī, who assumed the *biruda* of Siddharāja, was the most famous king of his dynasty, and of all the Chaulukyas his memory is best preserved to-day in the land of his birth. Palhanpur claims the honour of being the birth place of this great conqueror, but no record has yet been found to support this claim. According to Hemachandra, Karṇa laboured under a great sorrow because he had no son, wherefore he repaired to a temple of Lakshmī. There the king meditated for a long time and having successfully overcome the temptations offered by some *apsarases* to distract him, he continued to repeat the *mantra* taught him by his preceptor and remained unperturbed even when a demon appeared on the scene threatening to kill him. His wonderful devotion was at last rewarded when Lakshmī herself appeared and bestowed on Her suppliant the blessing of a son.¹ In due time the son was born, whom the old ladies of the palace named,—more appropriately than they imagined—Jayasimha.²

This semi-mythical account of the birth of Siddharāja did not find favour with Merutuṅga, who simply stated that some time after Karṇa was reconciled to Mayanallādevī, their famous son was born. Merutuṅga further adds that when three years old, Jayasimha while playing with some other children, suddenly climbed on the throne and sat on it. As the astrologers predicted that this particular moment was propitious, Karṇa then and there performed the coronation ceremony of his son. This coronation took place, according to Merutuṅga, on Saturday, the third day of the dark fortnight of Pausa in V.S. 1150 in the *nakshatra* of Śrāvaṇa in the *lagna* of Taurus (7th January, 1094).³ Hence according to this account Siddharāja was born in A.D. 1091. Though Karṇa ceased to reign from the day of his son's coronation, he must have lived some time longer as Merutuṅga himself says that Karṇa defeated Āśā after Siddharāja's coronation.⁴

But this account of Merutuṅga's is not corroborated by Hemachandra. It may be observed here that with the exception of the capture of Yaśovarman, and some other non-political events which it records, *Dvyāśraya's* account of Siddharāja's reign (cantos X to XV) consists of a collection of mythological tales in which Siddharāja undergoes certain experiences which had previously been the lot of the epic heroes.⁵ It is therefore hardly likely that Hemachandra would have

missed the story of Siddharāja's coronation attended by such circumstances as those described by Merutuṅga. Hemachandra's statement that Karna had no son and had to pray to Lakshmi for one probably indicates that Siddharāja was born late in his father's life. But Hemachandra asserts that Siddharāja grew up into a man, and became proficient in all the arts and the weapons before his father's death.⁶ Then one day Karna called Siddharāja and intimated to him his resolve to abdicate. Siddharāja would not hear of such a proposal, but his father was resolute and ultimately had his way. He then charged Siddharāja to guard the Brahmins, the three other castes and his nephew Devaprasāda.⁷ Soon after this Karna died and Devaprasāda came to the capital; he gave his son Tribhuvanapāla to Siddharāja and, as a mark of respect, himself entered the funeral pyre with Karna's body and ended his life. Siddharāja thereafter treated Tribhuvanapāla as if he were his own son.⁸

The difficulty in accepting Hemachandra's version is that all the other Chroniclers are unanimous in stating that Siddharāja had a violent dislike for Tribhuvanapāla's son Kumārapāla, which would be inexplicable if Tribhuvanapāla had really been adopted by Siddharāja as his son. Hemachandra's position as the court *pandita* of both Siddharāja and Kumārapāla probably stood in the way of his recording the truth about either, so that the suggestion that Devaprasāda's death may not have been voluntary, seems to be reasonable.⁹ Hemachandra was probably following *Raghuvamśa* when he described how all the earlier kings of the dynasty abdicated in favour of their sons. Hence his testimony in this instance has little value. Probably Siddharāja was born when Karna was already advanced in age; the old king then declared his son to be the heir apparent when Siddharāja was only three years old, and died shortly after.

It is likely that after the death of Karna the banished Devaprasāda tried to usurp the throne but Mayaṇallādevī, with the help of the minister Sāntū managed to foil his scheme and had him killed and Tribhuvanapāla brought over to Aṇahilapāṭaka to be kept under strict surveillance. The minister Sāntū also contrived to put to death Udayamatī's brother Madanapāla.¹⁰ This probably indicates that after the death of Karna those near the throne took advantage of the new king's minority and either intrigued against him or tried to take the law in their own hands; Mayaṇallādevī acted as the regent during her son's minority and with the help of her husband's ministers safeguarded the interests of her son. As we shall see, Siddharāja used to show her a marked degree of respect and more than ordinary filial devotion.

Siddharāja defeats Khaṅgāra

Siddharāja was a great conqueror, but it is not possible to determine

the chronological sequence of his military exploits. It is possible however that he first turned his attention to Saurāshtra and defeated the king Khaṅgāra, also called Navaghaṇa who ruled over a part of that country. Merutuṅga calls him an '*Ābhīra-rāṇaka*'; evidently he is the same man who controlled Girnar during the reign of Karna. He has been identified with a Chūdāsama king and is apparently the Saurāshtra king who was cast into prison by Siddharāja according to the Dohad inscription. Someśvara also refers to this victory and states that in a war Siddharāja reduced the very imperious king of Saurāshtra, Khaṅgāra, to atoms. Jinaprabhā Sūri says of Girnar that Siddharāja killed the king named Khaṅgāra and appointed one Sajjana as his viceroy, which is corroborated by Merutuṅga. A Girnar inscription dated V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120) proves that Sajjana was then governing the area.¹¹

According to Prabhāchandra, Siddharāja sent Kīrtipāla, the brother of Kumārapāla against king Navaghaṇa, of Saurāshtra. After Kīrtipāla had suffered a reverse, he was joined by the minister Udayana, and together they defeated Navaghaṇa, though Udayana died in the battle. But later Prabhāchandra says that Siddharāja killed Khaṅgāra; as Khaṅgāra and Navaghaṇa were identical it may be that Siddharāja led another expedition in person to destroy this king. But in all probability Siddharāja's efforts were not wholly successful, for Prabhāchandra says that though he killed Khaṅgāra he could not enjoy the country because there were too many of Khaṅgāra's men. This may be true for we know from an inscription of the following reign that Kumārapāla had to send an expedition against the Ābhīras.¹²

According to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja was defeated eleven times by Khaṅgāra, whom Merutuṅga also calls by the name of Navaghaṇa. Before the twelfth encounter took place which Siddharāja led personally, Khaṅgāra had ramparts erected around Vardhamāna and certain other cities. Khaṅgāra then asked his nephew, to kill him by means of *dravyas* (coins) and not with weapons or such like things should the enemy succeed in scaling the ramparts. The poor Khaṅgāra was ultimately beaten to death with boxes full of *dravyas*. Then Siddharāja appointed *Daṇḍanāyaka* Sajjana to look after the affairs of Saurāshtra.¹³

According to a bardic tradition the hapless Khaṅgāra had the temerity to marry a beautiful damsel coveted by Siddharāja. Thereupon the Chaulukya king proceeded against Khaṅgāra and destroyed him, but although he was able to annex the kingdom, the girl who had been so cruelly wronged remained faithful to her fallen husband in spite of all Siddharāja's entreaties. This story, at least in the form in which it has reached us, is incredible.¹⁴

Merutuṅga's story of twelve campaigns against Khaṅgāra should be treated with extreme caution, for 12 was a favourite Jaina numeral, and

his use here of the number probably denotes no more than a vague emphasis upon the seriousness of the campaign which brought the holy Girnar under Chaulukya control.¹⁵

Siddharāja and the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula

It is possible that after the conquest of Saurāshṭra Siddharāja proceeded against another old enemy of the dynasty, namely the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula. Āśārāja, the son of Jindurāja, succeeded his elder brother Yojaka, and apparently changed the hostile policy of his family towards the Chaulukyas. For, the Sundha Hill inscription which records so many struggles between the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas states of Āśārāja, that he pleased the 'Siddharāja' by his assistance which he rendered the latter in Mālava.¹⁶ This Siddharāja is undoubtedly Jayasimha, and as Āśārāja helped him in his Mālava campaign, Siddharāja must have forced the Naḍḍula Chāhamānas to come to terms with him, and probably to serve him as his vassal before he launched his campaign against the Paramāras of Mālava. It appears from the Sundha Hill inscription that later Āśārāja's relations with Siddharāja became hostile, but another inscription of Āśārāja dated V.S. 1200 (A.D. 1143) speaks of him as subsisting on the lotus-like feet of *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayasimha.¹⁷ The next inscription in the locality is supposed to be dated in the Simha era, and in another Chāhamāna inscription from the same area a deity called 'Jayasimhadeva', is mentioned, who according to D.R. Bhandarkar, "was doubtless called after the Chaulukya sovereign Jayasimha."¹⁸ The next Chāhamāna ruler Āhlādana is described in the Sundha Hill and the Kiradu inscriptions as a feudatory of Kumārāpāla, which shows that during his reign Siddharāja had effectively controlled the power of the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula.

Two inscriptions of Naḍḍula Chāhamāna Ratnapāla, however, show that Naḍḍula was in his possession in V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120), and in V.S. 1192 (A.D. 1135).¹⁹ The two inscriptions of Āśārāja from Naḍḍula are dated V.S. 1167 (A.D. 1110) and V.S. 1173 (A.D. 1116) in neither of which is the name of Siddharāja mentioned.²⁰ Hence it seems that between A.D. 1116-1119 Ratnapāla had ousted Āśārāja from Naḍḍula so that the latter was forced to seek the help of Siddharāja to recover his principality.²¹ But the failure of Āśārāja to recover Naḍḍula is proved by eight inscriptions of Rāyapāla issued between A.D. 1132-1145.²² The Sevadi inscription of Āśārāja's son Kaṭudeva is dated S. 31, which has been taken to mean the Simha era in which case the date would be equivalent to A.D. 1143. But this inscription does not mention the name of Siddharāja, hence it has been suggested that Kaṭu was trying to assert his independence during the last years of Siddharāja's reign. But this view does not seem to be correct as the Bali inscription of Kaṭu's father Āśārāja, also issued in A.D. 1143 declares Āśārāja to be a

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feudatory of Jayasimha.²³ It is therefore evident that Āsārāja remained to the end a feudatory of Siddharāja.

Siddharāja and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī

At the beginning of his reign, Siddharāja's relations with another branch of the Chāhamānas, namely the Śākambharī, could not have been amicable, for, the Śākambharī king Vighararāja III had helped Udayāditya against Karṇa. Siddharāja's contemporary king of Śākambharī was Arṇorāja, who was Vighararāja's grandson and third in succession from him. The information given about this prince in *Dvyāśraya* is very meagre. Hemachandra does not mention him in the cantos devoted to Siddharāja, where the king's Rajputana campaigns are not mentioned at all. It is when Hemachandra describes the fight between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla that we find Kumārapāla saying that Arṇorāja had to bow his head before Jayasimha, therefore Jayasimha must have once defeated Arṇorāja.²⁴ This statement is supported by Someśvara who states in his *Kīrtikaumudī* that 'seeing the decapitated heads of kings lying at his feet the lord of Śākambharī too, out of fear, bowed down his head to him; but the only difference between Jayasimha and Viṣṇu was that the daughter of Arṇorāja (the ocean) was taken to wife by Viṣṇu, while he (Siddharāja) gave his daughter in marriage to Arṇorāja.'²⁵ Someśvara is also supported by *Prithvīrājaviṣaya* in which it is mentioned that Arṇorāja had two queens, one of whom came from Gūrjara. The commentator Jonarāja adds that the Gūrjara king was Jayasimha and his daughter who married Arṇorāja was called Kāñchanadevī. The son of Arṇorāja and Kāñchanadevī was Someśvara, who used to live with his maternal grandfather.²⁶ Jayasimha had no son, and probably found some comfort in the company of his only male descendant. Someśvara's son was the ill fated Chāhamāna Emperor Prithvīrāja III.

The Sambhar stone inscription²⁷ proves that Siddharāja defeated Arṇorāja, and from the provenance of the inscription, as well as from the fact that Sambhar is actually mentioned, it is possible to conclude that Siddharāja actually held Sambhar for some time. The reasons which led him to marry his daughter to a defeated enemy are not known. Probably he took a statesman like view of the situation and hoped to remove the long standing hostility between the two families and the rancour of defeat from the heart of Arṇorāja. If such were his hopes, he was not deceived; for we know that Arṇorāja helped Siddharāja against the Paramāra Naravarman.²⁸ This complete change in the foreign policy of the Śākambharī Chāhamānas was only made possible by the statesmanlike policy of Siddharāja.

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Siddharāja and the Paramāras of Mālava

The decisive victory in Mālava and the capture of the Paramāra king Yaśovarman was the greatest achievement in the military career of Jayasimha. His court poet Hemachandra devotes an entire canto to this episode, and breaks into a jingling verse in *Vasantatilaka* metre when describing the capture of the unfortunate Paramāra king.²⁹ Unfortunately Hemachandra's elaborate description contains little information of historical importance. According to him, Siddharāja knew various forms of the black arts; once during a nocturnal tour the king met some *yoginīs* who told him to go to Ujjain and worship the goddess Kālīkā for which the permission of king Yaśovarman was necessary; hence they asked Siddharāja to be friendly with the Paramāra king. Siddharāja then and there resolved to defeat and imprison Yaśovarman and soon after advanced with his army against Mālava. He advanced by stages of several koses each day till he reached Ujjain, being helped by some Kirātas on his way. At Ujjain Siddharāja secured the help of some *yoginīs* and thereby managed to enter the city the next day. Then he conquered Dhārā and captured Yaśovarman whom he tied up like a sparrow.³⁰ Then Siddharāja subdued the whole of Avanti after which he returned to his capital.³¹

We shall never know what led Hemachandra to write this fantastic tale when he had first-hand knowledge of Siddharāja's Mālava campaign; the only true fact in his narrative is the imprisonment of Yaśovarman by Siddharāja. The Vадnagar-*prāśasti* also states that Jayasimha Siddharāja "frightened all the rulers of the earth by the manner in which he fettered the proud king of Mālava."³² Someśvara describes this memorable event thus: "He (Siddharāja) another Māra (*aparamāra*) as he was, beat down in battle the Paramāras, (and became) as it were, the betrothed of the regal fortune of the lord of Mālava. He threw the lord of Dhārā, into a wooden cage like a royal parrot, and at the same time made the royal swan of his fame enter the cage of the universe. He took but a single Dhārā, the city of Naravarman,—but he gave thousands of *dhārās* (streams) of tears thereby to his wives"³³ In his *Surathotsava* Someśvara simply states that the king of Dhārā was thrown into prison.³⁴

Bālachandra also states that after Siddharāja had captured the king of Dhārā, he put that unfortunate monarch into a wooden cage and in that condition brought him to Gujarat.³⁵ Bālachandra is probably repeating the story which Hemachandra made current when he states that after conquering Ujjain, Siddharāja had some dealings with the *yoginīs*, from whom he brought back a seat.³⁶

Arisimha mentions that Siddharāja took Yaśovarman, the king of Dhārā, prisoner, and the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-prāśasti* merely refers to Siddharāja's victory over the Mālava king.³⁷

According to Jayasimha Sūri, Siddharāja made a vow that when he

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killed Naravarman he would use his skin to make a scabbard for his sword. This vow was fulfilled after a campaign lasting over twelve years; Siddharāja succeeded in entering Dhārā after his elephant had broken its gate. Jina-Maṇḍana repeats this story and adds that Siddharāja was prevented by his ministers from fulfilling this vow, for Naravarman was captured alive; the ministers persuaded the king that a king's person was inviolable.³⁸

The most detailed account of this struggle is given by Merutuṅga. According to him while Siddharāja was away on a pilgrimage to Somanāth with his mother, Yaśovarman, who was on the look out for such an opportunity, marched into Gujarat. The minister Sāntū asked for terms, whereupon Yaśovarman replied that he would go back if Sāntū made over to him the merits gained by Siddharāja by his pilgrimage to Somanāth. Sāntū "washed the king's feet, and threw into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of that merit and so he induced the king (Yaśovarman) to turn back". Siddharāja was furious when on his return he heard of Sāntū's conduct, but that minister propitiated the king by saying: "Your Majesty, your merit, which I have given away, goes, but, on the other hand, by what I have done I have given you his merit, and the merit of other people, who have accumulated a great store of good deeds. When an enemy's army is entering one's country, it must be kept out by any artifice". But Siddharāja became desirous of marching against Mālava, so he appointed ministers and craftsmen to superintend the construction of the holy place called Sahasraliṅga, and while this work was being rapidly hurried forward, the king started on his expedition to Mālava. There a war of twelve years duration took place, in which the king was victorious. One day "he took the vow, 'I will not eat to-day until I have captured the fort of Dhārā'. The ministers and foot soldiers killed the Paramāra Rajputs (*Paramāra-rājaputra*) by five hundreds at a time," but still Dhārā could not be taken and Siddharāja had to salve his conscience by breaking into a Dhārā made of meal. Then just as Siddharāja, despairing of capturing the Paramāra capital, was thinking of turning back, the spies informed the minister Muñjāla that the southern gate of the city was vulnerable. Siddharāja accordingly brought his army against the southern gate and recklessly made the *mahout*, Sāmala, drive the mighty elephant Yaśaḥpātaha to batter in two panels of the huge gate with its hind quarters. The gallant animal succeeded but died of the exertion.³⁹ After taking the fort Siddharāja bound Yaśovarman with six pieces of cords, and having established his sovereignty over Mālava returned to Aṇahilapātaka, bringing back with him the fallen Paramāra monarch.⁴⁰ Siddharāja had promised that he would put an unsheathed knife in the hands of Yaśovarman and enter the city mounted on an elephant with

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Yaśovarman behind him. The minister Muñjāla protested against the fulfilment of this rash resolve, but the king was bent on keeping his vow. So, as a compromise Yaśovarman was seated behind Siddharāja on an elephant with a wooden knife in his hand, while the proud Chaulukya monarch made his triumphal entry into Anahilapāṭaka.⁴¹

This resounding victory of Siddharāja's was naturally mentioned in his own records. His proud epithet '*Avantinātha*' first appears in the Gala inscription of A.D. 1137, and seems to have been adopted by him as a regular *biruda* thereafter. The Dohad inscription states that Siddharāja threw into prison the king of Mālava whose name is not mentioned. But the Talwara image inscription states that Siddharāja 'humbled the pride of Naravarman', who was evidently the Paramāra king. This is supported by another inscription which records that Siddharāja made himself glorious by destroying the power of Naravarman.⁴² But the best possible confirmation of Siddharāja's conquest of Mālava and the occupation of that country is provided by the Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription. From this inscription we learn that Siddharāja, having defeated Yaśovarman, held *Avanti-maṇḍala* by force, and placed Mahādeva in charge of the government of that country.

From all these statements it is evident that hostilities had broken out while Naravarman was the king of Mālava (c. A.D. 1094-1133). Both Aśārāja and Arṇorāja are known to have helped Siddharāja against Naravarman.⁴³ But it is difficult to determine who was the aggressor. Merutuṅga states that Yaśovarman opened the hostilities; this statement can be reconciled with epigraphic evidence if we assume that Yaśovarman led an army against Gujarat as a prince at the instance of his father Naravarman. It is known however that during the reign of Naravarman the power of the Paramāras had become very weak, and they suffered several defeats. None of the Paramāra records mention any victory for this king, whereas a Chandella record proves that Chandella Madanavarman had occupied the important territory near Udaipur.⁴⁴ The Chōlas also claim to have defeated a Mālava king who has been identified as Naravarman.⁴⁵ Another inscription from western Mālava dated V.S. 1190 (A.D. 1123) proves the existence of an independent line of kings within fifty miles of Ujjain.⁴⁶ Is it likely that such a king would send his son to attack Gujarat or that he would succeed in defeating the Gujarat army and that none of their records would mention it? Merutuṅga of course gives as a reason for the Chaulukya defeat, Siddharāja's absence on a pilgrimage to Bahuloda at the time of Yaśovarman's attack. According to Merutuṅga during this pilgrimage Siddharāja remitted the pilgrim tax at Bahuloda at the request of his mother. But, Arisimha, a much earlier Chronicler also mentions Jayasimha's remission of the tax at Bahuloda at the

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request of his mother, but does not mention that Yaśovarman took advantage of the king's absence and attacked the country, though Arisimha also mentions that Siddharāja defeated Yaśovarman. Similarly Bāla-chandra mentions that Maṇallādevī had the tax at Bahuloda remitted, but he does not connect this incident with the war.⁴⁷ It is clear however, that all the details in Merutuṅga's version, as it has been related, were incidental to his main theme, which was the feasibility of the transference of merit. Hence the story of Merutuṅga's, though plausible, seems to be of dubious authenticity, for though he describes each episode with equal gravity, many have been proved to be unhistorical. Although one is only justified in rejecting a story of Merutuṅga's when something definite is known against it, one should not be induced to accept as true the remainder of what he wrote, because these have not yet been proved to be wrong. It seems therefore that something more than Merutuṅga's uncorroborated testimony is needed before concluding definitely that the Paramāras were the aggressors. From the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* it appears that the attack by Yaśovarman took place during the early part of Siddharāja's reign, and was followed by a war of twelve years duration. But we know that Yaśovarman reigned for about three years and was captured at the end of Siddharāja's reign. As for the duration of the war, it has already been shown that it might very well have been the Jaina way of saying that it lasted for a long time.

For the history of this period therefore, one has to rely on epigraphs. It has been shown that two inscriptions refer to Jayasimha's victory over Naravarman, and that Āśārāja and Arjorāja took part in the campaign against Naravarman. From this it seems that the struggle between Siddharāja and the Paramāras started while Naravarman was on the throne of Mālava. Exactly when this fight with Naravarman took place is not known; but the date of the last phase of the struggle, namely, the capture of Dhārā and her lord can be ascertained with but a small margin of probable error. The last known inscription of Yaśovarman is dated V.S. 1192.⁴⁸ In the Gala inscription of V.S. 1193 (A.D. 1136) Siddharāja is called Avantinātha. Hence between V.S. 1192-1193 Siddharāja must have captured Dhārā. Two years later Mālava was being governed by the Chaulukya governor, Mahādeva.

There is another consideration however which would place this conquest a little earlier. In his inscription dated V.S. 1191, Yaśovarman is called a '*Mahārājādhirāja*', whereas in the inscription issued a year later he assumes the title of *Mahārāja* only.⁴⁹ This has led scholars to suggest that by the time the later inscription was issued Yaśovarman had lost his position as a paramount sovereign. But it is not clear whether or not this was due to the attack of Siddharāja. It is however certain that Yaśovarman had to spend some time in a Chaulukya prison. It has been said that he escaped with the help of the Chāhamānas of

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Śākambharī and probably came to terms with Siddharāja, and eventually ruled, either in Dhārā or in some part of Mālava, as a Chaulukya vassal. In this case probably Yaśovarman was once again thrown out of office when Siddharāja appointed Mahādeva as his governor of Mālava in V.S. 1195.⁵⁰

How long Siddharāja retained his hold over Mālava is not known. The Dohad inscription of V.S. 1196 (A.D. 1140) states that Siddharāja appointed *vāhinipati* Keśava as *senāpati* in Dadhipadra and other *maṇḍalas*, probably 'in order to protect the high road to Mandu and Dhar,—to keep it clear for his own troops, and to guard against incursions from this side'.⁵¹ This wise precaution shows that Siddharāja fully realised the strategic importance of this route, which, then as now, was one of the principal roads leading from Gujarat to Mālava, through the Panchmahals. This precaution is no indication however of Siddharāja's failure to hold Mālava. But the assumption by Yaśovarman's son Jayavarman of the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* indicates that he liberated a part of Mālava. For, the only inscription of Jayavarman so far found was issued from his residence at Vardhamānapura, which seems to indicate that he had not been able to recover the Paramāra capital. It was probably after the death of Siddharāja when trouble broke out regarding the succession to the throne of Gujarat, that Ballāla captured Ujjain.

Siddharāja and the Paramāras of Bhinmal

Though Siddharāja uprooted the main Paramāra dynasty, it appears that he helped to re-establish a king of a minor branch of the dynasty. This was Someśvara of the Bhinmal branch who is said to have regained his lost throne in V.S. 1198 (c. A.D. 1141) through the favour of Siddharāja. Someśvara's father Udayarāja claims to have conquered 'Choḍa Gauḍa and Karpāta'. Now, in the *Kīrtikaumudī* it is stated that the Gauḍa country famous for its clarified butter fell into the hands of Siddharāja.⁵² It is possible that Siddharāja had penetrated into that part of the eastern Punjab which was known as Gauḍa and was accompanied on that expedition by Udayarāja.

Siddharāja and the Chandellas

By the conquest of Mālava the frontiers of the Chaulukya kingdom were extended bringing it into contact with those of the Kalachuriś and the Chandellas. According to Someśvara the king of Mahobaka became frightened on hearing of the destruction of Dhārā and submitted to Siddharāja.⁵³ Jayasimha Sūri states that Siddharāja defeated Madanavarman, the king of Mahobaka, and took from him 96 crores of gold coins.⁵⁴ Jina-Maṇḍana gives a very detailed story. According to him while Siddharāja was returning from Dhārā, he was informed by a

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bhaṭṭa (minstrel) that the court of Madanavarman of Mahobaka was as splendid as his, and moreover that Madanavarman was very wise, liberal and pleasure loving. Siddharāja sent a person to check the veracity of this statement. This man returned after six months and reported that the minstrel's statement was in no way exaggerated. Thereupon Siddharāja set out against Mahobaka and encamping near the city summoned Madanavarman to surrender, but the Chandella king immersed in the pleasures of the spring festival took little notice of Siddharāja or his demand. In reply to the peremptory demands of Siddharāja's minister, who was sent to negotiate the surrender of the city, Madanavarman contemptuously referred to the Chaulukya king's twelve years' war with Mālava and ordered his ministers to pay Siddharāja some money and to ask him to return. The money was paid but Siddharāja was so struck by Madanavarman's graceful indifference that he would not leave before being received by the Chandella king who ultimately agreed to do so. Siddharāja went with a large body-guard to the palace which was guarded by troops. With only four guards he was allowed to enter the palace and the royal garden, and was shown round by Madanavarman who displayed great hospitality.⁵⁵

From these accounts it has been suggested that either Siddharāja, failing to gain any great victory had to be content with a monetary present, or that he was compelled to come to terms and make peace.⁵⁶ The latter view is supported by an inscription of one of the supporters of Madanavarman found in the Kālāñjara fort which records that Madanavarman "in an instant defeated the king of Gūrjara, as Kṛishṇa in former times defeated Kaṁsa". The tradition that Madanavarman defeated the Gūrjara king is also recorded by the Hindi poet Chand.⁵⁷

Siddharāja and the Kalachuris of Tripuri

According to Merutuṅga, the king of the country of Dāhala wrote Siddharāja a *yamala-patra* (letter of alliance). This Kalachuri king may have been Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (c. A.D. 1073-1125), who as we have seen probably suffered a defeat at the hands of Karṇa.⁵⁸

Siddharāja and the Gāhaḍavālas

Merutuṅga is also responsible for the statement that Siddharāja maintained a diplomatic agent, at the court of the king of Banaras called Jayachandra.⁵⁹ The existence of amicable relations between the two and an attempt to maintain it is quite likely in view of the fact that a strong rivalry existed at this time between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Chandella king Madanavarman, who in his Mau inscription claims to have forced "the king of Kāśī to pass his time in friendly behaviour".⁶⁰ The Sanskrit work *Rambhāmāñjarī* written during the reign of Jayachandra, on the other hand states that "Jayachandra's arms were like

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pillars to tie down the elephant-like goddess of Madanavarman's royal fortune".⁶¹ The Gāhaḍavāla monarch at the time of Siddharāja was Jayachandra's grandfather Govindachandra, but it was not impossible for Jayachandra to have taken part in an expedition during his grandfather's reign.⁶² It was quite possible for Siddharāja to have allied himself with the Kalachuris and the Gāhaḍavālas against the Chandellas who attacked Mālava during this period.

The Chandellas and the Western Chālukyas in Mālava

As regards the Mālava king defeated by Madanavarman it has been suggested that this may have been either Yaśovarman, Jayavarman, or Lakshmīvarman, all of whom were his contemporaries,⁶³ though it is more likely that the defeated Mālava king was Jayavarman.⁶⁴ Madanavarman issued a grant from Bhaillāsvāmī-Mahādvādaśaka in A.D. 1134, which shows that by that time he had entered Mālava,⁶⁵ though it is doubtful whether the area was siezed by the Chandella king from the imperial Paramāras.⁶⁶ But Madanavarman was a powerful king and the precautions adopted by Siddharāja to secure the safety of the Panchmahals (as shown in the Dohad grant) may have been taken against some future contingency likely to arise due to Madanavarman's probable aggression in Mālava.

By the end of Siddharāja's reign the Western Chālukya Someśvara III (A.D. 1128-1138) and Jagadekamalla II (A.D. 1139-1149) had started to attack Mālava and had defeated its king, who was probably the unfortunate Jayavarman. The designs of the Western Chālukyas on Mālava and their success over the weak Paramāras was a danger against which Siddharāja also had to guard himself.

Siddharāja and the Western Chālukyas

The political relations between Siddharāja and the Western Chālukyas are difficult to determine, and we have to rely on a story related by Jina-Maṇḍana, who amongst Gujarat Chroniclers is most unreliable. According to this story one day two *yoginīs* came from the Himalayas and challenged Jayasimha to justify his epithet of Siddharāja by displaying suitable magic. Siddharāja took up this challenge and with the aid of his minister Haripāla had a dagger prepared, which had a jewel studded iron hilt but a blade made of sugar. When Siddharāja was about to perform his magical performance in the open court, a deputation from king Permādi of Kalyāṇkaṭaka was announced. They were allowed to enter and the ambassador presented the king with the prepared dagger, presumably to impress upon the *yoginīs* and the audience the genuineness of the article. The king hid his fake dagger and sent round a real one. After the real dagger had been tested and returned, Siddharāja said that he would eat it and, substituting the

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prepared dagger, ate the sugar blade. After the king had finished eating the blade, the minister stopped him and asked the *yoginīs* to eat the handle. This they failed to do.⁶⁷

Permādi was not an unusual epithet during this period and was borne by several chieftains besides the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, who was known as Paramārdi-deva. The other contemporary kings who were known as Permādi were the following:

(1) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Udayāditya Gaṅga Permādi, a provincial governor of Vikramāditya VI; (2) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Permādi of the Jimutavāhana lineage and Khachara race, also a governor of Vikramāditya VI; (3) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Permādi of the Kalachurya family, a governor under Someśvara III; (4) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Jagadekamalla-Permādi of the Sinda family, a governor under Perma-Jagadekamalla II.⁶⁸ Another Permādi, who became king after the death of Siddharāja was the Goā Kadamba chief Permādi-Śivachitta (A.D. 1147-1175).⁶⁹ According to Indraji, the Permādi, whose ambassador is said to have visited Siddharāja's court during the display of magical skill, was either the "Goa Kadamba chief Permādi Śivachitta who was heir apparent in the time of Siddharāja, or the Sinda chief Permādi who was a contemporary of Siddharāja and flourished in A.D. 1144."⁷⁰ But Jina-Maṇḍana specifically mentions Kalyāṇakaṭaka as the capital of the Permādi, which can only mean Kalyāṇī, the famous capital of Vikramāditya VI. Moreover it is unusual for a subordinate prince or an heir apparent to send embassies. Hence if this story of Jina-Maṇḍana's is admissible at all, the Permādi must be identified with Vikramāditya VI, one of whose queens was a sister of Siddharāja's mother.

Vikramāditya VI has claimed several victories over the Gūrjara king. Between the year A.D. 1088-89, he is said to have crossed the Narmada and conquered kings on either side of the river. One of his inscriptions of A.D. 1096-97 mentions an officer called *Mahāpradhāna Antahpurādhyaksha Hari-Lāla-Kannāḍa-Sandhivigrahin*.⁷¹ It is not clear however what this officer was doing in Lāṭa. Another record shows that in A.D. 1098, Vikramāditya VI was on the banks of the Narmada.⁷² These records do not prove that he came into conflict with the Chaulukya kings, but an inscription of A.D. 1105 records the victory of one of his officers over the Choḷas, the Mālavas, and the Gūrjaras; and another inscription of his general Anantapāla of A.D. 1114 states that he had 'shattered the arms of the Gūrjara'.⁷³ Another general of Vikramāditya VI, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍyadeva declares in a record of A.D. 1121 that he was able 'to trample on the renowned Gūrjara'.⁷⁴ Some other records of Vikramāditya VI claim that he conquered Lāṭa and Gūrjara. One inscription of A.D. 1122 states that Vikramāditya first conquered the ancient Gaṅga kingdom of the south, next the Choḷas, then the Lāṭas; next he levied tribute from the

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Pāñchālas, and finally subdued the others.⁷⁵ Another record of A.D. 1124 gives a full account of all the countries conquered by Vikramāditya amongst which Lāṭa figures first and Gūrjara next.⁷⁶

In view of these claims of the Western Chālukya king some scholars are of the opinion that Vikramāditya conquered Lāṭa and caused consternation to the king of Gujarat.⁷⁷ But it is evident that Vikramāditya never conquered Gujarat in spite of what his records claim, hence his claim to have conquered Lāṭa is open to suspicion. For, it is hardly likely that Siddharāja would have busied himself with conquests in Mālava while Lāṭa slipped from his hands. A temporary raid across the Narmada in A.D. 1088-89, during the reign of Karna is not unlikely, but that it did not lead to any permanent result is shown by the fact that Vikramāditya had to return to the same territory about ten years later, and could no longer claim to have crossed Narmada. The boast that he shattered the arms of Gūrjara probably implies no more than a raid into the territories of the Gūrjara king, and need not be taken as an indication of his ability to have seriously crippled the Chaulukya power. The claim of the other Western Chālukya general in A.D. 1121, that he could trample on the renowned Gūrjara shows that upto that year that remarkable feat had not been achieved, and it is unlikely that it could be done in that year or later. For, within five years Vikramāditya was dead (A.D. 1126) and his last years were troubled by a Hoysala revolt which was joined later by some other Western Chālukya feudatories, among whom were the Kadambas of Goa.⁷⁸ Hence in A.D. 1121 or later the Western Chālukyas were in no position to attack Siddharāja. If an embassy came from the Western Chālukyas to Gujarat, it probably came during the closing years of Vikramāditya's reign to negotiate the defection of the Kadambas of Goa, from the revolt against him.

In the Telwara inscription it is stated that Siddharāja 'crushed Permārdi', and this Permārdi has been identified with Vikramāditya VI.⁷⁹ An inscription from Huli issued during the reign of Vikramāditya VI mentions an otherwise unknown king named Pitta, who had four sons, namely, Perma-nripa, Bijjala, Kīrtti, and Gorma. Bijjala slew certain kings and had some relations—a lacuna prevents us from knowing what they were—with king 'Jayasīmha of Gūrjarāshṭra'.⁸⁰ Permārdi of the Tilwara inscription is likely to be the Perma-nripa of the Huli inscription, the elder brother of Bijjala,⁸¹ for if Siddharāja had really defeated Vikramāditya VI, it would have been the greatest military exploit of his career and one would expect it to have been recorded with much greater emphasis. The casual manner in which his victory over Permārdi is recorded suggests an insignificant antagonist.

Siddharāja and Sindhurāja

Another king defeated by Siddharāja was, according to the Dohad

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inscription, Sindhurāja, who has been identified with a Sumra chief of Sind.⁸² Someśvara in a verse with *double entente* writes of this victory as follows: "He (Siddharāja or) Rāma, the lord of Vaidehī, (or Sītā) bound the lord of Sindhu (ocean in case of Rāma, river in case of Siddharāja, though it may mean ocean in both the cases) with a countless host of 'aris' (monkey or cavalry) casting down many 'bhūbhṛits' (mountains for Rāma, kings for Siddharāja)".⁸³ In his *Surathotsava*, Someśvara has related in a simpler manner the defeat and capture of the lord of Sindhu by Siddharāja. It is quite likely that Siddharāja passed into Sind with his cavalry and defeated some local rulers who may have been Muslims. The Mlechchha embassy at the court of Siddharāja recorded by Merutuṅga may have come from one such ruler. According to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja frightened the Mlechchhas by a display of magic which revealed his supernatural qualities.⁸⁴

Barbaraka

The identification of another enemy defeated by Siddharāja is more difficult. This was Barbaraka. In the Ujjain inscription of A.D. 1138, Siddharāja is styled *Barbaraka-Jishṇu*, and this epithet is applied to him by his successors almost without exception. Hence it can be taken for granted that Barbaraka was a real person or tribe.

According to Hemachandra, Barbaraka was a *rākshasa* who preyed upon the hermitage of the sages situated on the banks of the Sarasvatī near Śrīsthala (Siddhapura). The sages (ṛishis) begged Siddharāja for help, and, like the epic kings, he advanced with his army. Barbaraka was helped by the younger brother of the king of Anatardhāna, but it was of no avail. Siddharāja overcame Barbaraka in a hand to hand combat and secured him tightly by means of a rope. At last at the entreaties of Piṅgalikā, the wife of Barbaraka, Siddharāja released him. Thereupon Barbaraka presented his victor with valuable jewels and became his follower.⁸⁵ Arisimha, probably on the authority of Hemachandra, developed the theme further, and attributed to the demon Barbaraka the qualities of a mythical goblin, relating that the 'air-walker' Barbaraka carried Siddharāja about in the atmosphere.⁸⁶ Someśvara too is positive about the supernatural powers of Barbaraka; he changes the venue of the battle to a crematorium and states that the king fettered the prince of goblins, Barbaraka, in a crematorium, and became known among the crowd of kings as Siddharāja.⁸⁷ A similar origin for the name of Siddharāja is repeated by Jayasimha Sūri,⁸⁸ but these two authors are proved wrong; for, in the Gala inscription of V.S. 1193 Jayasimha is called *Siddha-Chakravartī*, but he is called *Barbaraka-Jishṇu* for the first time in the Ujjain inscription issued two years later.

Bühler was of the opinion that Barbaraka probably "belonged to

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one of the non-Aryan tribes who are settled in great numbers in northern Gujarat, and that he was either a Koli or Bhil or probably a Mer. Such people are occasionally called 'Rākshasa' on account of their cruelty and want of civilization."⁸⁹ Indraji was also of the opinion that Barbara was the name of a tribe of non-Aryans whose modern representatives are the Barbarias settled in south Kathiawad in the province still known as Babariavada.⁹⁰ It is evident that with the type of evidence at our disposal a definite identification is not possible.

Extent of Siddharāja's kingdom

This large number of successful wars increased the extent of Siddharāja's territory, and under him the Chalukya kingdom attained practically its maximum size. By defeating Khaṅgāra, Siddharāja at last incorporated the whole of Kathiawad into his dominion and completed the work which Mūlarāja had started by defeating Grāharipu. In southern Rajputana, the acceptance of his overlordship by Āśārāja shows that the territory of Āśārāja which included the Godvad region was under his control. Siddharāja also defeated the Śākambharī Chāhamānas and for some time the area near Sambhar came under his sway. Most of the Paramāra kingdom including the capital Dhārā, and the famous Ujjain, was included within his kingdom.

That these conquests and annexations were not the idle boasts of Chroniclers can be proved by the provenance of Siddharāja's stone inscriptions. From Rajputana comes the Bhinmal inscription found at Bhinmal in Jodhpur, the Talwara image inscription from Talwara in Banswara state in southern Rajputana, the Bali stone inscription found in Bali in Jodhpur, and the Sambhar stone inscription at Sambhar in Jaipur. From the provenance of the last mentioned inscription as well as the fact that Sambhar is actually mentioned in it, it is possible to conclude that Siddharāja actually held Sambhar, the seat of the Śākambharī Chāhamānas, for some time.

From Kathiawad come the two Gala inscriptions found at Gala near Dhrangadra. The Girnar temple inscription shows that Girnar was under Siddharāja's control.

From Cutch comes the Bhadresvar inscription.

The Dohad inscription proves that the Panchmahals was included within his territory, and taken with the Udaipur stone inscription found in Gwalior state, proves that the whole region between Panchmahals and Betwa was included within the territory of Siddharāja.

The Ujjain stone inscription proves him to have been the master of Mālava.

From the colophons of two Sanskrit manuscripts we learn that Lāṭa was under the firm control of Siddharāja. One of the colophons, of which the date is lost, records that the manuscript was written during

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the prosperous reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Jayasimhadeva* while Santuka was governing Lāṭadeśa.⁹¹ This Santuka may have been the minister Sāntū mentioned by Merutuṅga. The other colophon states that the manuscript was written in V.S. 1198 at Bhṛigukachchha during the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jayasimhadeva*.⁹²

Literary activities during Siddharāja's reign

To-day, when this large empire has passed away, this great monarch is chiefly remembered for his peaceful activities, particularly for the help he rendered to a young Jaina monk. That grateful scholar immortalised the name of his royal patron by associating their names as a title for his grammar *Siddha-Hemachandra*.

Siddharāja gathered round him many poets and men of letters, but unquestionably Hemachandra was the towering genius,—the polymath,—before whose encyclopaedic knowledge the others paled into insignificance. The chronicles have preserved different versions of the first meeting between the king and Hemachandra. The *Prabhāvākacharita* relates that Siddharāja was once passing through the streets of his capital on an elephant when his eyes fell on a graceful young monk standing by a shop. The king stopped the elephant and called out to the monk to say something (*Kiñchit bhanishyata*). Hemachandra promptly replied: "Siddha, let the stately elephant jump freely without any hesitation! May the world protecting elephants tremble! What is the good of all of them? By thee alone is the world guarded." Siddharāja was so pleased with this impromptu verse that he invited the monk to come to the palace daily at noon to entertain him. Hemachandra gradually won the king's esteem and friendship.⁹³

In the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Hemachandra is first mentioned after the return of Siddharāja to his capital after his great victory at Mālava. On that occasion "representatives of all the sects were summoned on separate days to utter blessings; and, so, when the time came for the Jaina teachers with Hemachandra at their head, to be invited, they presented themselves before Siddharāja, and were rewarded by the king with presents of clothes and other gifts. Though they were all charming in their incomparable readiness of intellect, they put Hemachandra in front of themselves in two senses, and he recited to the king the following blessings:

“O wishing-cow, sprinkle the earth with streams of thy products!
O jewel mines

Make a swastika of pearls! O moon, become a full pitcher!

O elephants of the quarters, take leaves of the wishing tree, and
with your erected trunks

Make a temporary arches of foliage! For truly Siddharāja is
coming having conquered the world.”⁹⁴

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Jayasimha Sūri practically repeats the story of the *Prabhāvākacharita*, which contains the earliest biography of Hemachandra, but the verse with which Hemachandra greeted the king differs from that given by Prabhāchandra. This verse and the story is copied by Jina-Maṇḍana, whose only original contribution seems to be the statement that Hemachandra was possessed of a striking appearance which attracted the king.⁹⁵ Most probably Jina-Maṇḍana is correct, for it is difficult to imagine how a plain looking man could have attracted the king.

Thus it would seem that there is some difference between the incidents related by Prabhāchandra and Merutuṅga, but the tradition accepted by Merutuṅga was also known to Prabhāchandra, and was copied by Jina-Maṇḍana. They maintain however that Hemachandra only renewed his acquaintance with the king on his return from Mālava, and that he then received a new invitation to the palace. This explanation seems to be most satisfactory. Merutuṅga, it should be noted, has nowhere said that Hemachandra met the king for the *first time* after he had captured Yaśovarman. On the other hand it is apparent from Merutuṅga that by the time Siddharāja returned from his last campaign in Mālava, Hemachandra was already famous and senior enough to lead the Jaina monks. It was on this occasion that the king asked him to compose the grammar, to which he readily agreed. Hence Hemachandra could not have been a young monk at the time, even according to Merutuṅga.

All the Chroniclers are agreed that Hemachandra was requested by the king to write the grammar after the final triumph over the Paramāras. Prabhāchandra relates that after the king returned from Mālava to his own capital, the manuscripts captured from Mālava were one day displayed before him. The learned men who were present on that occasion praised highly a treatise on grammar by Bhoja which kindled in Siddharāja a desire to emulate the great Paramāra polyhistor, who had written works in almost all branches of learning. The king of Gujarat expressed his regret that no scholar existed in his realm who could produce a work of equal merit (*"Vidvān ko'pi katham nāsti deśe viśve'pi Gūjare"*), all eyes turned on Hemachandra, and the king requested Hemachandra to prepare a new grammar for the benefit of all (*"Viśvalokopakārāya kuru vyākaraṇam navam"*), as all the existing ones were either too short or too difficult or antiquated. Hemachandra readily agreed to fulfill the wish of his king, but requested that eight grammars which were to be found in their entirety in Kashmir might be procured for him. The king at once sent his agents to Kashmir, where Śarasvatī, pleased with their prayer, appeared and ordered the librarian to send the desired work to her favourite, Hemachandra. Hemachandra went through the manuscripts brought to him and compiled his grammar in eight *Adhyāyas* and thirty-two *padas*: in homage to the king without

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whose gracious help his *magnum opus* could not have been composed, he entitled it *Siddha-Hemachandra*, 'compiled by Hemachandra and dedicated to Siddharāja'. The king had the grammar copied and distributed it throughout India.⁹⁶

Merutuṅga's account, which differs from the one given above, traces the origin of the grammar to sectarian rivalry. He relates that after Hemachandra had uttered the benedictory verse on the occasion of the king's victorious return from Mālava, some spiteful persons remarked in the presence of the king: "These people (Jainas) acquire their literary power by means of reading our treatises". Hearing this the king questioned Hemachandra who replied: "We read that Jaina grammar which the great Jina, the blessed Mahāvīra, long ago in his childhood explained to Indra." As this reply did not satisfy the cavillers, Hemachandra added: "If the king Siddharāja will assist me, I will compile in a few days a new grammar consisting of fully five sections". To this the king heartily rejoined: "This has been undertaken and must be carried out". "After the auspicious ceremony of entering the city (Aṇahilapātaka) was completed, the king reminded Hemachandra about the episode of the grammar, and then that teacher brought from many countries all the grammars, together with learned men versed in them, and compiled in a year the grammar called *Siddha-Hema* in as many as five sections, consisting of 125,000 verses."⁹⁷

Both Prabhāchandra and Merutuṅga are agreed that the grammar when completed received a royal ovation. It was brought to the palace on an elephant and there read before all the scholars who warmly applauded it for its clarity and precision. The king then made elaborate arrangements to distribute it throughout India.⁹⁸

Siddha-Hemachandra is divided into thirty-two sections; and at the end of each section there is a laudatory verse praising the virtue of a Chaulukya monarch beginning from Mūlarāja. Prabhāchandra states that Hemachandra composed these verses in order to characterise the grammar as a court work.⁹⁹ But Merutuṅga states that these verses were not included in the original composition. Then some envious people aroused the king's displeasure by pointing out that the grammar did not contain any eulogy of the royal family. Hemachandra, learning of this base intrigue, nipped it in the bud by composing thirty-two verses in a single night and thus maintained his position.¹⁰⁰

The grammar was thus written after the king's return from Mālava, but Merutuṅga's statement that it was composed within a year has rightly been dismissed as 'an impossibility' by Bühler, who was of the opinion that "the grammar must have been ready, at the earliest towards the end of the Vikrama year 1197".¹⁰¹ Merutuṅga has also displayed a sectarian jealousy which renders the details supplied by him highly suspicious. It certainly was impossible for Hemachandra to have

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collected the various grammars which he used, hence one has to admit that Prabhāchandra is telling the truth when he says that the king had them collected for him. But Prabhāchandra's statement that Hemachandra based his grammar on eight former works only is misleading; he consulted many more grammars the number of which is certainly not less than fifteen. Merutuṅga has also given an exaggerated number of verses contained in *Siddha-Hemachandra*.

The other important work composed by Hemachandra during the reign of Siddharāja is said to be the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, though it must have been finished during the next reign.

Siddharāja was not like Bhoja, a great man of letters, but under his patronage and care Gujarat became a famous seat of learning and literature. Besides Hemachandra there were many poets, dramatists and litterateurs to adorn his court. Of them the chief was Śrīpāla, who composed the famous *Vadnagar-praśasti*, where the poet describes himself as a *Kavi-chkravartī* and an adopted brother of Siddharāja; Somaprabhā and Prabhāchandra support this claim and the former states that Siddharāja bestowed on Śrīpāla the title of *Kavīndra* and used to call him brother.¹⁰² Śrīpāla is said to be the author of *Vairochana-parājaya*. Another celebrated poet was the one-eyed Rāmachandra, the most famous disciple of Hemachandra, who composed several dramas and more than one *Kāvya*. Āchārya Jayamaṅgala, the reputed author of *Kaviśikshā* flourished during this period. But a more celebrated writer was the dramatist Yaśaḥchandra, whose drama *Mudrita-Kumudachandra* recorded the triumph of the Śvetāmbaras over the Digambaras in Gujarat. Another well-known poet was Vardhamāna the reputed author of the lost work *Siddharājavarṇanā*.

In religion Siddharāja was a *Saiva* though he followed the traditional impartial religious policy of his ancestors. He extended his favour not only towards the Jains, who occupied an important position in his kingdom, but towards the Muslims as well. Probably he did not select Jaina scholars and bestow favours on them out of any partiality towards Jainism, but it so happened that during his reign most of the learned men who came to his court were Jains. Hemachandra may have influenced him in his later life to some extent but he did not convert him. One of the finest traits in Hemachandra's character was his comparative freedom from sectarian bias which probably won him his pre-eminent position in the court as the following anecdote from Merutuṅga shows. Once, it is stated, Siddharāja in his eagerness to learn the truth about God and religion, questioned men of all sects only to find that each man extolled his own sect above all the rest. Siddharāja then turned towards Hemachandra who narrated a parable to illustrate the moral that salvation can be obtained by the devout cultivation of any of the systems. On hearing this the king

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began to cultivate all religions. Jina-Maṇḍana gives a slightly different version of the same story and adds two more. According to him, there was a second conversation on the same question, during which Hemachandra recommended to the king the pious duty of being generous towards worthy men, of showing becoming behaviour towards venerable persons, and kind heartedness towards all beings; Hemachandra then declared in the words of the *Mahābhārata* that those who were devoutly pious in their conduct and not those inclined to self castigation, nor yet the learned were of real worth. According to the other anecdote, Hemachandra proved to the king's satisfaction the superiority of Jina over Mahādeva, whereupon Siddharāja got rid of the darkness of doubt, that is, became convinced of the superior merits of Jainism.¹⁰³ In his *Praśasti* to Śrīdhara's *Nāyakandali*, Rājāśekhara, the author of *Prabandhakośa*, states, that Maladhāri Hemachandra 'awakened Siddha' the king and in consequence of his teachings, Siddharāja had the command engraved on copper plates, that all creatures were to be spared during eighty days in each year.¹⁰⁴ Not a single one of these copper plates has been found and these late stories regarding the conversion of Siddharāja can only be regarded as apocryphal, as Hemachandra would surely have mentioned it had it been true. These stories must have been of very late origin, as neither Prabhāchandra, nor Merutuṅga, nor even Jayasimha Sūri noticed them.

In the *Dvyāśraya* it is stated that Siddharāja built at Siddhapura the Rudramahālaya temple, a Chaitya, and made arrangements for the maintenance of male and female Jaina monks.¹⁰⁵ Hemachandra has also left a description of the king's pilgrimage to Somanātha and to the Chaitya of Neminātha.¹⁰⁶ As was usual with Hemachandra he seems to have suppressed the fact that he accompanied the king on this pilgrimage, a fact we learn from the *Prabhāvakacharita*. There Prabhāchandra states that the king and the monk first went to Śatruñjaya where Siddharāja paid his homage to the first Tīrthaṅkara; then they went to Sajjana's temple of Neminātha near Girnar, climbed the mountain and worshipped Jina. From there the king took the monk to Somanath, where both of them paid their homage to Somanātha, and Hemachandra fasted for three days and joined his prayer with those of the king for the birth of a male heir to the throne.¹⁰⁷

The only instance of Siddharāja's intolerance is recorded by Merutuṅga, but the same author relates that later, convinced of his mistake, the king revoked his earlier order and removed the ban on the Jaina temples' hoisting their banners.¹⁰⁸ Siddharāja's tolerance was even extended to Islam, and stories of his impartial behaviour are recorded by the astonished Muslim historian Muhammad 'Ufi.¹⁰⁹

Siddharāja's religious preceptor was Bhāva Bṛihaspati, whom he had brought from Mālava after defeating the Paramāra king.¹¹⁰

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Like many famous Indian monarchs Siddharāja was a great builder. The most important edifice built by him was the Rudramahālaya temple at Siddhapura which is said to be one of the largest of its kind ever built in India.¹¹¹ His governor of Saurāshtra, Sajjana, is said to have been guilty of appropriating three years' state revenue without authority, which he used to build a temple of Neminātha, but the beauty of the temple so pleased the king that he pardoned the erring officer.¹¹² Siddharāja is chiefly remembered however, for the construction of the Sahasraliṅga lake which was surrounded by 1,008 small shrines each containing a Śiva liṅga; he also established several student's hostel. A pillar of victory (*kīrtistambha*) raised its head proudly in front of this magnificent lake.¹¹³ On the banks of the Sarasvatī he built a temple to Daśavatāra Nārāyaṇa.¹¹⁴ To-day when most of the edifices erected by him lie in ruins, it is difficult to assess his greatness as a builder, but we can form some idea regarding this aspect of his activities from the loyal homage paid him by a poet of his country nearly three centuries after his death:

*mahālayo mahāyātrā mahāsthānaṁ mahāsaraḥ
yat-kṛitaṁ Siddharājena kṛiyate taṁ na kenachit.*¹¹⁵

The Last days of Siddharāja

The last days of the king were darkened by the sad thought that he would die without leaving a son and he was afraid that his subjects would be oppressed.¹¹⁶ Hemachandra, who was probably a member of the royal entourage, describes the peregrinations of the Emperor from one temple to another—Hindu and Jaina—passionately praying to each deity for the gift of a son, while the sight of his loyal subjects, who used to come to pay their respects to their great king evoked in him an upsurge of paternal love.¹¹⁷ At last, Hemachandra states, the king came to learn through divine intervention that he would not have a son but would be succeeded by his grand-nephew Kumārapāla. Shortly after this Siddharāja died. An inscription issued a few years after his death records that he died suddenly.¹¹⁸

CHAPTER VII

Kumārapāla (c. V.S. 1200-1229)

(1) (To a large section of his countrymen, particularly the Jains, Kumārapāla remains the greatest king that ever sat on the throne of Gujarat.) His fame rests not so much upon the great power he wielded over the extensive territory that formed his kingdom, but on his propagation of the Jaina faith which he adopted. (Of all the Indian kings, ancient and mediaeval, he has the unique distinction of being the one about whom the largest number of chronicles have been written.) This makes his life an interesting study, but unfortunately the chronicles differ in many important details, and it is therefore necessary to examine the more important of them. (11)

Ancestors of Kumārapāla

According to Hemachandra, Bhīma's son was Kshemarāja to whom a son Devaprasāda was born during Bhīma's reign. (Abhayatilaka Gaṇi adds that Mūlarāja was the eldest, Keshemarāja the second, and Karṇa the youngest son of Bhīma.) Hemachandra further states that Kshemarāja was from his youth of an ascetic disposition,—hence the name of his son, Devaprasāda¹—and that renouncing the throne offered to him he retired to Dadhisthalī, whither Karṇa, on his accession, sent Devaprasāda to look after him. Learning of Karṇa's death Devaprasāda put his son Tribhuvanapāla in the care of Siddharāja and burnt himself. Tribhuvanapāla served Siddharāja faithfully, but Hemachandra does not mention when nor how he died, though the point is of some importance as we shall see later. Tribhuvanapāla's son was Kumārapāla who succeeded to the throne after the death of Siddharāja.²

The next Chronicler Somaprabhā gives practically the same genealogy of Kumārapāla,³ but Prabhāchandra, a later author, does not mention Kshemarāja. He states that Devaprasāda was a 'bandhu' of Karṇa; his son was Tribhuvanapāla, the father of Kumārapāla.⁴ The word *bandhu* may mean almost any relation including a nephew, but the omission of Kshemarāja's name here may be significant and was probably responsible for the blunders of some of the later Chroniclers including Merutuṅga.

According to Merutuṅga, during the reign of Bhīma I there was a *hetaera* called Bakulādevī at Pattana, famous for her beauty and other merits. The king wishing to test her rectitude arranged that his servants should deposit with her a dagger worth a lac and a quarter, as a retain-

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ing fee, and on that very night he himself left on an expedition to Mālava. After having spent two years in that country he returned and found that Bakulādevī had, on the strength of the retaining fee, avoided all men and lived in a state of perfect chastity. Her behaviour pleased the king and she was placed in the *antaḥpura*. Bhīma had a son called Haripāla by Bakulādevī, and Haripāla's son was Tribhuvanapāla, the father of Kumārapāla.⁵

According to Jayasīṃha Sūri, Bhīma had two sons by different wives; Kshemarāja was the elder and Karṇa the younger son. But Bhīma having like Daśaratha promised Karṇa's mother (*pitṛā Dāśarathe-neva tan mātṛe prāk-pratiśrutam*) that Karṇa should succeed him, Kshemarāja gave the kingdom to Karṇa. Kshemarāja's son was Devaprasāda to whom Karṇa gave Dadhisthālī. Devaprasāda's son was Tribhuvanapāla, who married Kāśmīradevī. They had several children the eldest of whom was Kumārapāla.⁶

Jina-maṇḍana evidently tried to reconcile the versions of Merutuṅga and Jayasīṃha Sūri, for he states that Bhīma had two wives, Bakulādevī and Udayamatī. Bakulādevī was the elder wife (*vriddhā rājñī*) and her son was Kshemarāja. Karṇa was the son of Udayamatī, and to please her Bhīma gave the kingdom to Karṇa though he was the younger. Kshemarāja's son was Devaprasāda, whose son Tribhuvanapāla married Kāśmīradevī. The eldest child of this marriage was Kumārapāla.⁷

So far as the genealogy of Kumārapāla is concerned, Merutuṅga is definitely wrong. Not only is Hemachandra's testimony against him, but the Chitorghadh fragmentary inscription of Kumārapāla corroborates Hemachandra's genealogy of Kumārapāla. But the silence of Hemachandra on the low descent of Kumārapāla has no value even as negative evidence; for, in his position as court-poet and preceptor he would naturally be the last person to mention a stain on the legitimacy of Kumārapāla. Hemachandra also does not mention that Kshemarāja and Karṇa were born of different mothers; but we have seen that three later Chroniclers stated that this was the case. Prabhāchandra's statement that Devaprasāda was a *bandhu* of Karṇa becomes all the more significant in view of this. If Kshemarāja and Karṇa were uterine brothers, what prompted Prabhāchandra to pass over this fact in silence and just vaguely mention that Devaprasāda was related to Karṇa? Evidently Karṇa and Kshemarāja were not born of the same mother.

What then was the status of Bakulādevī? It is true that Merutuṅga's version of her low origin is unsupported by any other testimony, but it is necessary to remember that Merutuṅga was a fervent Jain in whose opinion no praise could be high enough for Kumārapāla. Probably it was his incorrigible habit of recording anecdotes which led him to preface his chapter on Kumārapāla with this story; but he must have had some authority for doing so, otherwise he would have run the risk of

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being rightly censured by his co-religionists for having besmirched the memory of Kumārapāla by inventing a false and scurrilous story about his ancestor's mother. It is also likely that Prabhāchandra was aware of this tradition, hence his vagueness and the suppression of the name of Kshemarāja.

It is also difficult to believe Hemachandra's statement that Kshemarāja gave up his claim to the throne on account of his ascetic disposition and that Devaprasāda who spent his life at Dadhisthālī was so grieved at Karṇa's death that he burnt himself on hearing the news. Evidently later Chroniclers also disbelieved this, hence they invented the story that Bhīma, out of affection for his younger queen, deprived his elder son of the throne.

The low descent of Kumārapāla would also explain the bitter hatred of Siddharāja towards him. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that according to several Chroniclers, Kumārapāla's brother-in-law, Kṛṣṇadeva, was a general in Siddharāja's army,⁸ and Prabhāchandra states that Kīrtipāla, Kumārapāla's brother, was once entrusted by Siddharāja with the command of an expedition against Navaghaṇa.⁹ Hence it cannot be said that Siddharāja hated the whole family, but probably the pretension to the throne of the low born Kumārapāla roused his anger. This is exactly what Merutuṅga says: "As Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne, and was always on the look-out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction."¹⁰

Wanderings of Kumārapāla

With regard to Kumārapāla's early life Hemachandra is silent. This silence is significant, for he has described in a stereotyped manner the early lives of all the other kings of the dynasty, with the exception of that of Mularaja who is said to have murdered his uncle. In his Prakrit *Dvyāśraya* Hemachandra devotes a complete canto to a description of Kumārapāla's daily routine, but nowhere does he mention the condition of the king before his accession. He simply states in the Sanskrit *Dvyāśraya* that after the death of Siddharāja, Kumārapāla ascended the throne.¹¹ One of the reasons for his silence may probably have been that he played an important role in the early life of Kumārapāla, and was reluctant to divulge this. There are reasons however, for believing that before his accession Kumārapāla had to take refuge in foreign lands to escape the anger of Siddharāja, and though Hemachandra does not mention this almost all the later Chroniclers have described the travels of the fugitive prince in some detail.

The earliest writer to mention Kumārapāla's wanderings was Yaśahpāla, a contemporary of Hemachandra, who in his drama *Moharājaparājaya* makes one of the characters declare while addressing

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the king (Kumārapāla): "To whom is this prince of the Gūrjaras, the banner of the Chaulukya race not known, he, who through curiosity, wandered alone through the whole world?"¹²

In relating the important part played by Hemachandra in Kumārapāla's destiny, Prabhāchandra relates the following story about the early life of Kumārapāla:

Siddharāja came to learn through divine agency that Kumārapāla would succeed him. This made the king exceedingly angry, and Kumārapāla, afraid for his life, fled in the disguise of a mendicant. Siddharāja learnt through his spies that Kumārapāla had returned to the capital and was to be found amongst a crowd of three hundred ascetics. In order to capture him the king invited the three hundred ascetics to a feast. There the king himself washed the feet of each of them, ostensibly to show them reverence, but really in order to find out which ascetic amongst them had the signs of royal dignity on the soles of his feet. As soon as the king touched Kumārapāla's feet he found the lines forming a lotus, a flag, and an umbrella. He made a signal to his spies which Kumārapāla observed, and the latter left the palace on some pretext soon after while the king was still busy, and fled to the residence of Hemachandra; the spies followed him. Hemachandra hid him quickly under a cover of palm leaves and the king's men, hastily passing by, failed to detect him. Soon after this Kumārapāla left Hemachandra's shelter and proceeding further came near the house of a certain farmer named Āli when he saw several cavaliers following him. He therefore threw himself on the mercy of Āli who hid him under a heap of paddy (?). The cavaliers came and asked Āli if he had seen a mendicant, and satisfied with his denial, went their way. During the night Kumārapāla left his hiding place. From Āli's farm Kumārapāla went to Cambay in the company of a certain Brahmin called Bosari. (Prabhāchandra does not say how or when Kumārapāla picked up this man.) Kumārapāla sent Bosari to the house of Udayana, a rich merchant of those parts, but the latter hesitated to have dealings with a man who was declared by the king to be his enemy. Kumārapāla heard this but during the night hunger compelled him to seek refuge with Hemachandra who was spending four months at a Jaina monastery at Cambay. Hemachandra gave him food and shelter and predicted that he would become king after seven years. Hemachandra then took 3,200 *drammas* from a Śrāvaka (probably Udayana is meant) and giving the sum to Kumārapāla said that thenceforth he would no longer want for the simple necessities of life. Kumārapāla then began to travel as a Kāpālīka and after some time was joined by his wife Bhopaladevī and their children. In V.S. 1199 Siddharāja died and when Kumārapāla heard the news he returned to the capital with a view to securing the throne for himself. On his arrival there, he met one Śrīmat Sām̐ba

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who took him to Hemachandra. On his entrance Kumārapāla chanced to sit down on the cushioned seat of the monastery and thereby supplied, according to Hemachandra, the longed for sign. The following day Kumārapāla went with his brother-in-law Kṛishṇadeva, a commander of 10,000 horses, to the palace. There two claimants to the throne were rejected, one because his upper garment slipped down, and the other because he was too nervous. Then Kumārapāla ascended the throne brandishing his sword and was proclaimed king.¹³

Merutuṅga, the next Chronicler, gives a more detailed description. According to him, astrologers had told Siddharāja that Kumārapāla would succeed him. As Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne, and was always on the look out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction. Kumārapāla suspected Siddharāja's motives and out of fear left the country and spent many years in foreign lands dressed as an ascetic, but ultimately returned to Aṇahilapāṭaka where he stayed in a monastery. On the occasion of Kārṇa's *śrāddha*, Siddharāja invited all the hermits and while he was washing their feet his palm touched the soft feet of Kumārapāla; Siddharāja recognised by certain lines on Kumārapāla's feet that the monk whose feet he was washing was worthy of a throne and the king stared at the monk. At the first opportunity Kumārapāla changed his clothes and fled. A potter named Āliga hid him amongst some earthen vessels and saved him from the king's soldiers who were on his track. After the soldiers had gone away Kumārapāla left Āliga but the soldiers were still after him and he was forced to beg shelter from some bystanders who hid him under the lopped off boughs of a thorny tree. The tracker and the soldiers reached the heap of boughs, but the soldiers, thinking it improbable that he would be there, turned back after probing the heap with the point of a lance. On the second day Kumārapāla came out of his hiding place and again resumed his journey. As he was resting under a tree he saw a mouse bringing out of a hole a silver coin in its mouth, and one by one it brought out twenty-one coins. Then, as the mouse took one coin and went back into the hole, Kumārapāla took the other twenty away and hid himself. The mouse on its return missed the coins and died of excessive grief for which Kumārapāla felt exceedingly sorry.¹⁴ Then he again resumed his journey and after passing three days without food received with gratitude some ground rice mixed with curds and camphor from a rich lady. This lady was the daughter-in-law of a rich man and was going from her father's to her father-in-law's house; she took Kumārapāla as her brother. (Merutuṅga does not give her name.) After this Kumārapāla reached Cambay and went to the great minister Udayana to ask for provisions for his journey. Learning that Udayana had gone to the monastery he followed him thither and met Hemachandra. Udayana questioned

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Hemachandra about the extraordinary marks on Kumārapāla's body whereupon Hemachandra stated that they indicated that Kumārapāla would be a universal monarch. But Kumārapāla blandly rejoined: "This is impossible". Hemachandra then prophesied: "If in the 1199th year of the era of Vikramāditya, on the second day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* of Hasta, you are not solemnly installed as king, I will thenceforth renounce all observations of prognostics." Hemachandra wrote down this prediction in duplicate and gave one copy to the prince and the other to Udayana. The astonished Kumārapāla exclaimed: "If this is true, then you shall be king, and I will be the dust of your feet." The monk replied: "What have I to do with desire for a kingdom that leads to hell. Let that be! But you must be grateful, and must not forget this speech, and must always be devoted to the laws of Jina." Kumārapāla then went to Udayana's house who furnished him with all the necessities for travel and Kumārapāla went to Mālava. There he saw a verse inscribed in the temple of Kuṇḍaṅgeśvara, predicting his succession in the year V.S. 1199. This astonished Kumārapāla and when he heard that Siddharāja was dead he returned from Mālava, practically a pauper and went to Aṇahilapāṭaka, to the house of his sister's husband Rājakula Kānhaḍadeva.¹⁵ Early next morning Kānhaḍadeva summoned his forces ready for battle, then took Kumārapāla with him to the palace. In order to see who should be installed as sovereign, Kānhaḍadeva placed first one prince on the cloth of state (*paṭṭe niveśitaḥ*) but seeing that he did not cover himself even with the border of his upper garment (*uttariyāñchala*) Kānhaḍadeva put another man in his place. As the second prince folded his hands together he too was rejected. Then by the order of Kānhaḍadeva, Kumārapāla, folding his garments tightly around him and snuffing up the air, sat down on the throne brandishing his sword in his hand. His coronation followed. Kumārapāla was at that time fifty years old.¹⁶

Jayasimha Sūri relates that once Kumārapāla when still a prince came to Aṇahilapāṭaka where he met Hemachandra who delivered to him a sermon and Kumārapāla then returned to Dadhisthalī. The author does not take the trouble to explain the nature of the duties which brought Kumārapāla to the capital. Jayasimha Sūri then goes on to say that Siddharāja had no son and worshipped at many temples that he might be blessed with one. Both Hemachandra and an astrologer predicted to the king that he would be succeeded by Kumārapāla, and their prognostications were confirmed by Somanātha himself and Siddharāja's intellect became clouded with grief (*ityuktavāntahrite deve Siddheśaḥ kheda-meduraḥ*) and becoming revengeful against Kumārapāla had his father Tribhuvanapāla murdered. Kumārapāla performed the *śrāddha* ceremony of his father, and, worried about his own safety,

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went for advice to his brother-in-law Kṛishṇadeva, who told him to leave Dadhisthalī in the guise of a beggar. Then one night Kumārapāla left his wife Bhopaladevī and his brothers and came to the capital. The spies informed the king and he invited all the mendicants to his father's *śrāddha* ceremony, and while washing their feet marked the lines on Kumārapāla's feet; Kumārapāla managed to escape pursued by the king's troops, and was given shelter under the heap of thorny jujube leaves by a farmer named Bhīmasimha. The soldiers satisfied with Bhīmasimha's assurances that Kumārapāla was not there went away, and Kumārapāla came out at night. He then proceeded towards Dadhistahalī and on his way took the money from the mouse. Thereafter he was without food for three days, until a lady named Devaśrī, daughter-in-law of Devasimha of Udumbara village gave him food. Kumārapāla promised her that if he became king she should put the 'tilaka' on his forehead. He then proceeded on his way but was again overtaken by the king's troops and had to take shelter with the potter Sajjana who hid him amongst some bricks. After the danger was over Kumārapāla came out from the bricks and found his friend Bosari. The two friends consulted one another and left for Cambay. Arriving there Kumārapāla went to the monastery where Hemachandra was staying and while he was engaged in conversation with him Udayana entered; Hemachandra thereupon related to Udayana all that had come to pass and predicted that Kumārapāla would ascend the throne in V.S. 1199 on the 4th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha. Hemachandra wrote this prediction down and gave a copy to Udayana. Kumārapāla said that if he ever became king he would serve Hemachandra but the monk refused this offer and related the story of king Siddhasena and Bappa-bhaṭṭi. In the meantime spies had again informed the king who sent his men to Cambay. Kumārapāla begged Hemachandra for shelter. Hemachandra hid Kumārapāla under his books and denied that the prince was in the monastery, for to save the life of a man is highly meritorious compared to which lying is a venial sin (*prāṇi-trāṇam mahat pūṇyam mithyāvadaś-tvadam laghu* III, vv. 207). Hemachandra's stratagem saved Kumārapāla who thanked the monk and then with the provisions supplied by Udayana reached Broach after a somewhat desultory journey. From Broach, Kumārapāla went first to Ujjain, then to Kollapura and from there to Kanchi. At all these places he had wonderful experiences with astrologers and *yogins*, but at last he reached Kolambapattana where Somanātha appeared in a dream to king Pratāpasimha and ordered him to receive Kumārapāla. The next morning Pratāpasimha brought Kumārapāla to his palace and entertained him, but after enjoying his hospitality for several days Kumārapāla returned to Ujjain. There in the temple of *Kundageśvara* (a *Śiva liṅga*) he read the prophecy that in the year V.S. 1199 he would become king.

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From Ujjain, Kumārapāla with his family visited Chitor whence they returned to Anahillapura in obedience to Hemachandra's prophecy as the predicted day of his accession was drawing near.

(*ath-āsannam prabhu-proktaṁ rājyāpli-dīvaṁ vidan*

Kumāraḥ sa-kutumbo-pi bheje'ṇahillapattanam. III, v.v. 443)

Then accidentally (*daivayogena*) Siddharāja died, and at the request of the *Sāmantas* and the *Amātyas*, Kumārapāla went to the palace with Kṛishṇadeva where he was chosen as king because the two other candidates were found to be unsuitable: one was too humble and the other could not manage his upper garment properly. Kumārapāla ascended the throne on Sunday, 4th of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha, V.S. 1199. His sister Premaladevī performed the *māṅgalika* ceremony, Bhopaladevī was made the chief queen, and Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa was made a minister (*amātya*).¹⁷

There is no need to consider Jina-maṇḍana's version of the same incidents, because it has no independent value though it provides an excellent example of the manner in which the chronicles were written. It is unnecessary to go into details as this author has adopted the versions of both Merutuṅga and Jayasimha Sūri, and has sometimes quoted them verbatim.¹⁸ He has some original contributions to make which will be noted later.

The wanderings of Kumārapāla were so famous that they are described by the Muslim historian Muhammad 'Ufi who states that there was a certain king of Nahrwāla named Rai Gурpal "who surpassed all other rulers of Hindusthan in good qualities and amiable disposition. Before he had been raised to the throne he had passed many of his years in beggary, during which period he had experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, having shared both its smiles and frowns, and endured all the miseries of travel." There is hardly any doubt that Gурpal king of Nahrwāla, is Kumārapāla though the anecdote to which the above excerpt is a preface is so similar to the story of Karṇa and his desire to expiate his sin that the rest of the story does not merit any serious consideration.¹⁹

This episode did not escape the notice of Abu'l Fazl either, for his scanty account of the Chaulukyas contains the following statement: "Kumārapāl Solāṅki through fear of his life lived in retirement, but when the measure of Jai Singh's days became full, he came forth from the wastes of disappointed ambition and seated himself on the throne and considerably enlarged his dominions."²⁰

It is therefore tolerably certain that Kumārapāla was persecuted by Siddharāja in his youth and had to leave Gujarat in fear of his life, but that he returned after the death of Siddharāja. But before analysing the details of the chronicles it is necessary to digress a little and describe

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the early life of Hemachandra for reasons which will be apparent as we proceed.

In the district of Ahmedabad lying between the mainland of Gujarat and Kathiawad is the village of Dhandhuka where on the full moon night of Kārttika of V.S. 1145 (November-December 1088 A.D.) Pāhinī the wife of a Śrīmodh Vania named Chāchiga gave birth to a son, who was named Chaṅgadeva. One day Devachandra Sūri, then a famous monk, happened to notice Chaṅgadeva, and observing future greatness in the child begged his mother for him. Pāhinī accepted the great honour that was done to her, but the father on his return became very angry, for Pāhinī had given away their only son. He therefore pursued the roving Devachandra and at last came across him at Kaṇḍavātī where the monk had placed the boy in the care of Udayana; possibly Devachandra had foreseen that such a powerful guardian would be necessary to prevent the boy's being taken away by an outraged father. He was not wrong, for soon after this Chāchigadeva came to demand his son and refused to take 'no' for an answer. It was then that Udayana saved the situation. He took Chāchigadeva to his house, treated him honourably and bringing out Chaṅgadeva placed him on his father's lap; he then offered the latter a large sum of money besides other honours. Udayana's reasonable attitude so mollified Chāchigadeva that though he refused material gain in exchange for his son, he left him willingly with Devachandra and returned home. In his fifth or ninth year Chaṅgadeva was ordained a monk at Cambay and was given by his preceptor the name of Somachandra. This auspicious occasion was celebrated by Udayana in a grand manner. In V.S. 1166 Somachandra was elevated to the rank of a Sūri and was given the name of Hemachandra. Thus we see that the intimate relations between Hemachandra and Udayana's family were established when the monk was very young.²¹

The earliest biography of Hemachandra was written by Prabhāchandra who only narrates that part of Kumārapāla's history which was influenced by Hemachandra.²² This in itself does not detract from the historical merits of the work, but evidently later writers did not feel satisfied with Prabhāchandra's version, and either had access to some other tradition or, more probably, invented some details. For example, Prabhāchandra states that as soon as Siddharāja discovered the identity of Kumārapāla, the latter took shelter first with Hemachandra in the capital, and then later, arriving at Broach, found the monk at the monastery. This inconsistency was apparent to Merutuṅga, who therefore made the first meeting of Hemachandra and Kumārapāla take place at Cambay. But Merutuṅga's story suffers from a drawback, which Jayasimha Sūri rectifies by saying that Kumārapāla had previously met Hemachandra at the court of Siddharāja; hence they were known to each other. But Jayasimha Suri failed to see that by creating a natural

situation which later led Hemachandra to support the fugitive Kumārapāla, he was committing the grave blunder of admitting that Siddharāja knew Kumārapāla by sight. How then did Kumārapāla, even in the disguise afforded by a beard and matted hair, dare to enter the palace? It is difficult to believe that Kumārapāla would be guilty of such an indiscretion when his life was in danger.

Again, Prabhāchandra states that having sent Bosari to Udayana, Kumārapāla, prompted by hunger, entered the city of Broach where by good fortune he came across Hemachandra in a monastery. Apparently this chance meeting did not satisfy the later Chroniclers. Merutuṅga states that Kumārapāla himself went to Udayana and hearing that the minister was at the *pausadha śālā* went there and met Hemachandra; Merutuṅga does not record the help from Bosari. Now, to go and call on a minister would have been the last step which an outlaw would have taken, so that in this respect Prabhāchandra's version is more credible than Merutuṅga's. Jayasīṃha Sūri overcomes this difficulty by stating that Kumārapāla first went to the monastery where he met Hemachandra and that later Udayana came to visit the monk, and apparently assured him of his help after he had heard Hemachandra's prediction. It is at this point that Jina-maṇḍana, who is generally content to copy Merutuṅga and Jayasīṃha Sūri, introduces an original story. It should be noted that all the versions suffer from one defect, namely that Kumārapāla must either have had knowledge of Hemachandra's movements, or was taking a dangerous and foolish risk in going to the monastery. This problem is solved in Jina-maṇḍana's version where we find that the monk had come out to answer a call of nature and saw certain signs which foretold him that a prince was nearby. One of these signs was a lizard dancing on a serpent's head. Naturally Hemachandra made inquiries and discovered Kumārapāla whom he took to the monastery where Udayana then came,²³ but by that time Kumārapāla was fully protected by the asylum which the monk had granted him. From here more or less all the chronicles agree that Hemachandra predicted the future greatness of Kumārapāla, who promised to spread the Jaina doctrine and after that Udayana naturally felt no compunction about helping the condemned prince. Such is the role of Hemachandra in all the chronicles: to induce Udayana,—whose favourite he had been since childhood—to help Kumārapāla.

As regards Hemachandra's prophecy it can be divided into two parts; the first part stated that Kumārapāla would be king, and the other part gave the date of his coronation. Prabhāchandra states that Hemachandra prophesied that Kumārapāla would be king in the seventh year, presumably from that date,²⁴ and then later goes on to say that Siddharāja died in V.S. 1199 immediately after which Kumārapāla became king.²⁵ Merutuṅga, Jayasīṃha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana give

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the year V.S. 1199 as the year of Kumārapāla's coronation.²⁶ However, from the Bali inscription of Siddharāja, which is dated V.S. 1200, it is apparent that all the Chroniclers were wrong; it seems however, that Hemachandra was partly responsible for this error of the later Chroniclers.

In his *Mahāvīracharita*, Hemachandra causes Tīrthaṅkara to make a prophecy regarding Kumārapāla's reign to Prince Abhaya, wherein the date of Kumārapāla's accession is given thus:

*asmin nirvāṇato varsha-śatany-Ābhaya shoḍaśa
nava-shashtīś-cha yāsyanti yadā tatra pure tadā.
Kumārapāla-bhūpālās-Chaulukya-kula-chandramāh
bhaviṣhyati mahābāhuḥ prachand-ākhaṇḍa-śāsanah.*²⁷

("When, O Abhaya, 1669 years will have passed after my *Nirvāṇa*, then there will live in that city (Anahilapātaka) the long armed king Kumārapāla, the moon of the Chaulukya line, a powerful lord of all.") As the Śvetāmbaras put the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, at 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, 1669 years after *Nirvāṇa* gives the date V.S. 1199. Bühler took this to mean that V.S. 1199 was the first year of Kumārapāla's reign, but the word 'yāsyanti' seems to be conclusive here, and surely means that Kumārapāla will become king after 1669 years have passed from *Nirvāṇa*, that is after the completion of V.S. 1199. Therefore V.S. 1200 was the first year of Kumārapāla's reign. But the Chroniclers were evidently led astray by the prophecy of *Mahāvīracharita*, and not only mistook the date but probably took the cue from that celebrated work of Hemachandra and glibly made the monk himself utter the prophecy.

There are also reasons for believing that the unanimous version of the Chroniclers regarding the manner in which Kumārapāla gained his throne is also contrary to fact. Kumārapāla's accession is mentioned in two inscriptions: the first is the Mangrol inscription of a Guhilot feudatory dated V.S. 1202 and the second is the Veraval-*praśasti* of Bhāva Brihaspati of V.S. 1215. In both the inscriptions almost the identical words (*āchakrāma jhaṭati tad rājya-simhāsana*) are used to describe the transfer of the throne from Siddharāja to Kumārapāla; these words mean that Kumārapāla suddenly siezed the throne and the kingdom of Siddharāja after his death. The Mangrol inscription further states that Siddharāja died suddenly (*daivāt*) and this is corroborated by Jayasimha Sūri. Hence it appears that Siddharāja died suddenly after which Kumārapāla siezed the throne by force. This agrees in the main with the descriptions of the Gujarat Chroniclers, but their stories of Kumārapāla's election seem to be entirely fanciful and contrary to the statements of the inscriptions cited above. Rival claimants are in themselves not improbable, but it is remarkable that the Chroniclers, who apparently had no difficulty in ascertaining the name of the potter

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who sheltered Kumārapāla, or the lady who gave him food, failed to mention the names of such important personages as Kumārapāla's rivals for the throne; from the genealogy given by these Chroniclers, Kumārapāla must have been the only legitimate claimant to the throne, and if we dismiss Merutuṅga's version of the origin of his great-grandfather, he had a better right to the throne than Siddharāja himself. Moreover, the reasons advanced by the Chroniclers for the rejection by the *Sāmantas* of the claims of Kumārapāla's rivals can only be figments of the imagination. Kaṇhaḍadeva or Kṛishṇadeva, his brother-in-law, may have secured for him the support of the army, since it appears that from the very beginning of his reign he had a strong military force. It is also possible that Kumārapāla secured the support of the powerful family of Udayana whose sons rose to high positions under him. With such powerful support it would not have been difficult for him to have siezed the throne for himself, particularly if Siddharāja's sudden death had prevented him from selecting his successor. The only direct descendant of Siddharāja was his daughter's son the Chāhamāna Someśvara; but at the time of Siddharāja's death Someśvara was a child, and Kumārapāla probably siezed the throne before it could pass to Someśvara.

How far was the accession of Kumārapāla a triumph for the Jainas? It has been said that foremost among the causes which contributed to the success of Jainism in Karnataka for eleven centuries "was the new outlook (which) Jaina leaders took on political life. They ceased to be merely exponents of dogmas; they turned themselves into creators of kingdoms."²⁸ Did the same thing happen in Gujarat? We know that after the defeat in debate of the Digambara Kumudachandra during the reign of Siddharāja, Śvetāmbara supremacy was established in Gujarat. It is not unlikely that the rich members of the community would have aspired to control the machinery of the state in order to better propagate their faith and turn the country into a model Jaina state, as indeed Kumārapāla strove to make it during the later part of his reign. But the assumption that Kumārapāla's accession was the result of a Jaina *coup d'état* in which Hemachandra played a leading part seems to be unwarranted. Prabhāchandra, the biographer of Hemachandra, made his subject, for all practical purposes, the main instrument of Kumārapāla's accession. But this author loses much of his authority when we find that Merutuṅga who had undoubtedly read the *Prabhāvākacharita*, gives to Hemachandra a role within more modest limits. Jina-maṇḍana perceived the irrational elements and the inconsistencies of his predecessors, and tried to combine all the versions. The attempts by the later Jaina Chroniclers to change the story of the *Prabhāvākacharita* shows that the version given in that work was never accepted as the only authoritative one by later Jaina writers.

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Moreover, from Hemachandra's writing it seems that he first met Kumārapāla long after the latter had become king. We have already referred to Tīrthaṅkara's prophecy to Abhaya in the *Mahāvīracharita*. After predicting the date of Kumārapāla's accession Tīrthaṅkara continued:

"This large hearted one (Kumārapāla) a hero in the fulfilment of the law, in generosity and in battle, will lead his people to the highest prosperity, protecting them as a father.

"Very clever and yet of upright mind, in his majesty fiery as the sun and yet filled with the peace of the soul, punishing arrogant attacks, and yet always ready to forgive, he will protect the world for a long time.

"He will make his people like unto himself, firm in the fulfilment of the law, even as a wise teacher trains a good pupil.

"Granting protection to those who seek it, and like as a brother to the wives of other men, he will esteem the sacred law above riches and as life.

"On account of his bravery, his fulfilment of the law, his generosity, his mercy, his might, and other manly virtues, he will stand without a rival.

"He will conquer the region of Kubera as far as the kingdom of the Turushkas, that of Indra as far as the river of Gods, that of Yama as far as the Vindhya, and the west as far as the ocean.

"Once this prince will see the teacher Hemachandra, who has arisen from the race of Munichandra in the Vajrasākhā.

"Delighted at the sight of him, as the peacock is delighted at the appearance of the clouds, this good man will hasten to do honour daily to that monk.

"This king will go with his minister of the Jaina faith to honour that Sūri whilst the latter is preaching in the temple of the Jina about the sacred law.

"There he will, though ignorant of the truth, pray to the god, and honour the teacher with a naturally pure heart.

"After he has heard with delight the noble sermon about the law from his lips, he will take the minor vows and will then strive after the vow of perfection.

"After enlightenment has come to him, he will fully learn the life of the faithful, and, resting in the audience chamber, will ever delight himself with the speeches about the sacred law."²⁰

This account of Hemachandra's meeting with Kumārapāla is corroborated by his contemporary Somaprabhā, who also states that Kumārapāla first met Hemachandra when he was taken to the monk by his Jaina minister; for at that time the king was seeking the truth. Hence it seems that if we accept that the verses in the *Mahāvīracharita* are arranged in chronological order it becomes clear that Kumārapāla met

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Hemachandra after his conquests were over. Therefore Bühler concludes: "His (Kumārapāla's) conversion was the result of a sermon preached by Hemachandra when he had gone to the Jaina temple in the company of an unnamed minister in order to pay his homage to the monk who had made a deep impression on him. These statements of Hemachandra make it first of all necessary to reject as fanciful all the above-described anecdotes as to his earlier relations with Kumārapāla during his flight. The anecdotes were composed probably with a view to motivating the later relationship."³⁰

Bühler's last statement is certainly correct but only to a certain degree. Hemachandra was extremely reticent about his activities and it is surprising that he mentions his name in the *Mahāvīracharita*. But Hemachandra is there describing the conversion of the king; hence his evidence cannot conclusively preclude the possibility of an earlier meeting between him and Kumārapāla. For, Hemachandra had risen to great prominence during the reign of Siddharāja and it would be surprising if Kumārapāla met him for the first time after all his conquests were over. But even if Kumārapāla and Hemachandra did meet earlier, there is hardly any evidence to justify the conclusion that Hemachandra actively intrigued to put Kumārapāla on the throne. *Mahāvīracharita* makes it clear that Kumārapāla gave no undertaking to favour Jainism before he was crowned.

Bühler was of the opinion that instead of Hemachandra introducing Udayana to Kumārapāla, it was the minister who introduced the monk at the court of Kumārapāla, and was responsible for his great influence there. We now know that as usual Bühler's assumption is correct, and as already pointed out, this is borne out by the testimony of Somaprabhā.³¹ Three of Udayana's sons, Vāgbhaṭa, Āmrabhaṭa, and Chārubhaṭa came to enjoy great influence and power under Kumārapāla, and it is not improbable that their rise was a reward for having helped a grateful king in adversity. Udayana and his sons were all politicians, and it would have been as natural for them as it would have been unnatural for Hemachandra, to have engaged in an intrigue to set up their own nominee on the throne, which all of them knew would be without a rightful heir after the death of the sonless Siddharāja. Later Chroniclers knew of the intimate relations between Hemachandra and Udayana, but by the time the chronicles were written the fame of the minister had diminished just as that of the great monk had increased. Hence it is not to be wondered at that all the Chroniclers gave the dominating role to Hemachandra and a subordinate one to Udayana, with hardly a mention of his sons.

The wanderings of Kumārapāla may be authentic. But it is risky to accept anything more on the evidence of the chronicles, for the greater part of their narratives are palpably fictitious. In this class we

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should put the repeated statements of all the Chroniclers that Kumārapāla went in disguise to Siddharāja's palace, and was identified by the latter by certain marks on his feet. Unless Kumārapāla was trying to assassinate the king it is impossible to believe that he would have willingly ventured into the lion's lair.

Last of all there remains the statement of Jayasimha Sūri that Kumārapāla's father Tribhuvanapāla was murdered by Siddharāja's men; he also states that Kumārapāla was poisoned by his successor. Both these statements were accepted by Jina-maṇḍana, but they are not corroborated by any earlier Chronicler. It is easy to see that Jayasimha Sūri used certain materials which were either not acceptable or not available to Merutuṅga and possibly Prabhāchandra. It is also possible that Jayasimha Sūri invented the whole episode of the murder to show that Kumārapāla had adequate reasons for leaving Gujarat. We cannot, however, on the testimony of Jayasimha Sūri conclude that Siddharāja had Tribhuvanapāla murdered simply because it was predicted that Kumārapāla would succeed him. The most natural thing would have been to murder Kumārapāla. Hence for the present it is necessary to reject this part of Jayasimha Sūri's version.

Kumārapāla and the old royal servants and others

It appears from the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that Kumārapāla's troubles did not end with his accession. Merutuṅga states that "Kumārapāla, on account of his mature age and the discernment that he had acquired by wandering about in foreign countries, himself held the reins of government, and thereby gave offence to the old royal servants, who banded themselves together and determined to kill him." They employed assassins, but the king was forewarned by a trustworthy servant (who, according to Merutuṅga, "was impelled to do this by the king's merit in a previous state of existence"). Kumārapāla not only avoided the trap, but had the conspiring ministers killed.³² Next came the turn of Kāṇhaḍadeva, who "presuming on his connection with him (Kumārapāla) by being his brother-in-law, and on the fact of his having been the authority that established him on the throne, began babbling about the secrets of his former depressed conditions. Afterwards the king said to him, 'Come, my brother-in-law, you must not on the royal circuit and in the public hall of audience make jokes about the secrets of my former depressed conditions; henceforth you must not say such things before the court, but whenever we are alone you may say whatever you please.' " As the presumptuous Kāṇhaḍadeva did not pay any heed to this kind warning, Kumārapāla had his limbs paralysed by wrestlers and after putting out both his eyes, sent him to his house.³³

The other officers or feudatories (*sāmantas*) learned their lessons from this example, and thereafter treated the king with respect on every

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occasion. Then the king made Vāgbhaṭadeva his minister, and a man named Āliga the chief member of his council (*jyāyānapradhāna*).³⁴

Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja

Shortly after his accession Kumārapāla had to fight with Arṇorāja, the Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī. There are conflicting accounts of the origin and course of this fight. Hemachandra states that King Ānno, feeling himself very strong, suddenly attacked Kumārapāla; Ānno or Arṇorāja was helped by the kings who lived near the river Śivahārā. Further, in order to attack Kumārapāla from the rear, Arṇorāja allied himself with some southern kings and joined forces with Ballāla the king of the east, near the river Pārā. He was also joined by a prince named Chāhaḍa. The other kings who joined Arṇorāja were the king of east Madra, the king of Kāmaśamī, the king who lived on the bank of Gomatī, the king of Taika, the king of Go (Gāū) shthā, the king of Vāhika, and the kings of Romaka, Yakṛilloma, and Pātachchhara. Abhayatilaka Gani adds that soon after Kumārapāla became king, Arṇorāja the lord of Śākambharī thinking him incapable suddenly attacked him.³⁵

According to Prabhāchandra, after Kumārapāla became king he decided to suppress Arṇorāja, the arrogant king of Sapādalaksha.³⁶ According to Merutuṅga, Prince Chāhaḍa, an adopted son of Siddharāja, feeling himself insulted by certain orders of Kumārapāla, disobeyed him and went to Sapādalaksha, where by suitable bribes he won over all the *Sāmantas* and the king; then they advanced with a large army to the frontiers of Gujarat.³⁷

But these reasons apparently did not satisfy the later Chroniclers. Jayasimha Sūri, Rājaśekhara, and Jina-maṇḍana³⁸ have a more interesting story to relate which is as follows:

Kumārapāla had a sister called Devalladevī who was married to Arṇorāja. Once while they were playing chess, Arṇorāja suddenly exclaimed while making a move: "Kill these *Muṇḍikas*, I say kill these *Muṇḍikas*." (*Mārāya Muṇḍikān, punarmārāya Muṇḍikān*). The word *Muṇḍika* could mean the capless Gujaratis (*topikārahita-śīrshakat-vān-muṇḍika Gūrjaralokaḥ vivakshitah*) or the tonsured pate of the spiritual preceptor of the Jinas. Therefore the outraged Gujarati consort of the luckless Chāhamāna asked him to control his tongue and further demanded to know whether he was not aware that her brother was known as the demon-of-kings (*rājarākshasa*). This forceful remonstrance was unfortunately answered with a kick. The inevitable followed. She returned to her brother, Kumārapāla, who decided to take steps to avenge this insult and advanced with his army.³⁹

The chronicles also give different descriptions of the war that followed. According to the *Dvyāśraya*, Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla were

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both joined by many other kings. In the battle that followed Arjorāja was wounded and defeated and bought peace by giving his daughter Jahlaṇā in marriage to Kumārapāla. After the marriage was over Kumārapāla came to learn that his two generals Vijaya and Kṛishṇa had been bought over by Ballāla. So Kumārapāla personally proceeded against Ballāla and killed him.⁴⁰

Prabhāchandra states that Arjorāja, the king of Sapādalaksha, had become very arrogant, hence Kumārapāla led a big army against him. After some days the Gujarat army reached Ajayameru, that is Ajmere. The city was besieged but it could not be conquered in spite of the greatest endeavour. Then, the rainy season having set in, the army had to return to Aṇahilapātaka. At the beginning of the next cold season Kumārapāla again set forth with his army, but again had to return at the end of the summer without having obtained any result. In this manner he led eleven unsuccessful campaigns against Arjorāja in so many years. Then Kumārapāla accepted Vāgbhaṭa's advice, and worshipped at the alter of Ajitanātha and for the twelfth time proceeded against Ajmere. This time Arjorāja was being helped by Chārubhaṭa, the (adopted) son of Siddharāja.⁴¹ The fight was very bitter but ultimately Kumārapāla won the battle.⁴²

Merutuṅga calls the whole episode the story of Prince Chāhaḍa. According to him, Chāhaḍa had succeeded in winning over a part of the Gujarat army which betrayed Kumārapāla on the battlefield. Even Kumārapāla's elephant driver had been won over by the enemy. Kumārapāla, by a lucky chance, had changed the *mahout*, and seated on his elephant Kalahapañchānana he charged the enemy. Prince Chāhaḍa also attempted to jump on Kalahapañchānana but failing to get a foot-hold slipped on the ground, where he was captured by Kumārapāla's soldiers. Kumārapāla then turned against Arjorāja and, wounding him with an iron dart, exclaimed: "Victory! Victory!"; he then attacked the horses of the Chāhamāna chieftains and captured them. After that Kumārapāla granted to Āliga, the potter, Chitrakūṭa with 700 villages.⁴³ Prabhāchandra's description of the battle also agrees generally with that of Merutuṅga's.⁴⁴

Jayasimha Sūri, Rājeśekhara, and Jina-maṇḍana relate practically the same story, and concentrate the interest on Chāhaḍa's winning over of the *mahout* of Kumārapāla's elephant. Jayasimha Sūri states that Chārubhaṭa (Chāhaḍa) was the *dharmaputra* of Siddharāja.⁴⁵ Jayasimha Sūri adds that during the night before the battle, Chārubhaṭa assured the Chāhamāna king that owing to Kumārapāla's miserliness and ingratitude most of his *sāmantas* such as Kelhaṇa were dissatisfied with him;⁴⁶ therefore Chārubhaṭa proposed that the *sāmantas* should be bought over with gold; Chārubhaṭa also said that he would be able to frighten Kumārapāla's elephant by shouting. Arjorāja accepted this

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advice and bribed the Gujarat *sāmantas*. The next morning when the fight began the Gujarat *sāmantas* remained inactive and the battle went against them. Kumārapāla then asked Śyāmala the reason for the behaviour of his *sāmantas*, and on being told the truth, advanced on his elephant to meet Arṇorāja with whom he exchanged some pleasantries. Chārubhaṭa in the meantime came and shouted at Kumārapāla's elephant, but the *mahout* Śyāmala had stopped the animal's ear with a cloth so that the cry became ineffective. Then began a duel between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja in which Arṇorāja was defeated and Kumārapāla jumped on him and brandishing his sword, threatened to kill him; but Arṇorāja miserably begged for his life. Kumārapāla then kept Arṇorāja imprisoned in a cage for a few days.⁴⁷

Kumārapāla's victory over Arṇorāja seems to be a fact. The Vадnagar-*praśasti* mentions Kumārapāla's victory over Arṇorāja, and the Veraval-*praśasti* also refers to his victory over the king of Jaṅgala, an area which has been identified with Śākambharī. The Chitorgadh inscription of Kumārapāla (V.S. 1207) states that he defeated the ruler of Śākambharī, and after devastating the Sapādalaksha country, pitched his great camp at Śālipura, which is four miles from modern Chitor.

There are, however, reasons for believing that Arṇorāja was twice defeated by Kumārapāla. It will be seen later that as Kumārapāla was proceeding against Arṇorāja, he passed through Abu, where the chief, Vikramasimha, contemplated assassinating him. After defeating Arṇorāja, Kumārapāla removed Vikramasimha from Abu and placed the latter's nephew Yaśodhavalā in his place. The Mount Abu inscription of Yaśodhavalā dated V.S. 1202⁴⁸ shows that in that year Yaśodhavalā was the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Abu. Hence Kumārapāla must have fought Arṇorāja before that date. This is partly borne out by Hemachandra for it appears from the *Dvyāśraya* that Arṇorāja attacked Kumārapāla shortly after his accession.

But from the Chitorgadh inscription it appears that Kumārapāla pitched his camp near Chitor in V.S. 1207, shortly after devastating Śākambharī. Jayasimha Sūri mentions that Kumārapāla after his accession immediately started on a world conquest (*digvijaya*) and first went to Jāvālipura; from there he 'gradually proceeded to Sapādalaksha in utter disregard of his brother-in-law Arṇorāja'. The fight which resulted from the insult offered by Arṇorāja to Devaladevī took place after the world conquest was completed, according to Jayasimha Sūri. However he does say that from Sapādalaksha, Kumārapāla went to Kurumaṇḍala, Mālava, and then to Chitor.⁴⁹ Jina-maṇḍana states that Kumārapāla, after defeating Arṇorāja, broke Meḍātaka seven times and had gingers sown in Pallī.⁵⁰ These statements are partly corroborated by another found in the colophon of a manuscript of *Pañchāśakavṛitti* from which we learn that Sthiramati Gaṇi, a Jaina monk, who was

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copying the manuscript at Pallī, had to leave his work unfinished for some time because the fort of Pallī was overrun; the monk therefore finished his work in Ajmere in V.S. 1207.⁵¹ As no other invasion of Pallī at that period is recorded, and the Pali inscription of Kumārapāla is dated V.S. 1209, it is reasonable to conclude that Shīramati Gaṇi was referring to the invasion of Kumārapāla referred to by Jayasīmha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana. But evidently, Kumārapāla did not proceed against Chitor and Pali during his first campaign against Arṇorāja but during the second campaign. Prabhāchandra's statement that the war against Arṇorāja continued as an annual event with four month's rest for twelve years had probably this basis in fact that the two campaigns were separated by a period of about seven years. Merutuṅga also states that Kumārapāla sent another expedition against Arṇorāja under the command of the spendthrift Chāhaḍa, the son of Udayana. During this expedition, it is stated, Chāhaḍa captured the city of Bamera, where he harvested the large booty of seven crores of gold pieces, which he sent to the king. "He himself returned after he had established in that country the authority of king Kumārapāla and appointed officers." From this scanty information, given by Merutuṅga in the course of the narration of one of his *Prabandhas*, it is not possible to state whether this was a punitive expedition, or a full scale invasion of Śākambharī.

H. B. Sarda, who was the first to take the view that Kumārapāla fought two wars against Arṇorāja, states: "The first war evidently took place because Arṇorāja . . . espoused the cause of Siddharāja's adopted son Chāhaḍa (Bāhaḍa) and wished to place him on the throne in place of the usurper Kumārapāla. The result of this war appears to have been unfavourable to Kumārapāla, as he hastened to make peace with Arṇorāja and gave the latter his sister to wife The second war of Samvat 1207 appears to have taken place in consequence of Arṇorāja's ill treatment of his queen Devaladevī, sister of Kumārapāla."⁵² Now, Hemachandra mentions Chāhaḍa as the lord of the villages of Kanthā and Śivarupya and confirms the reports of all the Chroniclers when he states that Chāhaḍa was an expert in managing elephants;⁵³ but he says nothing about the alleged relationship between Siddharāja and Chāhaḍa. We have seen that Prabhāchandra calls Chāhaḍa, the son, (*putraka*) of Siddharāja; according to Merutuṅga, Chāhaḍa was the adopted son (*pratipanna putra*) of Siddharāja, a statement which is corroborated by Jayasīmha Sūri. But according to Rājaśekhara, Chāhaḍa was a prince of Mālava.⁵⁴ Rājaśekhara's statement is of considerable importance, as he generally followed Jayasīmha Sūri. In view of this conflicting evidence and the silence of Hemachandra and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, it seems that Chāhaḍa was not the adopted son of Siddharāja.

It is also necessary to remember that according to the *Prithvīrājavijaya*, when Kumārapāla became king he took such great care of Arjorāja's son Someśvara (*kumāra*: prince) that he thereby proved the worth of his name Kumārapāla.⁵⁵ This boy Someśvara had a good claim to the throne of Siddharāja, and if Arjorāja had really wanted to dethrone Kumārapāla as a usurper, it would have been natural for him to have espoused the cause of his son. Hence it appears that Abhayatilaka Gaṇi was correct when he stated that thinking Kumārapāla to be helpless, Arjorāja attacked his kingdom.

As regards the causes of the second invasion, it has been asserted that Kumārapāla had only one sister, Premaladevī, who was married to Kāṇhḍadeva.⁵⁶ It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion because it is the evidence of one chronicle against another. The story regarding Devaladevī however, first appears in the work of Jayasīṃha Sūri, who is probably no less reliable than Merutuṅga, though certainly not more so; but it is surprising that Merutuṅga should have missed this delightful anecdote, for his work is mainly an anthology of anecdotes of this nature. Turning to Hemachandra we find that neither he nor his commentator apparently did know anything about these incidents which they have not recorded. It is evident that Hemachandra describes the first invasion of Śākambharī by Kumārapāla; for, Hemachandra mentions that on his way to Śākambharī, Kumārapāla enjoyed the hospitality of Vikramasīṃha of Abu. But one feels almost certain that the story of the game of chess was intended to convey the idea that in the golden days of Kumārapāla a man suspected of ridiculing Jainism was adequately punished by his wife and brother-in-law. The Chroniclers evidently forgot that Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism at a much later date, as a matter of fact his conversion took place after all his wars were over. This fact was well known to Jayasīṃha Sūri, who has referred to the *Mahāvīracharita*; hence the Sūri, to tide over chronological difficulties describes first the *digvijaya* of Kumārapāla and then later in the same canto (IV) the expedition against Arjorāja. We have therefore no alternative but to reject the version of Jayasīṃha Sūri and his followers.

In view of these conflicting and uncorroborated statements it is now difficult to say what actually did lead to a war between the two kings. Probably the first war was caused by Arjorāja's greed and aggression, but after his defeat he was let off lightly and married his daughter to Kumārapāla. Then when Kumārapāla was engaged in checking the rise of Ballāla and probably of a few other feudatory princes, Arjorāja took another chance and again attacked Kumārapāla. Kumārapāla posted the *sāmantas* Vijaya and Kṛishṇa to stop any incursion by Ballāla, then he himself hastened back and defeated Arjorāja severely and devastated the country. Probably there was a personal combat

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between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja, for, an usual *biruda* of Kumārapāla was *nija-bhuja-raṅgaṅga-vinirjita-Sākambharī-bhūpāla*.

Kumārapāla and the Chāhmāna Vighararāja IV

By V.S. 1210, Vighararāja IV "due to resentment made Jāvālipura a city of flames (*jvālāpura*), Pallikā an insignificant village (*Pallikāpi palīva*) and Naḍḍula like a bed of reeds *nadva(ḍva)la-tulyaṁ roshān Nadu(ḍdu)lam*." He is also said to have defeated Sajjana "the only wicked person on earth", who took his way towards (the home of) Kṛitānta.⁵⁷ It has been suggested that Sajjana was the governor of Saurāshṭra appointed by Siddharāja, and that therefore the defeat of Sajjana indicates that Vighararāja had advanced as far as Saurāshṭra.⁵⁸ But the conquest of Saurāshṭra by the Chāhamānas is hardly likely, as surely one would expect such a claim to have been mentioned in the Bijholia rock inscription which records the smaller Chaulūkyā cities destroyed by Vighararāja. Sajjana may have been the same man, but may have been transferred by Kumārapāla from Saurāshṭra to the border region between the Chaulukya and the Chāhamāna dominions which was destroyed by Vighararāja. There is also another possibility. Jayasīṁha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana state that after his coronation Kumārapāla out of gratitude appointed one Sajjana as the *Sāmānta* of Chitrakūṭa. The reasons given by the Chroniclers for Sajjana's advancement may be entirely fictitious, and this man may have been Siddharāja's governor of Saurāshṭra. All that can be suggested is that Vighararāja had defeated a Chaulukya *sāmānta* at Chitor.

However, relations between the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas probably returned to normal when Someśvara ascended the throne at Śākambharī some time before V.S. 1226 (A.D. 1170). The Bijholia rock inscription states that Someśvara obtained his paternal kingdom through the grace of Someśvara, that is the famous deity Somanātha. This statement may imply an indirect recognition of some help he possibly received from Kumārapāla to recover his throne.

Kumārapāla and the Paramāras of Abu

According to Hemachandra, Kumārapāla, while marching against Arṇorāja, halted with his troops at Abu where he enjoyed the hospitality of Paramāra Vikramasīṁha. Hemachandra does not mention the result of this meeting, but we find from inscriptions that in V.S. 1202 one Yaśodhavalā was the Chaulukya feudatory of Abu. It is stated in the Mt. Abu inscription of V.S. 1287 that Yaśodhavalā was the son of one Rāmadeva.

It is apparent therefore, that some time between V.S. 1200 and 1202 Vikramasīṁha was succeeded by Yaśodhavalā. Amongst the Gujarat Chroniclers, Prabhāchandra, Jayasīṁha Sūri, and Jinamaṇḍana relate the

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reasons that led to the downfall of Vikramasimha and the rise of Yaśodhavalā. According to these Chroniclers, when Kumārapāla halted at Abu on his way to Sapādalakṣa, Vikramasimha attempted to murder Kumārapāla whom he considered to be a usurper. With this end in view he constructed a *vahni-yantra* (this seems to be a kind of *jaḷu-griha*) and invited Kumārapāla to visit his palace and dine there. Kumārapāla refused this offer but sent others. One of the Chaulukya officers came across the *vahni-yantra* and on his return reported to Kumārapāla that Vikramasimha contemplated treachery. At that time, however, Kumārapāla was busy with Arṇorāja so he left Abu in peace. But after Arṇorāja was defeated Kumārapāla again came to Abu, arrested Vikramasimha and in his place set up on the throne of Abu Yaśodhavalā, son of Rāmadeva and nephew of Vikramasimha. Yaśodhavalā and his sons remained faithful to the Chaulukyas whom they helped in critical times. As for Vikramasimha, he was brought to Aṇahilapāṭaka and thrown into prison.⁵⁹

Kumārapāla and the Chāhamānas of Naḍḍula

By placing Yaśodhavalā on the throne of Abu, Kumārapāla gained a loyal feudatory. Another trusted feudatory of his was Ālhaṇadeva the Chāhamāna prince. It has already been shown that Āśārāja, the Chāhamāna ruler of Naḍḍula was a feudatory of Siddharāja.⁶⁰ An inscription of V.S. 1176 of Ratnapāla, son of Āśārāja's brother Prithvīdeva, in which Ratnapāla is said to have been the ruler of Naḍḍula, shows that after Āśārāja, Naḍḍula was for some time ruled by Ratnapāla.⁶¹ Another inscription of V.S. 1198 shows that after Ratnapāla, his son Rāyapāla temporarily became the ruler of Naḍḍula.⁶² Rāyapāla, in his inscriptions dated between V.S. 1189-1202, is also stated to have ruled in other parts of Marwad (Nadlai and its vicinity).⁶³ It is significant that no record of Rāyapāla has been found dated later than V.S. 1202, and it has been suggested that Rāyapāla sided with Arṇorāja and was deprived of his kingdom by Kumārapāla.⁶⁴ It has also been suggested that Kaṭukarāja, son of Āśārāja, ruled at Naḍḍula for a short time in V.S. 1200.⁶⁵ After the rule of these princes the Chāhamānas seem to have lost Naḍḍula for some time and their capital is found to be governed by Kumārapāla's *Daṇḍanāyaka* called variously Vaijaka, Vayajaladeva and Vajalladeva;⁶⁶ his names are found in inscriptions issued between V.S. 1209-1216. As the Kiradu grant of Ālhaṇa is dated V.S. 1209, it appears that Ālhaṇa was replaced by Vayajalladeva in that year. But the Nadol plates of Ālhaṇadeva show that in V.S. 1218 Ālhaṇa was ruling over that territory.⁶⁷ The Nanana copper plate of Kumārapāla shows that Ālhaṇa was ruling as a feudatory of Kumārapāla in V.S. 1219. Hence it may be concluded that between V.S. 1209-1218 Kumārapāla felt it necessary to govern Naḍḍula directly through his governor, but after V.S.

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1218 his position in that area having improved, he restored Ālhaṇa to his throne. Hence it is most likely that Vighraharāja attacked Kumārapāla before V.S. 1218, after which the Chāhamāna Emperor turned his attention towards the conquest of northern India and left, the territory safe for Kumārapāla. In the Sundha Hill inscription it is stated that the Gūrjara king (Kumārapāla) sought Ālhaṇa's assistance and his (Ālhaṇa's) army put down the disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāshṭra. We learn from an inscription of V.S. 1228 that Ālhaṇa's son Kelhaṇa continued to be a feudatory of Kumārapāla.⁶⁸ Certain chronicles mention that Kelhaṇa accompanied Kumārapāla in his campaign against Arṇorāja but during the day of battle he was lukewarm in his support.⁶⁹ If this statement is true then it may be that Ālhaṇa was deprived of his kingdom in V.S. 1209 because of his son's treachery but managed to obtain the king's pardon about a decade later.

It should be noted here that the first known inscription of Ālhaṇa was issued from Kiradu dated V.S. 1209, while the other known inscriptions of his reign were issued from Naḍḍula. We do not therefore really know whether in V.S. 1209 Ālhaṇa was reigning in Naḍḍula or not. As will appear presently this point is of some importance.

Kumārapāla and the Paramāras of Kiradu

In the Kiradu inscription of Paramāra Someśvara it is stated that Someśvara obtained possession of Sindhurājapura with the assistance of Siddharāja in V.S. 1198, and in V.S. 1205 Someśvara made his kingdom secure through the favour of Kumārapāla. This may mean that Kumārapāla was confirming the feudatories of Siddharāja in their possessions after satisfying himself of their loyalty. The same record then states that in the year V.S. 1218, Someśvara captured two forts,—one in the state of Jaisalmer and the other in Jodhpur,—from a certain Jajjaka who was forced to acknowledge Kumārapāla as sovereign. A rich booty, including 1700 horses, of which one had five nails, fell to the victors. But Jajjaka was reinstated in his domain after he acknowledged Kumārapāla as his sovereign.⁷⁰ From this inscription which was issued from Kiradu, we may conclude that Kiradu remained in the possession of the Paramāra Someśvara from V.S. 1205 to 1218, assuming that Sindhurājapura was in Kiradu. But we have already seen that Ālhaṇa issued an inscription from Kiradu in V.S. 1209. Hence it is possible to surmise that some time before V.S. 1209 Kiradu and Naḍḍula were ruled by Ālhaṇa, but that later Ālhaṇa was removed and Kiradu continued to be under Someśvara.

Kumārapāla and Ballāla

From the Vadnagar-*prastasti* we learn that the head of the lord of Mālava was suspended from the gates of Kumārapāla's palace. Accord-

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ing to some Chroniclers, Kumārapāla defeated Ballāla the king of Mālava; this Ballāla has been identified with the lord of Mālava mentioned in the Vadnagar-*prāśasti*.

According to Hemachandra, Ballāla was to have joined Arṇorāja near the river Pārā, when Arṇorāja came to attack Kumārapāla. But apparently Ballāla did not join Arṇorāja for Hemachandra does not mention him as having taken any part in the engagement that followed. Probably Kumārapāla sent an army under his generals Vijaya and Kṛishṇa, which prevented Ballāla from joining Arṇorāja. We learn from the *Dvyāśraya* that after the defeat of Arṇorāja, Kumārapāla was told that now he had made Arṇorāja his servant he should follow the example of Siddharāja who, after defeating Yaśovarman, made his command law in the eastern regions, that is Mālava. Moreover it was suggested that Kumārapāla's peaceful relations with Arṇorāja demanded that Ballāla, who had been under the protection of Arṇorāja, should also be his servant.⁷¹ In the meantime a messenger from Śākambharī came with a proposal of marriage between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja's daughter, Jahlaṇā.⁷² Kumārapāla accepted the offer and returned to Anahilapātaka⁷³ whither Arṇorāja sent his mother with Jahlaṇā.⁷⁴ After the marriage celebrations were over news came of the betrayal by the two generals Vijaya and Kṛishṇa,⁷⁵ who had joined Ballāla. Kumārapāla immediately advanced with his troops and defeated Ballāla.⁷⁶

In this fight Kumārapāla was helped by Paramāra Yaśodhavalā, who, it is stated in the Mount Abu inscription, "quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he (Yaśodhavalā) had learnt that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla."⁷⁷

It has already been stated that the Vadnagar-*prāśasti* records that the head of the Mālava lord hung from the gates of Kumārapāla's palace. There can be no doubt that this Mālava king was Ballāla. The Vadnagar-*prāśasti* is the earliest known inscription to mention the defeat of the Mālava king, and as it is dated V.S. 1208 (A.D. 1151) the fight must have taken place before that date. We have suggested that Arṇorāja was probably defeated by the end of the year V.S. 1207; probably Ballāla's turn came soon after, for, the Chitorgadh inscription of V.S. 1207 only mentions the defeat of Arṇorāja. Hence it appears that Ballāla was defeated between V.S. 1207-08.

According to a chronicle called *Kumārapālachintāmaṇi*, Kumārapāla married one Padmāvatī of Padmapura situated to the west of the Sindhu; from this Indrajī concluded that the city was in Kashmir.⁷⁸ Jinamaṇḍana also relates that during his world conquest (*digvijaya*), Kumārapāla proceeded to the west bank of the Sindhu, where was situated the city of Padmapura, whose king was called Padmanātha; he had a *padminī* daughter called Padmāvatī who was married to Kumārapāla; the bride brought with her sixteen beautiful women, seven crores in money, and

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seven hundred Saindhava horses.⁷⁹ It does not seem that Kumārapāla proceeded upto Kashmir, hence if the stories of these late Chroniclers have any value, the city mentioned, should be identified with the modern Padampawa (Sk. Padmapura) which lies at the confluence of the Pārā and Sindhu rivers. As this place is situated in Mālava, there is the possibility that Padmāvati may have been the daughter of Ballāla.⁸⁰

Kumārapāla and Mallikārjuna

According to the Chroniclers, Kumārapāla defeated Mallikārjuna the king of Koṅkaṇa, who has been identified as the Śilāhāra king of that name who ruled in North Koṅkaṇa.

From the *Kumārapālacharita* or Prakrit-*Dvyāśraya* of Hemachandra, it appears that Kumārapāla did not take any part in the battle. Hemachandra relates that one day while Kumārapāla was seated in his court, a *Sāndhivigrahika* described the campaign in Koṅkaṇa to him: "Listen now to what has happened to the lord of Koṅkaṇa, who, by virtue of his strength, opposed you." The *Sāndhivigrahika* then dwelt on the strength of Mallikārjuna and told how in the fight the soldiers of Gujarat at first fared badly and some of them began to flee from the battle field. The situation then became so critical that collyrium mixed with their sweat ran down the faces of the Gūrjara soldiers blackening not only their faces but their glory as well. But some of the soldiers valiantly continued the fight; then suddenly Mallikārjuna, who had all along been in the forefront of the attack, fell from his elephant and was immediately surrounded by Gujarat soldiers who struck off his head.⁸¹

Someśvara also mentions this victory of Kumārapāla's, but from his statement it appears that Kumārapāla personally led the attack.⁸² But as Someśvara does not supply any detailed information his version need not be taken seriously. Arisimha states: "What is wonderful in this strong one's (Kumārapāla's) conquering even the Jaṅgala princes, seeing (that) the ruler of the marshy land, the Kauṅkaṇa emperor was defeated by his very tradesman (*baniḥ*)."⁸³ This tradesman was evidently Āmbaḍa Ambaḍa, or Āmrabhaṭa, the son of Udayana, who is credited with this victory by Bālachandra, according to whom Vastupāla when provoked exclaimed: "Did not Āmbaḍa, though a *baniā* kill Mallikārjuna."⁸⁴

According to Prabhāchandra, Āmbaḍa was the second son of Udayana. Āmbaḍa was a very powerful man and in execution of Kumārapāla's order struck off the head of Mallikārjuna, the king of Kuṅkaṇa.⁸⁵

According to Merutuṅga, Kumārapāla became indignant when it was brought to his notice one day that Mallikārjuna bore the proud epithet of 'grandfather of kings' (*rāja-pitāmaha*). Āmbaḍa guessed the king's intentions and solicited from him the command of an army with which

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he proceeded against Mallikārjuna. While Āmbaḍa was crossing the flooded waters of the river Kalaviṇi, Mallikārjuna fell on the Gūṛjara army and inflicted on it a crushing defeat. The disgraced Āmbaḍa returned and retired to live in seclusion; but when Kumārapāla came to know of this he placed another army under the same commander and ordered him to proceed against Mallikārjuna again. This time Āmbaḍa's victory was complete; he not only defeated the Kauṅkaṇa army but himself beheaded Mallikārjuna and had his head mounted in gold. Āmbaḍa then established Kumārapāla's authority in Kauṅkaṇa and returned to Anahilapātaka with immense quantities of booty. The king was very pleased and conferred on Āmbaḍa the epithet 'grandfather of kings.'⁸⁶

Jayasimha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana practically repeats the story as told by Merutuṅga, but state that only one campaign was necessary to defeat Mallikārjuna. Jina-maṇḍana gives a very curious story of Mallikārjuna's birth.⁸⁷

From the *Prithvīrājaviṇaya* we learn that Chāhamāna Somēśvara who was brought up at Kumārapāla's court beheaded the king of Koṅkaṇa.⁸⁸

The only epigraphic reference to this celebrated fight is found in the Mount Abu-*praśasti* of Tejaḥpāla, where it is stated that when Dhāravarsha, the son of Paramāra Yaśodhavalā, "inflamed with anger, held his ground in the battle field, the wives of the lord of Kauṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus like eyes."⁸⁹

This Mallikārjuna has been identified with the Śilāhāra king of north Koṅkaṇa of the same name who was a contemporary of Kumārapāla. Two inscriptions of Mallikārjuna have been found, in one of which he is called the 'lord of Tagarapura.'⁹⁰ Mallikārjuna's relationship to his predecessor Harapāladeva is not known; it has been suggested that his father, who according to Jina-maṇḍana was one Mahānanda, may have been a brother of Harapāladeva.⁹¹

One can hardly conclude on the evidence of the chronicles that Kumārapāla sent an expedition against Mallikārjuna simply because the latter used the grandiloquent epithet of 'grandfather of kings.' Hemachandra who had a first hand knowledge of the affair does not mention this. Hence it would seem that the version of the later Chroniclers is a late invention; but it is difficult to say how the quarrel started. Kumārapāla may have sent an army to conquer Koṅkaṇa merely out of a spirit of aggrandisement. But it is known that the Kadambas were at this time engaged in a bitter struggle with the Hoysalas, so that Mallikārjuna had no fear of his southern frontier being attacked. Under the circumstances he may have raided southern Gujarat thus forcing Kumārapāla to take action.

We have seen that several chronicles mention Āmbaḍa as the commander of the army that defeated Mallikārjuna. But it is remark-

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able that neither Hemachandra nor Someśvara, who composed the *Abuprasasti* of Tejahpāla, mention the name of Āmbada. Bālachandra a contemporary of Someśvara mentions in the *Vasantavilāsa* that Āmbada killed Mallikārjuna, and the work was composed in honour of Vastupāla whose *nom de plume* was Vasanta; hence it is curious that Vastupāla's brother's inscription should credit Dhārāvarsha with a victory which might be claimed by a *baniā*, a community to which Tejahpāla belonged. It is most unlikely that Tejahpāla would have allowed Someśvara to deprive his community of such glory had the tradition of the Jaina chroniclers been based on fact. Moreover, Hemachandra was closely connected with the family of Udayana, and it would have been unnatural for him not to mention his benefactor's son, if the latter had earned distinction in the field. Next, Merutuṅga mentions two campaigns, whereas Hemachandra and Prabhāchandra mention only one. Again, Merutuṅga states that Āmbada struck off the head of Mallikārjuna, Hemachandra states that some Gūjara soldiers did it, while in the *Prithvīrājavijaya* it is stated that Someśvara beheaded the Koṅkaṇa King.

In order to reconcile these conflicting statements of the chronicles and the inscription it is necessary to assume that Kumārapāla sent two armies one after the other against Mallikārjuna. The first of these was under Āmbada who had begged for the command, but he was inexperienced and was defeated.⁹² The next expedition was under the nominal command of Āmbada but Dhārāvarsha and Someśvara were there to lead the men. Hemachandra probably describes the second campaign only, but he also admits that the condition of the Gujarat army had become critical; and it was probably during this crisis that Dhārāvarsha stood his ground as described in the Abu inscription.

War in Saurāshṭra

The chronicles record yet another war of Kumārapāla's which is said to have been directed against a king of Saurāshṭra. According to Merutuṅga, Kumārapāla appointed Udayana as the leader of an army to wage war against a chief of Saurāshṭra named Samusara. In the battle that followed Udayana was carried away from the field mortally wounded.⁹³ Jayasimha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana also relate the same story,⁹⁴ which they may have copied from Merutuṅga; but both these authors state that having killed the lord of Saurāshṭra, Udayana set the former's son on the throne. However, all the three authors overlook the point that according to Prabhāchandra, Udayana died while fighting Navaghana of Saurāshṭra during the reign of Siddharāja.⁹⁵ Hence it seems that the later chroniclers confused the earlier campaign with another which took place during the reign of Kumārapāla.

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Indraji suggested that the king of Saurāshṭra was probably some Gohilvad Mehr chief.⁹⁶ It is more likely, however, that Samusara was one of the Ābhīra chieftains of Saurāshṭra who had been giving the Chaulukyas trouble since the time of Mūlarāja. From the Prachi stone inscription of Kumārapāla we learn that there was some trouble with the Ābhīras in Saurāshṭra and that Kumārapāla appointed Gumadeva to control the Ābhīras who were afraid of Gumadeva's sword.⁹⁷ It was probably in this expedition that the Naḍḍula Chāhamāna Ālhaṇadeva took part, for it is stated in the Sundha Hill inscription that the Gūrjara king sought his help, and that his (Ālhaṇa's) army put down the disturbances in the mountainous part of Saurāshṭra.⁹⁸

The King of Dāhala.

Merutuṅga states that once Kumārapāla was appointed head of the congregation (*Śrī-saṅghādhipati*) and as he was about to start on a pilgrimage news came that Karna, the king of Dāhala, was marching against him. Kumārapāla lost his nerve but Hemachandra assured him that within two watches Karna would die. At the end of that time, news came that during a night march Karna, while seated on an elephant, had fallen asleep, and the golden chain on his neck had been caught in an overhanging branch of a tree resulting in his being strangled to death.⁹⁹ The same story is repeated by Jina-maṇḍana.¹⁰⁰ Prabhāchandra, however, states that the king of Kalyāṇakataka received information from his spies that Kumārapāla had become a Jaina and was therefore powerless, he therefore gathered a big army together with a view to conquering Gujarat. Full of anxiety, Kumārapāla went to Hemachandra and inquired whether he would be defeated by the enemy. Hemachandra assured him that the protecting deities of the Jaina doctrine were watching over his kingdom and that the enemy would die on the seventh day. After that period was over, the spies brought news that Hemachandra's prophecy had come true.¹⁰¹

As the chronicles are full of stories of Hemachandra's supernatural power, it is difficult to determine how much truth is contained in the anecdotes given above. By Kalyāṇakataka, Prabhāchandra most probably meant Kalyani the capital of the Western Chālukyas, in which case his version loses much of its value; for at this period the Western Chālukyas had become too feeble to organise an attack against a monarch as powerful as Kumārapāla. Merutuṅga's 'Karna king of Dāhala' may be identified with Gaya-Karna, the Kalachuri king; but he too was in no position to attack Gujarat. Both these episodes were evidently invented to illustrate the power of Hemachandra to predict events and to show that by accepting 'non-violence' the king did not become weak, and that the presiding deities of Jainism protected him by removing his enemies from this world.

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Causes and results of the wars.

All these wars, though not purely defensive, were forced upon Kumārapāla who could not avoid fighting if he wished to keep the empire of Siddharāja intact. He first had to defend his throne against an attack by Arjorāja, and probably the inconclusive peace which ended that war prompted lesser chiefs like Vikramasimha and Ballāla to turn against him.

An inscription has been found at Dohad which consists of two parts; the first part is dated V.S. 1200 and in it the name of Siddharāja is mentioned; but in the second part, or post-script, dated V.S. 1202, only the name of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vapanadeva is given. Probably this indicates that at this date Vapanadeva was trying to assert his independence, but the two Udayapur inscriptions dated V.S. 1220 and 1222, which were discovered near Bhilsa, show that by V.S. 1220 Kumārapāla was master of Mālava. It has already been shown that the war with Ballāla probably took place between V.S. 1207 to 1208, and it seems that after that Mālava remained under the Chaulukyas till the reign of Bhīma II.

We have seen that the war against Mallikārjuna was most probably not an aggressive war. How long the Chaulukyas kept their hold on the Śilāhāra kingdom is not known, but an inscription of Mallikārjuna's successor, Aparāditya II, of A.D. 1187, describes him as *Mahārājādhirāja-Koṅkaṇa-Chakravartī*, which has been taken to indicate that by that date he had thrown off the Chaulukya yoke.¹⁰²

Naḍḍula and Kiradu continued to be vassal states of Gujarat, and during the earlier part of the reign of Kumārapāla the status of Śākambharī was but little better. Though Vighraharāja restored the fortunes of his dynasty, the region between Sambhar and Gujarat remained a part of the Chaulukya empire, which included, in the west, Saurāshtra and Kachchha.

Thus Kumārapāla maintained the unity of western India achieved with such difficulty by Siddharāja. It is no small credit to him that a powerful king like Vighraharāja IV was forced to direct his energies towards the conquest of northern India leaving him supreme in the west. It is possible that after his initial success against Gujarat, Vighraharāja had to come to an understanding with Kumārapāla, who, like the great Maurya emperor, ruled with an iron hand in a velvet glove.

The chronicles give a very exaggerated account of the extent of Kumārapāla's empire. According to the *Kumārapālacharita* or *Prakrit-Dvyāśraya* of Hemachandra, in the west the King of Sindhu devoted himself to the service of Kumārapāla; the King of Uvva presented him with great wealth and excellent horses; the King of Vāṇarasī waited daily at his palace begging for an audience; the King of Magadha sent him costly gems; the King of Gauḍa sent him elephants; the army of

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Kumārāpāla devastated the country of Kānyakubja and terrified its king; in Daśārṇa the people suffered and their king was frightened to death and the Gujarat soldiers carried away vast quantities of wealth from his capital; next the army defeated the King of Chedi and established camps on the bank of the Revā, after which Mathura was attacked; Mathura's king bought peace by a present of gold. The other potentates who contributed to the greatness of Kumārāpāla were, the king of the Turks, the King of Delhi (*Turakko-Dilli-nāho*) and the Jaṅgala king.¹⁰³

In his *Mahāvīracharita*, however, Hemachandra has given a more modest account of Kumārāpāla's domain, which, on the whole, agrees with what is known about it from other sources. Hemachandra puts the following in the form of a prophecy made by Mahāvīra to Abhaya: "He (Kumārāpāla) will conquer the region of Kubera as far as the kingdom of the Turushkas, that of Indra as far as the river of gods, that of Yama as far as the Vindhya, and the west as far as the ocean."¹⁰⁴

Jayasīnha Sūri quotes from the *Mahāvīracharita* but adds a glowing account of Kumārāpāla's *digvijaya*. Kumārāpāla first went to Jāvālipura whence he proceeded to Sapādalaksha. From there he went to Kuru-maṇḍala and halted on the banks of the river Mandākinī. He then proceeded against Mālava passing Chitrakūṭa on his way. After reaching Avantideśa (Mālava) he captured its ruler. He then followed the course of the river Narmada and reaching the Ābhīra country gained a victory over the lord of the city of Prakāśa. He then crossed into Lāṭa where the faithful Bosari received him. From Lāṭa he went via Saurāshṭra and Kachchha to the land of the five rivers, attacked its king (*Pañchanadādhiśa*), and humbled his pride. Lastly, Kumārāpāla went to Mūlasthāna, defeated its king Mūlarāja and returned to Aṇahilapāṭaka. After describing Kumārāpāla's world conquest (*digvijaya*), Jayasīnha Sūri quotes from the *Mahāvīracharita*. Jina-mandana follows Jayasīnha Sūri.¹⁰⁵

Udayaprabhā also gives an account of the extent of Kumārāpāla's empire, which according to him included the lands of Hammīra, Kaliṅga, Medāpaṭa, Andhra, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kuru, Maru, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Aṅga, and Chaudā.¹⁰⁶

It is unnecessary to analyse these accounts as they have little, if any, historical value. Some of the countries mentioned in the chronicles, such as Medāpaṭa and Mālava, were undoubtedly included within Kumārāpāla's empire, but it is unbelievable that he extended his conquests as far as Bengal and Andhra. The continuous references to Kumārāpāla's fight with the Muslims do not appear to be anything more than pure invention on the part of Hemachandra who was implicitly believed by the later writers. Hemachandra probably gave the most extravagant account in the Prakrit *Dvyāśraya* but there his description

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was dictated by the necessities of the Prakrit grammar; in his *Mahāvīra-charita* he was free of such impediments, and there we find him giving a sober account. For, after Kumārapāla had defeated Arṇorāja, his territory, if we include Sapādalaksha bordered on the Punjab. We know from the Kiradu inscription of Paramāra Someśvara that Kumārapāla's territory included parts of the modern state of Jaisalmer, which probably bordered on the Muslim territory of the Punjab. But how Kumārapāla's arms reached as far as the Ganges is not apparent. It is possible that Hemachandra assumed Vighararāja IV to be a Chaulukya feudatory, and in describing the territory of the Chaulukya king he took into account the Chāhamāna empire too, for at this period it was the territory of the Chāhamānas which stretched from the Ganges to the Turushka land. Hemachandra may have had some justification for this assumption, for, to the end of his days Kumārapāla retained his epithet of 'victor of the Śākambharī king' (*nija-bhuja-vinirjita-Śākambharī-bhūpāla*). It is also not impossible that Vighararāja received some help from Kumārapāla in his extensive conquests, for in the Prakrit *Dvyāśraya* or *Kumārapālacharita* of Hemachandra, we find Kumārapāla listening to the exploits of his own army. In the south Kumārapāla's territory may have reached the Vindhya, after he had defeated Ballāla and annexed Mālava; in the west his territory reached the sea.

Hence after taking into consideration the information left by the chronicles and the inscriptions, the limits of Kumārapāla's empire may be said to have been as follows: in the south the Vindhya and at least as far as the river Tapti, for it is not known how much of Koṅkaṇa was retained by Kumārapāla; to the west Saurāshṭra and Kachchha; to the north roughly from Chitor to Jaisalmer, including parts of the former native states of Udayapur and Jodhpur and in the east Kumārapāla's empire included Bhilsa and probably extended even further east.

Kumārapāla's Religion

Kumārapāla is remembered to-day as the last great royal protagonist of Jainism; in that respect his position is unique in the history of mediaeval India. When he first became attracted to Jainism is not known; some chronicles state that as a young man he met Hemachandra at Siddharāja's court where he was induced by Hemachandra to take a vow that he would 'view other people's wives' as sisters. Most probably this tradition is incorrect. It may be true however that Kumārapāla gained his throne with the active support of Udayana's family with which Hemachandra was closely associated.

Various stories are current regarding the manner and circumstances under which Kumārapāla became a convert to Jainism. Prabhāchandra states that the fight against Arṇorāja having lasted for twelve years without producing any result, the king's minister Vāhaḍa advised the king

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to worship Ajitanātha. Kumārapāla did as he was told and won a decisive victory in his twelfth encounter against Arjorāja. Merutuṅga's version is different but no less fanciful; according to him Kumārapāla took Hemachandra into the temple of Somanātha where Hemachandra made the god Śiva appear in person before the king. Kumārapāla touched the body and felt the physical form of the god from his matted hair to his toe, and was satisfied that the apparition was indeed the god himself. Śiva then declared that Hemachandra was an incarnation of all the gods, and that the way of salvation taught by him admitted of no doubt. Kumārapāla, therefore, in all humility, begged Hemachandra for his advice, and the latter administered to him there and then a vow to abstain from meat and wine till the end of his life. Later, on his return to the capital Kumārapāla was entirely converted and took the twelve vows.¹⁰⁷

There is no reason for believing these and other stories of the later Chroniclers, which give conflicting versions and are full of impossibilities. Contemporary evidence is rational and describes the real circumstances under which Kumārapāla embraced Jainism. Hemachandra himself states in his *Mahāvīracharita* that after the conquests were over, Kumārapāla was taken by his Jaina minister to Hemachandra who initiated the king into the doctrines of Jainism and converted him. A younger contemporary of Hemachandra, Somaprabhā, relates practically the same story but gives more detail. According to Somaprabhā, Kumārapāla used to hold religious meetings in which mainly Brahmins took part. Somehow or other Kumārapāla was not satisfied with their discussions and perceiving the condition of his mind, the minister Vāhaḍa told him one day about Hemachandra and at the king's request took him to the great monk. There Hemachandra's teachings won the king over and he became a Jaina and took all the twelve vows.¹⁰⁸

This factual description of the incident evidently did not satisfy the later Chroniclers. Prabhāchandra also says that Vāhaḍa induced Kumārapāla to come into close contact with Jainism, but this author was apparently under the impression that Kumārapāla's conversion, which was of such great importance to the Jains, could not have taken place without divine intervention, which revealed to Kumārapāla the material advantages he would enjoy on becoming a convert. Merutuṅga's story is filled with the idea of the superiority of Jainism over Brahmanical religion, so much so that Śiva himself appeared and asked Kumārapāla to accept Jainism if he desired deliverance. These Chroniclers, there were others as well, must either have wanted to impress their readers with the supernatural powers of the Jaina monks and the material advantages the faith offered to its adherents by them, and did not sufficiently value the eloquence of Hemachandra or else they had lost all faith in their predecessors and the records left

to believe him capable of converting the king without divine intervention.

It appears to us that after a youth spent as a fugitive, a disputed succession, and continuous warfare for more than a decade, the exhausted monarch tried to find solace in religion. It is not unlikely that he failed to find satisfaction in orthodox Brahmanical disputes. In this condition of mind he would naturally agree to visit Hemachandra. We do not think that this was the first time that Kumārapāla heard the name of Hemachandra; the two may even have met earlier, when Hemachandra had won renown though only as a scholar; his reputation as a great religious teacher probably came later. Kumārapāla would have learned this for the first time from Vāhaḍa. Gradually Kumārapāla came under the influence of Jainism through the preachings of Hemachandra and accepted the vows in stages. The almost contemporary allegorical drama *Moharāparājaya* describes this conversion, which is called the marriage of Kumārapāla with Kripāsundarī. According to Jina-maṇḍana this marriage, that is conversion, took place in V.S. 1216 which is quite likely. 1158

In becoming a Jaina, Kumārapāla did not neglect the faith of his ancestors. We learn from the *Dvyāśraya*, that Kumārapāla restored the temples of Śivakedāranātha and Somanātha after he had passed the law forbidding the slaughter of animals. Hemachandra also states that Kumārapāla built the temple of Kumāreśvara, having been bidden to do so by Śiva in a dream.¹⁰⁹ Later records establish beyond any doubt that Kumārapāla restored the temple of Somanātha and built the temple of Kumāreśvara. It is also curious, though it may not be significant, that whereas most of his inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śiva, not a single inscription has yet been found in which any Jaina divinity is invoked. Even the Ratnapur stone inscription of his feudatory which forbids the slaughter of animals on certain days opens with an invocation to Śiva. The other inscription which records the forbidding of the slaughter of animals on specified days is the Kiradu stone inscription also issued by a feudatory of Kumārapāla; there Kumārapāla is actually described as one "who has conquered all kings by the grace of Śaṅkara, the lord of Pārvatī." The Kiradu inscription is dated V.S. 1209 (A.D. 1152), and it may be said that Kumārapāla, was converted later. But in the inscription of Bhāva Brihaspati of A.D. 1169, Kumārapāla is described as 'the leader of the princes who worship Maheśvara' (*Māheśvar-nrip-āganiḥ*). But Kumārapāla has been referred to as *Paramārḥata* by Hemachandra and in several colophons and in the Jalor inscription. This epithet, according to some Chroniclers, was conferred on him by Hemachandra. It is also significant that Someśvara in the last canto of the *Surathotsava* describes the cordial relations which existed between each Chaulukya king and his respective ancestors who were chaplains to the Chaulukyas from the time of Mūlarāja; the only signi-

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ficant omission is found in the reign of Kumārapāla. Someśvara does not say that Kumārapāla was intimate with any of his (Someśvara's) ancestors as Kumārapāla's predecessors and successors had been. This shows indirectly that though Kumārapāla repaired temples and erected at least one, he did not favour his Brahmin chaplain.

It has been suggested that Kumārapāla's leanings towards Jainism may have had "a material object in view, the winning of the support of the powerful and the wealthy Bania corporations, who were predominantly Jaina. The king's numerous wars," continues Dr. Ray, "must have drained his treasury and may have made him increasingly dependent for financial assistance on the Jaina community, who appear to have formed, then as now, the backbone of industry, commerce, and banking in Gujarat. It may not be without significance that Hemachandra himself was a Modha Bania by caste, while Udayana, the prime minister, was also a rich merchant of the Śrīmāla-vamśa."¹¹⁰ Regarding the relations between Udayana, his sons, Hemachandra, and Kumārapāla it has already been shown that Udayana, probably died during the reign of Siddharāja; Udayana's son Vāhaḍa was probably instrumental in introducing the monk to the king, but there is no justification for assuming that any of them had an ulterior motive. All the chronicles relate that Kumārapāla abolished the law under which the state used to escheat the property of a deceased who left no son; if Kumārapāla had really intended to improve his financial condition by becoming a Jaina, it is difficult to see why he gave up such an important source of revenue. It may be said that the rich Jainas, who suffered most under this law, had made the abolition of this law of escheat a condition precedent to their support, but such an assumption is not only baseless but too far fetched as well. Moreover, we cannot positively say that the rich community in Gujarat in Kumārapāla's day was Jaina just as they are now; for it is likely that conversion became rapid after Kumārapāla became a Jaina, before which conditions were entirely different. Indeed, it is most likely that due to the measures adopted by Kumārapāla at the instance of Hemachandra Gujarat and Rajputana are to-day predominantly Jaina.

The effects of Kumārapāla's conversion were far reaching, though probably they were not as apparent during his reign as later. The chronicles are unanimous in stating that he forbade the slaughter of animals, drinking, gambling, and adultery.¹¹¹ To what extent these measures were effective cannot be estimated. None of his inscriptions so far discovered forbid slaughter. The two edicts of his feudatories which forbid slaughter restrict the scope of the measure to certain specified days of the month only. Kumārapāla may have done the same. Regarding the prohibition of prostitution and gambling, it is noteworthy that not one single contemporary inscription has been found which prohibits these vices. In the Prakrit *Dvyāśraya*, Hemachandra has left a

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description of Kumārapāla's court and there we learn that a *haetera* used to sit by the side of the king.¹¹²

Hemachandra in his Prakrit *Dvyāśraya* and Somaprabhā in his *Kumārapālapratibodha* have described Kumārapāla's daily routine. According to Hemachandra, the king, upon getting up in the morning finished his ablutions, was blessed by the Brahmins, accepted a *Tilaka*, heard the *tithi*, and then went to his mother's house, whence he went to the temples where he presented gems. Thereafter he went to a gymnasium (*śramagriha*) and took some exercise. From there he went out on an elephant to his *Jaina* temple, which the commentator says was the Kumārapālavihāra. There he worshipped Pārśvanātha, and after making his obedience to his preceptor, left the temple.¹¹³

According to Somaprabhā, Kumārapāla left his bed very early in the morning and recited the sacred *Jaina mantras* of five salutations (*Pañchanamaskāra*), and meditated on the adorable gods and preceptor. Later he finished his bath, worshipped the *Jaina* images in the household temple, and if time permitted, proceeded on an elephant to the Kumāravihāra in the company of ministers. After performing eightfold worship there, he used to go to Hemachandra and having worshipped him listened to his religious teachings. The king then returned at midday to his palace, and after distributing food and alms to mendicants and having sent food offerings to *Jaina* deities took his meal. Then he attended an assembly of learned men, and discussed with them religious and philosophical topics. In the fourth *prahara* of the day (about 3 P.M.) he took his seat on the throne in the court and attended to the business of state, heard the appeals of his subjects and passed judgment on them. Sometimes, purely as a royal duty, he attended wrestling tournaments, elephant fights and such other mundane shows. He took his evening meal forty-eight minutes before sunset, but ate only one meal on the eighth and the fourteenth day of every fortnight. After dinner he worshipped in the household temple and made the dancing girls wave lights before the deities. When worship was over, he listened to concerts of music and the songs of the bards. Having thus passed the day he retired to rest.¹¹⁴

It will be apparent from the above that while Hemachandra records Kumārapāla's lingering attachment to Brahmanism, Somaprabhā, who was writing barely a decade after his death, denies it altogether. Though it is possible that Kumārapāla during the last years of his reign, that is after Hemachandra finished his Prakrit *Dvyāśraya* or *Kumārapāla-charita*, totally abstained from observing any Brahmanical custom, it seems more likely that a concerted attempt was made by the *Jaina* Chroniclers after his death to prove that he was an out and out *Jaina* who had severed all connections with the Brahmanical religion. For example, *Jina-maṇḍana* states that Kumārapāla gave away all the

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Brahmanical idols which he had ceased to worship:¹¹⁵ this statement is not found in any earlier chronicle and is evidently baseless. It is only fair to add that this sectarian feeling was not confined to the Jainas. The descendant of the Chaulukya chaplains, the Brahmin Someśvara, totally suppresses the fact of Kumārapāla's conversion; he merely states that at the request of the kings and beasts of the forests Kumārapāla vowed not to take any life.¹¹⁶ But there is no doubt that Kumārapāla became a Jaina, for Hemachandra not only says so in the *Mahāvīracharita*, but in the *Abhidhānachintāmani* speaks of Kumārapāla as '*Kumārapāla rajarshi Chaulukya Paramārthata*'. The evidence therefore is conclusive that Kumārapāla adopted the Jaina faith, and tried to enforce its non-violent measures by trying to prevent the slaughter of animals; but he does not seem to have totally forsaken the faith of his ancestors. Probably, like Harshavardhana, he adopted another creed without ceasing to be a follower of the Brahmanical religion.

Death of Kumārapāla

Jayasimha Sūri relates that one day Kumārapāla told Hemachandra to advise him as to who should be his successor. "Shall I leave it," said the king, "to Ajayapāla my nephew, or to my grandson (*dauhitra*) Pratāpamalla". Hemachandra told Kumārapāla that Ajayapāla was a rascal and was not fit to be a king; and that if indeed he got the kingdom, he would destroy everything. As Pratāpamalla was not as bad as Ajayapāla, Hemachandra advised Kumārapāla to nominate Pratāpamalla as his successor. Kumārapāla said that he would do so in proper time and left.

This conversation was overheard by Bālachandra, a wicked disciple of Hemachandra, and a childhood friend of Ajayapāla. Bālachandra went to Ajayapāla and told him everything that had passed between the king and Hemachandra. In return for this treachery, Bālachandra received the thanks of Ajayapāla and his promise that should he become king, he would appoint Bālachandra as his preceptor as Hemachandra was Kumārapāla's.

In V.S. 1229, Hemachandra died. Kumārapāla was overtaken with grief; he was also an old man. He therefore thought of bequeathing his kingdom to Pratāpamalla, but before he could take any decisive step, he was overtaken by illness. Ajayapāla, having learned of the intentions of Kumārapāla from Bālachandra, harboured murderous thoughts, and when the opportunity presented itself, he mixed poison with milk and administered it to Kumārapāla.

Immediately after taking the poison, Kumārapāla felt its effects and asked that the shell which was an antidote should be brought from the treasury. But the treacherous Ajayapāla had already hidden it.

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Kumārapāla thereafter banished all worldly thoughts from his mind and gradually passed away. He died in V.S. 1230.¹¹⁷

Almost the same story is repeated by Rājaśekhara and Jina-maṇḍana.¹¹⁸ But for reasons which will be given later, it is difficult to believe this version of the Jaina Chroniclers.

Kumārapāla's body was cremated and his ashes immersed in the holy water of the Ganges and Jumna at Prayag by the Brahmin chaplain of his successor, who probably also offered oblations for his departed soul at Gaya.¹¹⁹

CHAPTER VIII

*Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II**Ajayapāla (c.V.S. 1229-1232)*

The short reign of Ajayapāla, after the glorious reigns of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, comes as an anticlimax in the history of Gujarat. The reputation of this monarch also has suffered in the hands of the Chroniclers. We have seen that Jayasimha Sūri, Rājaśekhara, and Jinamaṇḍana state that Kumārapāla was poisoned by Ajayapāla as he had accepted Hemachandra's advice to disinherit him. It is therefore necessary to note that the Chroniclers have always ascribed to Hemachandra a political role, but whereas his earliest biographer Prabhāchandra contended himself by limiting it to Hemachandra's efforts on behalf of the fugitive Kumārapāla, the later Chroniclers not only developed the role, but assumed that Hemachandra exercised considerable political power during the reign of Kumārapāla, and also influenced him in nominating his successor. But neither Prabhāchandra nor Merutuṅga, who was by no means friendly to Ajayapāla, apparently knew anything about the story of Kumārapāla's murder by Ajayapāla, or Hemachandra's advice to the king regarding the succession to the throne. These stories are only recorded by late Chroniclers, and are not worthy of credit unless it can be corroborated by more trustworthy evidence.

We shall now see that the Chroniclers knew little about Ajayapāla and probably cared to know even less. There is no doubt that Ajayapāla was a devout follower of the Brahmanical religion. Hence probably his reign was not studied with sufficient care by the Jaina Chroniclers; for, we shall show, that the story that Ajayapāla was the persecutor of the Jains was started at a late date and that probably he was the son and not the nephew of Kumārapāla. All these misstatements about Ajayapāla confirm the suspicion that the story of his poisoning Kumārapāla was an invention of the Chroniclers.

Relation between Ajayapāla and Kumārapāla

It is generally assumed that Hemachandra in the *Dvyāśraya* has stated that Ajayapāla was the nephew of Kumārapāla, but that is not so. Hemachandra nowhere mentions the name of Ajayapāla; it is Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, who, in commenting on a verse in the *Dvyāśraya*, states that Ajayapāla was the nephew of Kumārapāla and the son of Mahipāla.¹ All the later Chroniclers such as Kṛishṇaji, Rājaśekhara and Jinamaṇḍana have stated that Ajayapāla was Kumārapāla's nephew. In the *Therāvali*, Merutuṅga states that Ajayapāla was the son of Mahipāla

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and Kumārapāla's nephew,² but seems to have contradicted himself in a story which he has recorded in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*. According to this story when Ajayapāla began to destroy the temples erected by his predecessor (*Ajayapāla pūrvaja-prāsādān vidhvamsayati*)³ an impudent jester remarked to his son: "Even His Majesty king Ajayadeva did not destroy his father's religious edifices until his father had gone to the next world (*Śrīmad-Ajayadevenāpi pituḥ paralok-ānantaram tad dharma-sthānāni vidhvamsitāni*). By father here clearly Kumārapāla is intended. Similarly Jayasimha Sūri contradicts himself in his work; all along he has described Ajayapāla as the nephew of Kumārapāla, but when describing the feeling of the former after he came to learn that he was not to succeed Kumārapāla, Jayasimha Sūri states: "Since then the rascal Ajayapāla began to cherish against the king (Kumārapāla) the sort of murderous hatred which Koṇika had towards Śreṇika.⁴ Śreṇika and Koṇika here stands for Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, and it is evident that the simile holds good if Ajayapāla is taken to be the son of Kumārapāla. However as we have said, Jayasimha Sūri maintained that Ajayapāla was Kumārapāla's nephew, but this example shows that the author was slightly confused, just as Merutuṅga had been. But Someśvara, the chaplain of Ajayapāla's son Bhīma, and almost a contemporary of Ajayapāla states in the *Surathotsava* that his (Someśvara's) father Kumāra was offered a large quantity of jewels on the occasion of the solar eclipse by Kumārapāla's son who was the king; in the next verse Someśvara mentions the name of Ajayapāla and there is no doubt that he meant that Ajayapāla was the son of Kumārapāla.⁵ Of all the Chroniclers, Someśvara had the best opportunity to know the exact relationship between Ajayapāla and Kumārapāla; moreover we have seen that the evidence of at least two Chroniclers are contradictory. Hence until further evidence can be obtained, we shall be justified in concluding that Ajayapāla was the son and not the nephew of Kumārapāla.

Ajayapāla and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī

Little is known of the events of the reign of Ajayapāla. Many copper-plates of his son Bhīma II give him the epithet *Karādikrīta Sapādalaksha-kshmāpāla*,⁶ which indicates that he had defeated the Chāhamāna king of Ajmere, who at this period was most probably Someśvara, the grandson of Siddharāja. Arisimha states that the king of Sapādalaksha sent Ajayapāla a silver pavilion.⁷ In the *Kīrtikaumudī* it is stated that Ajayapāla wrested from the king of Jaṅgala, as a punishment, a gold pavillion and the Jaṅgala king's furious elephants.⁸ Bāla-chandra also states that the Jaṅgala king, that is the Chāhamāna king of Ajmere, used to send presents to Ajayapāla.⁹ It is therefore evident that Ajayapāla had defeated the king of Ajmere, and forced him to pay some tribute as a mark of submission.

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Ajayapāla and Sāmantasīmha

Another war in which Ajayapāla was involved is recorded in a verse of the *Abu-praśasti* of V.S. 1287, where it is stated that Prahādāna's sword was "dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle field by Sāmantasīmha."¹⁰ This Gūrjara king has been identified with Ajayapāla, and Sāmantasīmha with the Guhilot king of that name. It was probably in this battle that he received the severe wound which was cured by Kumāra, the father of the Chronicler Someśvara.¹¹ A verse in the *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* mentions that Ajayapāla defeated his enemy's army in a narrow defile, and the enemy king, who had promised to capture both Ajayapāla and his queen, returned defeated.¹²

Probably the verse in the *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* also refers to the fight between Ajayapāla and Sāmantasīmha. This evidence along with that of the *Abu-praśasti* mentioned above, seems to indicate that Ajayapāla was at first defeated by Sāmantasīmha, but later with the help of Prahādāna he was able to defeat Sāmantasīmha. There is however no evidence to show that the Guhilot Sāmantasīmha had ever invaded Gujarat. Hence it seems likely that Sāmantasīmha, whose family was up to that time insignificant, took courage after the death of Kumārapāla and tried to rescue the Chitor region from the domination of the Chaulukyas. How far Sāmantasīmha was successful is not known. It may be noted that in his inscriptions upto A.D. 1202, Sāmantasīmha used the modest title of *Māharāja*, whereas after that date, he adopted the title of *Māhārājādhirāja*. This also indicates that he had been playing a subordinate role till that date, which would be hard to explain if we suppose that he had been able to defeat the Chaulukyas, who were at this time the most powerful dynasty in western India. It is also known from the Kumbhalgaḍh inscription that Kiṭu, the son of Chāhamāna Alhaṇadeva, was driven by Sāmantasīmha's successor Kumārasīmha from Mewad. The Ahada grant of Ajayapāla's son Bhīma also shows that Mewad was under Bhīma. Aghatapura also continued to be under the Chaulukyas, for the Kumbhalgaḍh inscription records that Kumārasīmha obtained the place through the favour of the Gūrjara King who must be one of Ajayapāla's two sons, Mūlarāja II or Bhīma II.¹³ Hence it is evident that though Sāmantasīmha, may have defeated Ajayapāla in an encounter, it did not lead to any territorial loss for the Chaulukyas.

Ajayapāla and the Jains

These are all the political events known of the reign of Ajayapāla, but what gives his reign a peculiar interest is the stories recorded by Merutuṅga to illustrate the strong anti-Jaina measures adopted by this king. According to Merutuṅga, Ajayapāla after becoming king began to destroy the temples set up by his predecessor and stopped his nefa-

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rious activities after hearing the sarcastic remarks of a jester. Merutuṅga also states that Āmrabhāṭa or Āmbaḍa, the conqueror of Mallikārjuna, refused to acknowledge Ajayapāla as the king, and was killed by the king's soldiers. Another instance of Ajayapāla's criminal folly recorded by Merutuṅga, was, however, directed against Kapardin, who was a Brahmin. Merutuṅga states that Ajayapāla offered Kapardin the post of the chief minister which Kapardin accepted; but during the night following Kapardin's installation to office, he was arrested, and subsequently killed by the king's order being roasted alive. Another purposeless outrage, according to Merutuṅga, was committed against Rāmachandra, the celebrated pupil of Hemachandra, who was "placed by that low villain of a king on a heated plate of copper". In that position Rāmchandra uttered a couplet, bit through his tongue and died. We should add here that Kapardin also composed a verse immediately before he was thrown into the cauldron.¹⁴

Before examining the anecdotes recorded by Merutuṅga, it is necessary to observe that there is no doubt that Ajayapāla followed the Brahmanical religion with some zeal. In his own inscriptions, as well as in those of his sons, he is referred to as *Parama-Māheśvara*, an epithet which is unusual in the Chaulukya inscriptions, though Kumārapāla is usually referred to as *Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda*. But what is of greater significance is that in Śrīdhara's *Devapattana-prasasti*, Ajayapāla is said to have caused the tree of the Vedic religion to grow again.¹⁵ Moreover, we have already seen that Ajayapāla had the ashes of Kumārapāla immersed in the sacred waters at Prayāga; and Someśvara records with some exultation that during this king's reign there was daily worship of Śiva, and that the Brahmin's were well rewarded.¹⁶ All these show that Ajayapāla strictly observed the Brahmanical religion, but the question remains whether he was really the persecutor of the Jainas as depicted by Merutuṅga. None of the Chaulukya kings, with the exception of Kumārapāla, was Jaina, but that religion flourished under their reigns with as much vigour as it did during the reign of Kumārapāla. Merutuṅga's account is all the more suspicious because the anti-Jaina activities of Ajayapāla are not mentioned by any other Chronicler before Merutuṅga, and all these authors were Jainas, and some of them were contemporaries of the king.

Somaprabhā, the author of the *Kumārapālapratibodha*, in another work called *Śatārthakāvya* has made laudatory references to some of his great contemporaries, including Hemachandra, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla, and Ajayapāla.¹⁷ Yaśaḥapāla describes himself as a "swan on the lotus like feet of Ajayadeva the great king", in his famous allegorical drama the *Moharājaparājaya* which describes the conversion of Kumārapāla.¹⁸ Yaśaḥapāla was a famous Jaina, but the way he describes himself indicates that he was a minister of Ajayapāla. Arisimha and Bālachandra

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praises Ajayapāla in conventional verses, while Udayaprabhā compares him with Indra.¹⁹ The *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti* praises him for his self control.²⁰ But the most striking testimony to the religious toleration of Ajayapāla is given by Māṇikyachandra, author of the *Pārśva-nāthacharita* (V.S. 1276). Māṇikyachandra states that one Vardhamāna was the ornament of the courts of Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, and brightened the courts of these two kings by his disquisitions on the Jaina doctrine.²¹

It is not possible to ignore all these evidence; none of the authors had any reason to overlook Ajayapāla's persecution of their religion. Most of these books, too, were written to describe some incidents of peculiar Jaina interest, and the Chaulukya kings are there only mentioned incidentally. For example Yaśahpāla had no necessity to describe himself in the manner in which he has done. The stories depicting the anti-Jaina activities of Ajayapāla are first recorded by Merutuṅga who flourished much later than the authors we have cited above. It is interesting to note that even Merutuṅga with his prejudice against Ajayapāla did not mention that he had poisoned Kumārapāla. That incident is first described by Jayasinha Sūri nearly half a century after Merutuṅga finished his work. Since then many other Chroniclers recorded this story.

The question therefore which confronts us is to determine which set of these Jaina chronicles is more reliable. The answer becomes complicated as it is not possible to assume that a scholar like Merutuṅga had not read the authorities we have quoted. Merutuṅga quoted freely from the *Kīrtikaumudī*, and if he took the trouble to read the work of a Brahmin author before writing the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, it would have been most unusual for him not to have read the works written by his brothers-in-faith. Yet he chooses to disregard them all and emphatically denounces Ajayapāla. It does not seem that he was inventing all these anecdotes; probably he was depending on some other authority, an oral tradition perhaps, which so appealed to his nature that he preferred that to the tame conventional verses composed by the sedate Jaina monks.²² Merutuṅga of course had the satisfaction in the knowledge that he was nowhere contradicted by his predecessors; this may be due to the simple reason that a false statement is not usually contradicted before it is put into writing. We may therefore reject the testimony of Merutuṅga and the other Chroniclers who wrote after him.

Estimate of Ajayapāla's achievement

The reign of Ajayapāla does not seem to have been the unmitigated failure that it is generally said to have been. The Udayapura stone inscription shows that Mālava upto Bhilsa was completely under his control, and there is no reason to suppose that during his reign the Chau-

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lukya empire lost any territory. The army he left was strong enough to inflict a crushing defeat on the Muslim invaders even under the immature guidance of his son. The stable administration which could put up such a resistance does not seem to have been the legacy of a capricious king guilty of the worst outrages.

Death of Ajayapāla

According to Merutuṅga, Ajayapāla was stabbed to death by one Vayajaladeva, a Pratihāra.²³ But because there are strong reasons to disbelieve his account of Ajayapāla's reign, it is difficult to believe his account of the king's death. It is known that he died between Tuesday, 25th March and 6th or 7th April, A.D. 1175.²⁴

Mūlarāja II (c.V.S. 1232-1235)

Mūlarāja II, or Bāla Mūlarāja as he is affectionately called by the Chroniclers, ascended the throne of his father Ajayapāla, while still a boy. His mother was Naikidevī, the daughter of one Paramardin, who has been identified with the Goa Kadamba *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* (Permadi or Sivachitta (c. A.D. 1147-1188)).²⁵ But in a Chandella inscription issued in V.S. 1261, it is stated that the donnee's father died at Kakaḍādaha while fighting the Turushkas.²⁶ Now, Merutuṅga states that Queen Naiki fought the Muslims at Gādarāraghaṭṭa. Probably Gādarāraghaṭṭa and Kakaḍādaha are identical, and it is likely that Naiki was the daughter of the Chandella Paramardi (c. 1223-1258 V.S.)

Mūlarāja ascended the throne in V.S. 1232. The earliest known inscription of his brother and successor Bhīma II, is dated V.S. 1235. Hence Mūlarāja's reign lasted for not more than three years.

The most important event in the short reign of this boy king was the sanguinary defeat he inflicted on a Muslim army. The inscriptions of his successors invariably describe him as: *parābhūta-durjaya-Garjanak-ādhirāja*, or, *Mlechchha-tamo-nichaya-chchhanna-mahā-valaya-pradyotana-vālārka*.²⁷

The Chroniclers rightly single out the defeat of the Muslims as the only incident worthy of being remembered about Mūlarāja. Someśvara states that Mūlarāja defeated the lord of the Turushkas, and vanquished the Mlechchha army.²⁸ Bālachandra states that King Mūlarāja, though an infant, defeated the Mlechchha king.²⁹ From the *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* we learn that his mother gave Mūlarāja an army to play with out of curiosity, and with that army he defeated Hammīra and his Turushka army which (in order to protect themselves from the intolerable heat of the prowess of Mūlarāja) was dressed in robes that covered the soldiers from the head to foot.³⁰ Arisimha also refers to Mūlarāja's victory over the Muslims, and an inscription of Bhīma's reign state that during the reign of Mūlarāja even a woman could defeat Hammīra.³¹

A more detailed description of the battle is given by Merutuṅga who states that Mūlarāja's mother Queen Naiki, the daughter of Paramardin, fought at a *ghāt* called Gāḍarāraghaṭṭa and conquered the king of the Mlechchhas by the aid of a mass of rain clouds that came out of season attracted by her virtue.³² Apparently, Merutuṅga could not check the temptation of improving his anecdote by introducing supernatural elements in aid of human valour in order to impress his readers.

However, it is evident that Mūlarāja defeated a Muslim army; but, as none of the Chroniclers name the invader, there is some difficulty in identifying him. Forbes, Bühler, Jackson, Hodivala and Habibullah are of the opinion that the defeated Muslim army was led by Mu'izz ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sam, better known as Muhammad Ghori.³³ But the Muslim historians are unanimous in stating that the victor of Mu'izz ud-Dīn was Bhīm Dev, king of Nahrwāla, that is Bhīma II, the brother and successor of Mūlarāja II. An inscription at Kiradu which mentions Bhīma as the reigning monarch and records the repairs to a temple broken by the Turushkas is dated V.S. 1235 (A.D. 1178).³⁴ As the invasion of Mu'izz ud-Dīn also took place in the same year (A.D. 1178), some scholars have assumed, on the authority of the Muslim sources alone, that Bhīma defeated the Muslim army of Mu'izz ud-Dīn. But, if this assumption is accepted the difficulty would be to identify the Muslim army which was defeated by Mūlarāja, as between A.D. 1175-1178 the only recorded Muslim invasion was the one led by Mu'izz ud-Dīn, in A.D. 1178. Dr. Ray has therefore suggested the following alternatives: "But as the Muhammedan chronicles unanimously give the name of the contemporary Chaulukya king as Bhīm Deo, it seems difficult to accept Jackson's suggestion that they are wrong in mentioning Bhīma instead of Mūlarāja. If Bühler's reading and interpretation of *Garjanaka* is accepted, one might suggest that the invader may have been one of the Ghaznavides of Lahore. But it is highly improbable that the mild and voluptuous Khusrāu Malik Taj ud-Daulah (c. A.D. 1168-86), the last representative of the line, would have attempted so daring and distant an expedition. As the Chaulukyas of Anāhilavāḍa were frequently in conflict with the rulers of Sind the struggle in question may have been caused by the raid of a Sumra chief of Mansura. There is a third possibility. We know that Mu'izz ud-Dīn conquered Multan in 571-72 A.H. (1175-76 A.D.). Can it be that before embarking upon his distant expedition against Nahrwāla in 574 A.H. (A.D. 1178) he sent a minor expedition for reconnaissance during the period c. A.D. 1176-78, which has been left unrecorded by other historians?"³⁵

Regarding the possibility of a Sumra invasion, it should be noted that it is not certain that the Sumras were Muslims at this period. Moreover, Dr. Ray's conclusion, that the Chaulukyas were often at war with the Sumras of Sind, is really based on the statement of the chroniclers

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that many Chaulukya kings defeated the Sindhurāja. But the same chronicles call Mularāja's enemy 'the Turushkas.' The Kiradu inscription of Bhīma also calls the invaders Turushkas. Hence it does not appear that the Chroniclers were referring to a king of Sind. The Sumras moreover were petty local rulers, and it does not seem probable that they invaded Gujarat during this period when their very existence was menaced by the rising power of the aggressive Ghoris. Moreover, Mularāja's epithet was 'conqueror of Garjanaka'; and Bühler's opinion that 'Garjanaka is a Sanskrit word coined to represent Ghazni, and intended to give the latter an etymological meaning, viz. the roarer,'³⁶ seems to be the correct explanation of the word. For, in the *Prithvī-rājaviṣaya*, the rise of the Ghoris and their occupation of Ghazni is stated in a verse where the word *Garjana* is used for Ghazni; Jonarāja, the commentator of the *Prithvī-rājaviṣaya* explained the word as follows: *Garjanāṛhyo deśa-visesho Garjanam Garjitam cha*.³⁷ Hence one can be sure that the Chroniclers and the inscriptions meant the defeat of a Ghaznvide³⁸ army.

The possibility of an attack by Khusrau Malik has been discounted by Dr. Ray and need hardly be discussed. According to a Muslim historian, Khusrau Malik "abandoned himself wholly to pleasure while the servants of the state and governors of the country exercised independent power."³⁸ Such a king cannot be supposed to have led a distant expedition unless there is positive evidence to prove it.

The third suggestion of Dr. Ray is more plausible. Indeed it might have provided the solution to the problem had there been a single reference in any Indian source that Bhīma II had ever defeated the Muslims. The victory over Mu'izz ud-Dīn was one of the most brilliant victories of the age, and it would indeed be surprising had the victor not received any encomium from his contemporary poets and scribes. On the other hand the lavish praise bestowed on Mularāja in all the Indian sources, for having destroyed a Muslim army can be explained only if we assume that he really defeated the main army of Mu'izz ud-Dīn. In this case we need not have to assume that the Muslim historians forgot to record an earlier invasion of Mu'izz ud-Dīn. We again like to emphasise here that the inscriptions of Bhīma invariably give Mularāja the epithet of conqueror of Garjanakas etc., while never mentioning that Bhīma ever defeated a Muslim army. It is more probable that Muslim historians would be wrong about the name of the Hindu monarch who must have died shortly after the battle was fought, than that all the chronicles written during the reign of Bhīma should overlook his splendid military achievement, just as his inscription writers had done; such a conspiracy of silence is not probable. We must therefore conclude that Mularāja defeated the army of Mu'izz ud-Dīn when he attacked Gujarat in A.D. 1178.

History of the Ghoris

In order to realise the full magnitude of Mūlarāja's victory, it is necessary to trace in brief outline the rapid rise of the Ghoris. Towards the middle of the 12th century A.D., a clan of Afghans under their Suri chiefs³⁹ revolted against the Ghaznavid Sultān, the descendant of Sultān Mahmūd. These rebels are better known in history as the 'Ghoris,' a word derived from the name of their native place, Ghor, a mountainous tract which lies between Herat and Bamiyan. The first Ghor chief to come into prominence was 'Ala ud-Dīn Hussain, who, in revenge for his brother's death at the hands of the Ghaznavid Sultān Bahram, captured Ghazni, plundered the city, set fire to the buildings which were left burning for seven days, massacred the whole male population of the city, and carried away the women and children as slaves (A.D. 1150). This terrible deed earned for him the sobriquet of *Jahan Soz*, 'the world burner,' though 'Ala ud-Dīn failed to occupy⁴⁰ Ghazni permanently. Soon after 'Ala ud-Dīn was defeated by Seljuk Sanjar, but the foundation of the Ghaznavid empire of Sultān Mahmūd was shaken.

In the year A.D. 1160 the craven hearted Ghaznavid Sultān retired for good to Lahore before an attack by the Ghuzz Turcomans, and since then the descendants of Sultān Mahmūd became for all practical purposes an Indian power. The Ghuzz Turcomans retained possession of Ghazni for twelve years after which period it fell into the hands of Ghiyas ud-Dīn, the nephew and second in succession to 'world-burner.' Under Ghiyas ud-Dīn the power of the Ghoris reached its apogee; he conquered Garmsir, Zamin Dawar, Fars, Kaliyan, Garjistan, Bagshoor, Talkan, Balkh, and parts of Khorasan adjacent to Herat. This brought him into rivalry with the Khwarazm Shahs, which later on had some indirect influence on the history of India. Ghiyas ud-Dīn's younger brother was placed by him in charge of the Indian campaigns; he was Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muhammad bin Sam better known as Muhammad Ghorī. The Indian invasion of Mu'izz ud-Dīn therefore, was in reality an invasion by a fresh band of hardy mountaineers uncontaminated by the enervating effects of city civilization. They burst into India just as the dynasty of Sultān Mahmūd was coming to its natural end.

The enmity between the Ghoris or Shanshabanis, as the dynasty of Ghiyas ud-Dīn was called, and the Khwarazm Shahs blocked the former's expansion in Central Asia, particularly as the Khwarazm Shahs enjoyed the powerful support of the Buddhist Kara Khitais. The occupation of Ghazni also made the Shanshabanis eager to grasp the whole of the Ghaznavid empire, and Ghiyas ud-Dīn entrusted his brother Mu'izz ud-Dīn with this task, that is the conquest of India.

In A.D. 1175, Mu'izz ud-Dīn led his first expedition into India and captured Multan from the Qarmatian heretics, and Uch from a Hindu prince. Thus he obtained two good bases in India and could now turn

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towards Lahore had he wanted to do so. But it does not seem that at this date Mu'izz ud-Dīn was aiming to capture the Indian capital of the Yaminis. The shortest route that leads from Ghazni to Lahore is through the Khyber Pass, so that if Mu'izz ud-Dīn had wanted to capture Lahore he would have naturally occupied Peshawar first, and then marched on Lahore as he did later. Instead he entered through the Gomal Pass and after taking Multan and Uch turned sharply south towards southern Rajputana and Gujarat.⁴⁰ Had this invasion been successful the whole of southern Rajputana and Gujarat would have fallen to the Muslims, and Mu'izz ud-Dīn could, after establishing secure bases in these countries and securing his line of communications with Ghazni, attack either the Ghaznavids or the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī. His defeat by Mūlarāja in A.D. 1178 compelled him to change his plans entirely. The next year he entered India through the Khyber Pass, captured Peshawar, and later occupied Lahore by a stratagem. Ultimately he had to face the Chāhamānas in a frontal attack. Whatever effect this might have had on the history of northern India, Mu'izz ud-Dīn never again in his life attacked Gujarat, and the next Muslim invasion of that country was provoked by Chaulukya aggression under Bhūma II.

Invasion of Gujarat by Mu'izz ud-Dīn

Minhaj states that in the year 574 A.H. (A.D. 1178) Mu'izz ud-Dīn "marched an army towards Nahrwāla by way of Uchchha and Multan. The Rāe of Nahrwāla . . . was young in years, but had numerous forces and many elephants, and when the battle took place, the army of Islam was defeated and put to rout, and the Sultān-i-Ghāzi (Mu'izz ud-Dīn) returned again without accomplishing his designs."⁴¹ Nizam ud-Dīn states that "in the year 574 A.H. he (Mu'izz ud-Dīn) again came to Uch and Multan, and thence marched towards Gujarat through the desert . . . the ruler of the country gave him battle, and after a severe struggle the Sultan was defeated, and after much trouble, he returned to Ghazni and rested there for a short time."⁴² Badauni states: "Then in the year 574 A.H. proceeding by way of Multan he brought an army against Gujarat and suffered defeats at the hands of . . . the ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghazni and obtained relief."⁴³ According to Ferishta, "in the year 574 (A.H.) he (Mu'izz ud-Dīn) again marched to Oocha and Multan and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The prince (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmōd Ghiznevy), advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat before they reached Ghizny."⁴⁴ This defeat the Muslims were to remember for a long time.

In his march against Gujarat from Multan, Mu'izz ud-Dīn probably

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captured Naḍḍula.⁴⁵ The Sundha Hill inscription states that the Naḍḍula Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa "after destroying the Turushkas erected a golden *Torana*, like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa." Kalhaṇa's brother Kīrtipāla is also said, in the same inscription, to have routed an army of Turushkas at Kāsahrada.⁴⁶ It is very often the case that the feudatories take the credit of winning a battle in which they fought under their overlord; it seems that Kelhaṇa and Kīrtipāla too had really helped their sovereign, Mūlarāja, and as Mu'izz-ud-Dīn probably had occupied Naḍḍula, they were compelled to help him out of self interest. The place Kāsahrada has been identified with the village Kayadram which is at the foot of Mt. Abu and is probably the same as Merutuṅga's Gādarāraghaṭṭa. The place was very well chosen by the Gujarat generals, for, when during the next reign the Hindus and Muslims met again at the same place, the latter remembering their previous defeat did not dare to attack the Hindus.

Expedition in Mālava

The other important event during the reign of Mūlarāja was the uprising in Mālava. This incident is only mentioned in *Surathotsava* by Someśvara whose father Kumāra was given the command in Mālava. According to Someśvara, Kumāra was made the chief minister by Pratāpamalla of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, who was apparently the regent; Kumāra was entrusted with the charge of the army by the Chaulukya king, and achieved victory by defeating the enemies. Kumāra had to fight with Vindhyavarman, the king of Dhārā, who had to leave the battlefield. Thereafter Kumāra destroyed a town called Gogasthāna, which belonged to Vindhyavarman, and sank a well where the palace of the Mālava king once stood. Kumāra then plundered the Mālava country and took away all its wealth, though, his son complains, he did not find any gold or silver. Kumāra is also said to have brought down an army of the Mlechchhas (Muslims) near the Queen's lake.⁴⁷

It is known from the Udayapur stone inscription of the reign of Ajayapāla that at least upto A.D. 1172 Mālava upto Bhilsa was under the Chaulukyas; hence it may be concluded that the incident narrated above represents the first attempt by the Paramāras to regain their kingdom. The time was well chosen; a famine was raging in Gujarat which reduced the people to mere skeleton, and the same Kumāra begged from the king the remission of land revenue for the people.⁴⁸ However, the necessity of elevating the chaplain Kumāra to the rank of the commanding officer probably indicates that the more experienced generals being elsewhere were not available. The Queen's Lake (*rājñī sarah*) near which Kumāra fought the Muslims cannot be identified; probably he fought an isolated action against the remnants of the routed army of Mu'izz ud-Dīn. In that case the attempt of Vindhyavarman to

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regain his throne may be said to have synchronised with the Muslim invasion of Gujarat in A.D. 1178, or slightly before that date. It seems that the Muslim invasion, the famine, and the inexperienced boy king brought new hopes to the Paramāras, and Vindhyavarman tried to avail of the long sought for chance to drive the Chaulukyas out of Mālava. But the strong measures taken by Kumāra produced the desired result for the time being, so that he could disengage his troops and fight the Muslims. Therefore it may be concluded that Mālava remained a part of the Chaulukya empire during the reign of Mūlarāja.

Death of Mūlarāja

Soon after the battle with Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Mūlarāja died, for the earliest known inscription of Bhīma II is dated V.S. 1235 (A.D. 1178). All the Chroniclers of Gujarat have proudly mentioned this gallant boy with affection, and Someśvara laments that the Creator swiftly uprooted the shoot of the tree of paradise that was Mūlarāja.⁴⁹

CHAPTER IX

*Bhīma II (c.V.S. 1235-1298) and Tribhuvanapāla**Accession of Bhīma and the political situation*

Bhīma II, at an early age, succeeded his brother Mūlarāja after the latter's premature death. At the time of his accession (c.A.D. 1178) the extent of his kingdom was practically as Kumārapāla had left it. In the north it included Mewad and Āghāṭapura;¹ in the south it included Lāṭa upto Broach.² In the north-east it included the Vāgaḍa region, that is the area occupied by Dungarpur and Banswara.³ Part of Mālava including Dhārā probably still formed a part of the Chaulukya empire, for the Paramāras are not likely to have succeeded in freeing that part of Mālava from the Chaulukyas soon after Vindhya-varman suffered the humiliating defeat at the hands of Kumāra. Several inscriptions from Saurāshtra testify that it was included within Bhīma's dominions.

A part of this patrimony Bhīma was to lose, but by the end of his long reign some of it was regained. For this loss partly his inexperienced youth, may be his incapacity and partly the changed political circumstances were responsible. The political changes discernible a quarter of a century earlier became for the first time effective during the reign of Bhīma. In the north the most momentous change was the replacement of the weak Yaminis by the strong Ghoris. Though they had been checked by Mūlarāja II for the time being, their major victory—the second battle of Tarain—was yet to be fought with dire consequences for Gujarat.

In the south the great royal dynasties of the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī came to an end liberating new political forces. The power of the Chōlas had begun to weaken seriously during the reign of Rājārāja II (A.D. 1146-1173) and in consequence a number of ruling families came to the forefront. The Pāṇdyas emerging after a period of obscurity occupied the southern part of the Chola empire, while in the region beyond the Godavari rose the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalyāṇī.

It was, however, the successors of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī who affected the fortunes of Gujarat; the more important amongst these successor powers being the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra and the Yādavas of Devagiri.

By the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Hoysalas occupied the territory south of the river Tungabhadra and the major part of modern Mysore, where they began to rule as independent kings. During the same period the northern part of the Western Chālukya kingdom

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was occupied by the Yādavas of Devagiri. But the *coup de grace* to the tottering Western Chālukya power was dealt by their Kalachuri commander-in-chief and viceroy, Bijjala, who had become all powerful after the successive defeats sustained by the Western Chālukya king Taila III; before long Bijjala usurped the throne.⁴ There was a temporary restoration of the Western Chālukya power in A.D. 1182 under Someśvara IV, son of Taila III, but by A.D. 1200 the Western Chālukyas definitely passed away. It was the attack of their successors, namely the Hoysalas and particularly the Yādavas, that Bhīma had to face.

Rivalry between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas for the complete domination of the Western Chālukya kingdom was inevitable, and in the last decade of the 12th century A.D., the two rival armies met on the banks of the rivers Malaprabha and Krishna in the north of the Dharwar district. In the ensuing engagement Hoysala Ballāla seems to have had the upper hand, and thereafter the river Malaprabha became the boundary between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas.⁵ Checked in their expansion towards the south, the Yādavas turned towards the north and made repeated attacks on Gujarat.

In Mālava the Paramāras gradually began to emerge after their long eclipse of power. Their first bid to free their country from the Chaulukya domination took place in the reign of Mūlarāja II. Though checked by Kumāra for the time being, they soon after managed to occupy Dhārā, and then having freed their country turned to avenge their past defeat and humiliation by repeatedly attacking Gujarat as subsequent history will show.

At his accession, Bhīma was faced with the grave situation created by the defection of his *Maṇḍalīkas*, that is the provincial governors, who, trying to take advantage of his extreme youth, attempted to parcel out the kingdom amongst themselves, as had been successfully done in the neighbouring states.⁶ It was at this juncture that Arjorāja, who had served under Kumārapāla as a *sāmanṭa*, came to the rescue of the throne, which he seems to have saved at the cost of his life, for, the chronicles state that he died fighting with the rebels.⁷ This brave action, however, paved the way for the future greatness of his son and grandson, Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala, the real founders of the Vāghelā dynasty.

It was all along the peculiar misfortune of Bhīma that he had to face trouble from within and without almost at the same time. Probably the internal disorganisation invited foreign invasion from which the throne emerged weaker and further shorn of glory, which again prompted internal risings. This vicious circle all but exhausted the kingdom in spite of the energetic aid he received from the three or four generations of the Vāghelās.

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Bhīma and the Hoysalas

One of the earliest invaders were probably the Hoysalas who had attained great power under Vishṇuvardhana and his grandson Vīra Ballāla II, who was crowned in A.D. 1173.⁸ Some of his inscriptions record that "when Ballāla (II) mounted his horse for an expedition of victory, Gūrjara trembled, Mālava gained the thickets of Vindhya, Chōlika spent his time on the sea shore."⁹ The Belgami stone inscription of A.D. 1192 states that "he wore out Mālava by entering it with great force."¹⁰ Yet another of his inscriptions dated A.D. 1190 states that "the master of elephants the Mālava king, the warlike Lāla (Lāṭa) distinguished for his troops of horses, he Gūrjara king with the Chola king, united came against him, but he by himself fought and subdued them in the field of battle having received the command from Ballāla II,—this Narasimha."¹¹ It is, however, difficult to believe that the Mālavas and the Gūrjaras,—that is the Paramāras and the Chāulukyās,—would have at this period united to attack the Hoysala king. Moreover, Lāṭa at this period formed a part of the Chaulukya dominion,¹² and its separate mention is certainly a tautology; how far the other tall claims of Ballāla II are of a similar nature or not can be left to conjecture. On the strength of the available evidence, it does not appear that he was able to inflict much harm on the Gūrjaras, though a raid into Lāṭa is not improbable.

Bhīma and the Yādavas (First phase)

A much more formidable attack was opened by the Yādava king Bhīllama. The Mutgī inscription of Bhīllama (A.D. 1189) describes him as a source of terror to Mālava, Varāla, Kalinga, Gūrjara, Chōla, Gauḍa, Pāñchāla, Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Nepāla. The Mālavas and the Gūrjaras are then singled out in the concluding part of the same inscription as the enemies who were defeated by him.¹³ That a clash took place between the Chaulukyās and Bhīllama is also shown by the Sundha Hill inscription, which states that the Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa defeated a southern king called Bhilima. Kilehorn identified this Bhilima with the Yādava Bhīllama as they were contemporaries. It has been held on the evidence of the above inscriptions, that Bhīllama defeated Bhīma and proceeded as far as southern Marwad where his further advance was stopped by his defeat at the hands of Kelhaṇa.¹⁴ It is equally probable, that Kelhaṇa came down south to help Bhīma in repelling an attack of the southern king on the southern frontier of Gujarat.

Bhīma and the Chāhamānas of Sākambharī

Bhīma also appears to have come into conflict with the last Chāhamāna Emperor, Prithvīrāja III. According to the current version of

the *Prithvīrāja Rāso* of Chānd Bardai, Bhīma desired to marry a girl betrothed to Prithvīrāja. This led to a war between the two kingdoms, and in the first encounter Someśvara, the father of Prithvīrāja, lost his life. Prithvīrāja is said to have avenged his father's death by killing Bhīma in a fight.¹⁵ This story has rightly been rejected by all scholars as Bhīma is known to have survived Prithvīrāja by about half a century. But another recension of the *Rāso*, while omitting the blunders of the extant version, states that Bhīma and Prithvīrāja fought two battles, one near Nagore and the other near Mt. Abu.¹⁶

The fight between the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas near Mt. Abu, is also referred to in the drama *Vyayoga Pārthaparākrama* written by Prahādāna,¹⁷ the younger brother of the Abu Paramāra Dhāravarsha. The modified statement of the *Rāso* and the statement of Prahādāna are to some extent confirmed by a *Kaharatara-gachchha Paṭṭāvalī* completed probably in V.S. 1393, which incidentally refers to Prithvīrāja's conflict with Bhīma. It states that in V.S. 1244 the pilgrim's caravan from Ajmere received the permission of Jagaddeva Pratīhāra, Bhīma's chief minister, to pass through the kingdom of Gujarat. When *Danḍanāyaka* Abhayadeva of Aśvala wanted to punish the Khara-tara *saṅgha*, he wrote to Jagaddeva Pratīhāra: "In our territory we have at present many extremely rich people from Sapādalaksha. If I receive your permission, I shall provide fodder for our state horses". Jagaddeva Pratīhāra was extremely angry and wrote back: "I have with great difficulty concluded just now a treaty with Prithvīrāja. If you interfere with the people from Sapādalaksha, I shall have you sewn in the belly of an ass". This brought the *Danḍanāyaka* to his senses, and he permitted the *saṅgha* to proceed to Aṇahilapāṭaka.¹⁸ The fragmentary part of the Veraval inscription also probably contains a reference to this fight between Jagaddeva and Prithvīrāja. Merutuṅga too mentions that Jagaddeva became involved in a war with Prithvīrāja of Sapādalaksha, in which the former was defeated. These statements show that the old enmity between the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas had once again flared up some time after the accession of Bhīma, but peaceful relations were restored before V.S. 1244 (A.D. 1187).

Muslim invasion of Gujarat

Within five years Prithvīrāja met his doom in the second battle of Tarain, and soon after Bhīma found himself confronted by the upsurging tide of Muslim invasion under Qutb ud-Dīn. For the history of the ensuing struggle between Bhīma and Qutb ud-Dīn, our main authorities are the *Taj ul-Ma'thir* of Hasan Nizāmi which was written during the reign of Qutb ud-Dīn, and Ferishta's history. Though Ferishta has in many instances quoted Hasan Nizāmi as his authority,

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there are some material discrepancies between the two narratives of which we shall have to take account.

We find that in Ramḍān 588 A.H., according to Nizāmi and 599 A.H. according to Ferishta, news reached Qutb ud-Dīn, that a hostile army under one Jatwan, who was according to Ferishta alone a dependent of the Rai of Nahrwāla, had appeared before Hansi. The siege of the fort being energetically pressed by the Hindus, Qutb ud-Dīn made a hurried march towards the place. The Hindus learning of the arrival of fresh reinforcements raised the siege and decamped, but being closely pursued faced about and were overthrown. According to Nizāmi, the leader Jatwan was slain; but according to Ferishta, Jatwan was chased up to the frontiers of Gujarat.¹⁹

After this came the defeat of Jayachandra of Kanauj, which was followed by the defeat of Harirāja, the brother of Prithvirāja III; thereafter Qutb ud-Dīn finally occupied Ajmere. According to Ferishta alone, after disposing of the affairs of Ajmere, Qutb ud-Dīn led his forces in 591 A.H. towards Nahrwāla in Gujarat and encountered Jatwan the general of Bhīma. Jatwan was encamped with his army under the walls of a city, the name of which is not given by Ferishta. On the appearance of Qutb ud-Dīn he retired but was pursued, and being hard pressed, faced about, made a stand, was defeated and slain. Bhīma fled from his capital to the furthest quarter of his dominions, and Qutb ud-Dīn having acquired enormous booty in that territory returned to Delhi.²⁰

While Qutb ud-Dīn was at Ajmere in 591 A.H., according to Hasan Nizāmi, and at Delhi in 592 A.H., according to Ferishta, information was brought to him that a body of rebel Mairs²¹ had sent emissaries to the king of Nahrwāla asking him to aid them in attacking the Muslims who were but few in number. When he learnt of the intention of the Mairs, Qutb ud-Dīn resolved to be beforehand with them, and although it was the height of summer, early one morning fell upon the Mairs, and kept up a conflict with them the whole of that day. Next morning the army of Nahrwāla appeared upon the scene, and defeating the Muslims forced them to retire into the fort of Ajmere. Qutb ud-Dīn's horse received a wound which brought it to the ground, and his soldiers with great difficulty managed to mount him upon another horse and carried him off to Ajmere.²²

Emboldened by this success, the Hindus with the army of Gujarat followed Qutb ud-Dīn and his force, pursued then to Ajmere, and took up a position at a short distance from it, and for several months they shut up Qutb ud-Dīn within the walls and carried on hostilities against the place. Intimation of the state of affairs having reached Mu'izz ud-Dīn, he despatched a large force from Ghazni under several of his distinguished officers to succour Qutb ud-Dīn; but the Hindu

army retired before its arrival and took up its position at the foot of Mt. Abu, exactly at the same place where it had inflicted in A.D. 1178 a crushing defeat upon Mu'izz ud-Dīn.

Qutb ud-Dīn, gaining strength from the help sent from Ghazni, resolved upon avenging his defeat and in the beginning of the month of Safar 593 A.H. (January, 1197) began his march towards Nahrwāla. But Nizāmi and Ferishta differ as to the route followed by Qutb ud-Dīn on this occasion. Probably he passed through Pali and Nadol which he found deserted. At last on 13th of Rabi-ul-awwal 593 A.H. (3d. or 4th February, 1197²³) Qutb ud-Dīn contacted the main army of Bhīma which was under the command of Rai Karan, Wallan, and Darabaras. As the Hindus were entrenched on the same grounds which they occupied when they had defeated Mu'izz ud-Dīn, it was deemed unpropitious to bring an action there lest the same should happen again. "Seeing their (Muslim's) hesitation," states Nizāmi, "the Hindus advanced to encounter them;" but Ferishta states: "Qutb ud-Dīn entered those defiles and broken ground and defeated them." But as Nizāmi was the contemporary historian his account is more reliable. According to Nizāmi after facing each other for some time a battle took place which was obstinately contested from dawn to mid-day and ended in the complete overthrow of the Hindus who are said to have lost nearly 50,000 killed. Ferishta's figures are "nearly 15,000 killed and 20,000 captives."²⁴ Rai Karan escaped leaving 20 elephants and a large booty behind. Nahrwāla was captured, and according to Ferishta, a Muslim governor was left there; thereafter Qutb ud-Dīn returned to Delhi by way of Ajmere. Nizāmi also states that Qutb ud-Dīn returned to Delhi from Nahrwāla by way of Ajmere, but does not mention any governor being left behind.

The *Kharatara-gachhha Paṭṭāvali* of Jinapāla to which reference has already been made is the only known Hindu source which refers to this struggle of Bhīma with the Muslims. According to the *Paṭṭāvali* in V.S. 1251 Jinapati Sūri was at Ajmere. The two months that he spent there were of the greatest trouble on account of the unsettled conditions created by the Muslims.²⁵ The reference is obviously to the final capture of Ajmere from Harirāja by Qutb ud-Dīn. The Sūri had to leave Ajmere on account of the *upadrava* and go to Aṇahilapāṭaka. In V.S. 1253 (c.A.D. 1197) Jinapati saw Aṇahilapāṭaka being sacked by the Muslims.²⁶

The accounts of Hasan Nizāmi and Ferishta leave unsettled several points the most important amongst which is the identity of Jatwan. Elliot thought him to have been "a mere leader of the Jat tribe which still maintains its position in the neighbourhood of the scene of action."²⁷ Probably Haig was following Elliot when he stated that it was "an army of Jats under a leader named Jatwan,"²⁸ as there seem to be no other

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authority to support this statement. It has also been suggested that Jatwan was a mistranscription for Chauhān or Chāhamāna.²⁹ But Ferishta has twice stated that Jatwan was a general of Bhīma, though he did not cite any authority for his statements. Ferishta's statements that Jatwan survived the first encounter with Qutb ud-Dīn also contradicts the statement of Nizāmi. It is evident, therefore, that Ferishta's information about Jatwan was faulty. Now, we know from the *Khara-tara-gachchha Patṭāvali* mentioned above, that one Bhīmasimha was the ruler or governor of Hansi in V.S. 1228 (c.A.D. 1171).³⁰ The Jatwan of the Muslim historians was most probably a general of this prince, who came to recover the lost fort for his master.

This initial mistake in identifying Jatwan seems to be responsible for the second mistake of Ferishta, namely, the statement that Gujarat was first sacked by Qutb ud-Dīn in 591 A.H. If Jatwan was the general of another Bhīmasimha whom Qutb ud-Dīn had defeated that year, Ferishta's mistake can be corrected by assuming that Qutb ud-Dīn, in order to prevent any further attempt by the Hindus to recapture Hansi, laid a siege to the capital of Bhīmasimha which he captured; but the resemblance in the names of the two kings suggested to Ferishta that Anāhilapāṭaka was meant. It is to show that there were two expeditions against Gujarat that Ferishta probably was obliged to differ from the dates given by Nizāmi, so that while Nizāmi says that at Ajmere in 591 A.H. Qutb ud-Dīn heard the news of the impending action by the Mairs and Bhīma, Ferishta states that Qutb ud-Dīn heard the same news in 592 A.H. at Delhi. It was impossible for Ferishta to accept the earlier date, for according to him, in 591 A.H. Qutb ud-Dīn first captured Nahr-wāla. It is therefore apparent that Ferishta was mistaken as to the identity of Jatwan, and that Bhīma was only once defeated by Qutb ud-Dīn, and his capital fell to the Muslims only once.³¹

Of the generals of Bhīma mentioned by the Muslim historians Darabaras is evidently a corruption of the name of the Paramāra chief Dhārā-varsha of Abu; Wallan is probably a mistranscription of Pāhlan which in turn is a corrupt form of Prahlādana, the brother of Dhārāvarsha. It has been suggested that Rai Karan is another mistranscription for Kirāt, that is Kīrtipāla, brother of the Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa, and founder of the Javalipur branch of the Chāhamānas.³² But as the earliest known date of Kīrtipāla's son, Samarasimha is A.D. 1182, this identification is not tenable. It is true that the Sundha Hill inscription speaks of a victory of Kīrtipāla over the Turushkas, but that probably refers to the fight against Mu'izz ud-Dīn in A.D. 1178. As an inscription of Kelhaṇa's son Jayantasimha is dated V.S. 1251 (c. 1194-1195 A.D.), Karan cannot be identified with Kelhaṇa either. For the present the identification of Rai Karan is not possible.

Except in a vague manner, none of the Muslim historians refer to

the fact or explain the retreat of the Muslim army of occupation from Gujarat. But for a few sporadic raids, for more than a century Gujarat remained unmolested by the Muslims. Probably they remembered for a long time the defeat of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, the first defeat of Qutb ud-Dīn, and then his hard won victory only to be followed by his ultimate expulsion from Gujarat. The memory of these incidents were probably sufficient to keep them at bay for such a long period. No other north Indian dynasty put up a more sustained or successful resistance against the Muslims for a longer period.

When did the Muslims leave Gujarat ?

The Ahada grant of Bhīma proves that he was controlling Mewad in A.D. 1207, and the Abu stone inscription (no. 1) of V.S. 1265 shows that the mountain passes of Abu were again under his control by the year A.D. 1209. Probably by this time Bhīma gained control over the Bali district of Godwad in south-eastern Jodhpur, though the Nana stone inscription which has been found there is dated much later. This re-assertion of Bhīma's position in southern Rajputana shows that the Muslims were forced to quit Gujarat at a much earlier date. Nizāmi states that after capturing Nahrwāla, Qutb ud-Dīn distributed robes of honour to the chief nobles and after receiving proofs of kindness, that is commendation from Mu'izz ud-Dīn, he returned to Ajmere. Ferishta states that Qutb ud-Dīn left at Nahrwāla a strong garrison under an officer. How and when this army of occupation was driven out of Gujarat is not mentioned. It does not seem possible that the Muslims had voluntarily left Gujarat after having conquered its capital. It is however certain that the army left by Qutb ud-Dīn, if not Qutb ud-Dīn himself, was forced to retreat and give up all territorial gains. It seems that there are two references to this heroic struggle of the Hindus to regain their independence.

The first reference is contained in the Dabhoi *praśasti* composed by Someśvara, the contemporary poet. Of Lavaṇaprasāda, this fragmentary *praśasti* states :

"How many god-like kings are there not on this earth ? But even all of them became troubled by the mere mention of the king of the Turushkas. When that (Turushka king), excessively angry, approached in order to fight, (it was Lavaṇaprasāda) who placed.....

"By whom (Lavaṇaprasāda) the king of the Turushkas..... who had spattered the earth with the blood flowing from the severed heads of numerous kings—when he came in front with dry lips, full of doubt—was conquered at Stambha with his arm (strong) like a post (*stambha*) and terrible through the sword.

"..... If he Lavaṇaprasāda is a mortal, how is it that he conquered the lord of the Mlechchhas ?" ³³

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The second reference is contained in the Devapattana *prāśasti* of Śrīdhara which states : "Śrīdhara, the pride of the fort, (or "he whose pride was the fort") made like so much grass the host of the heroic Hammīra, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundates the shores, that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of his feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth."

These references indicate that the Muslim army after the departure of Qutb ud-Dīn tried to extend their area of occupation by conquering the ports of Cambay and the holy city of Somanath. The capital of the Chaulukyas was ill adapted for defence, so that the surviving generals probably shifted towards the sea with the remnants of the army. As the Muslims drunk with their victory attacked these fortified places, they were repulsed with great slaughter. Probably the Hindus regained confidence after these victories, and followed them with renewed vigour without stopping till the Muslims were driven out of Gujarat. Bhīma was again in Aṇhilapātaka in V.S. 1258 (c.A.D. 1201) as we learn from the colophon of a manuscript.³⁴

Paramāra invasion

Hardly was the Muslim danger over than Gujarat was invaded by the Paramāras of Mālava. During the interval that elapsed between Vindhyavarman's defeat and their fresh invasion of Gujarat, the Paramāras had gained much strength. Soon after his defeat at the hands of Kumāra, Vindhyavarman must have occupied Dhārā.³⁵ The Mandhata plates of Devapāla state that Vindhyavarman was eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras and rescued Dhārā by force of arms.³⁶ A similar statement is made in an inscription of Arjunavarman.³⁷ This liberation of Dhārā is also corroborated by Āśādharma, a Jaina teacher, who states that he went to Dhārā to the court of Vijayavarman (Vindhyavarman) when the Sapādalaksha country was conquered by the Mlechchha king. This Mlechchha king was identified by his commentator as 'Shahibandina Turushkarāja',³⁸ undoubtedly a corrupt form of Shihab ud-Dīn, that is Mu'zz ud-Dīn bin Sam who was also known as Shihab ud-Dīn. Hence the event alluded to must have been the second battle of Tarain, from which it follows that Vindhyavarman occupied Dhārā before A.D. 1192.

Since then the Paramāras, left in peace, were able to consolidate their power, while the Chaulukyas became weaker having lost a part of their army in fighting the Muslims. Therefore, Vindhyavarman's son Subhāṭavarman (also known as Subhāṭa or Sohaḍa) was able to lead a successful expedition into Lāṭa, and probably attacked Aṇhilapātaka; for, the Mandhata plates of Devapāla state that "the fire of the prowess of that conqueror of the quarters (Subhāṭavarman) whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest fire even to-day blazes in the *pattana* of

the blustering Gūrjara (*garjjad Gūrjara-pattane*)".³⁹ Subhāṭavarman probably attacked after the Muslims had left the capital. It was probably the anarchy which followed the marauding raid of Subhāṭavarman that helped the usurper Jayantasimha to occupy Aṇhilapāṭaka about this time. In that case Subhāṭavarman's attack must have taken place after V.S. 1261, as we know from the colophon of a manuscript that in that year Bhīma was reigning in his capital.⁴⁰

Merutuṅga, however, makes the Mālava king turn from the frontier and states : "While this king (Bhīma II) was reigning, the king of Mālava, named Sohaḍa, advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country, but the minister of Bhīmadeva went to meet him and addressed this couplet to him,—

Thy blaze of might, O sun of kings, gleams in the eastern quarter
But it will be extinguished, when thou shalt descend into the
western region.

When Sohaḍa heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister, he turned back again."⁴¹ But Merutuṅga was not only mistaken about the non-violent method which was successful in turing out Subhāṭavarman, he was also mistaken about the extent of his raid as well. We have seen that from the Paramāra records it appears that Subhāṭavarman reached Aṇhilapāṭaka. From the contemporary Gujarat chronicles, we learn that he conquered and occupied Dabhoi for some time.

Arisimha states that the gold pitchers from the temple of Vaidyanātha in Darbhavatī were removed by the lord of Mālava, but Vastupāla put them there again.⁴² Though Arisimha does not mention the name of this Mālava king, two other contemporary works, state that it was king Subhāṭavarman who removed the golden pitchers from the temple of Vaidyanātha in Darbhavatī, and these pitchers were ultimately restored by Vastupāla.⁴³ Thus Subhāṭavarman raided Dabhoi before V.S. 1267. It was probably this Paramāra pilferer of temples who destroyed the mosques and minarets as alleged by al'Awfi. It seems that the reference to the Mālava invasion in the following passage of Śrīdhara's Devapattana *prāśasti* also refers to this invasion : "He (Śrīdhara) quickly again made stable by the power of his *mantra* (ie. his political advice, wisdom, or charm) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the (impetuous) war elephants of Mālava resembling a forest of dark tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power".⁴⁴ Though it is not clear what Śrīdhara means by his *mantra* it seems that his fort withstood the siege of both the Muslims and of Subhāṭavarman hence he was very proud of it. As his fort was near Somnath, Subhāṭavarman must have proceeded as far as that place, though he apparently failed to occupy it.

But it was probably Lavaṇaprasāda who really saved Gujarat by driving away Subhāṭavarman. Someśvara states that the king of Dhārā

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came to invade his dominions but finding him firm in his opposition retraced his steps.¹⁵ The Dabhoi *prāśasti* also composed by Someśvara records : "Lavaṇaprasāda, who was a repository of medicine like valour, cured (his country) when the crowd of the princes of Dhārā, of Dakṣiṇa and of Maru, who resembled diseases, (attacked it)".¹⁶ That this king of Dhārā was Subhāṭavarman is proved by the following statements of Bālachanda, who describes with the help of a mythic imagery the terrible struggle that took place between the two adversaries which resulted only in the good of their common enemy, the Yādavas. "Certainly this *bhīma* (Śaṅkha) caused to recede the *kālakūṭa* poison in the shape of the Yādava army, which arose from the ocean in the form of the war churned (violently agitated) by the son of Arjorāja (Lavaṇaprasāda), who, having figures like those of gods, came and struck on one side, and on the other (side) by the powerful Śrībhaṭa alone who was thoroughly conversant with his duties, having a mountain in Mālava in the middle".¹⁷ This Śrībhaṭa is undoubtedly Subhāṭavarman, and this verse shows that the Yādavas did not come as the allies of the Paramāras.

Merutuṅga calls Subhāṭavarman's son Arjunavarman 'the destroyer of Gujarat' and states that Arjunavarman 'quite defeated the realm of Gūrjara'.⁴⁸ Arjunavarman defeated one Jayantasīmha or Jayasīmha, who for some time had usurped the throne of Gujarat and occupied the capital. Though Jayantasīmha is not mentioned in any chronicle, one of his own grants issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka proves his existence. Several Paramāra records on the other hand refer to Arjunavarman's victory over a Jayasīmha, and the unusual Dhar-*prāśasti*, which is a drama in four acts of which only two have survived, narrates the victory of Arjunavarman over Gūrjara-*pati* Jayasīmha. The daughter of Jayasīmha is referred to as '*Chaulukya-mahi-mahendra-duhitā devī Jayaśrī*', which shows clearly that a Chaulukya of Gujarat was meant.⁴⁹ According to the Dhar-*prāśasti*, Arjunavarman defeated Jayasīmha in the valley of the Parva mountain and captured his daughter Jayaśrī. The Parva mountain, which has not yet been identified, might have been the Pawagadh near Champaner. However, according to this drama, the king fell in love with the captured princess and probably married her. This seems to indicate that Jayantasīmha bought peace by marrying his daughter to Arjunavarman. As the Piṭliānagar grant of Arjunavarman of A.D. 1210⁵⁰ refers to his victory over Jayantasīmha his invasion of Gujarat must have taken place earlier. A Bhopal grant of Arjunavarman shows that he reached Broach in A.D. 1213.⁵¹

It has been assumed on the basis of the Bhopal grant that the Paramāras occupied Lāṭa under Arjunavarman. However, we learn from the colophon of a manuscript that in (V) Samvat 1247, Bhṛigukachchha was being governed by one *Danḍa*. Sobhanadeva during the prosperous reign of Bhīma; the colophon of another manuscript shows that Lāṭa was

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included within Bhīma's territory in V.S. 1252⁵² (A.D. 1195). Hence the Paramāras could only have conquered Lāṭa between c.A.D. 1195-1213, that is either during the reign of Subhaṭavarman or that of Arjunavarman. But their hold on Lāṭa was precarious and resulted in the power passing into the hands of a Chāhamāna family headed by one Siṃha. The Chaulukyas regained the province of Lāṭa probably by the end of the third decade of the 13th century A.D., for, we know that by that time they defeated a Yādava army on the banks of the Narmada. The colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1298 (c.A.D. 1231-32) shows that Bhrigukachchha was at that time under Lavaṇaprasāda's grandson, Viśaladeva.⁵³

Political changes in Lāṭa

The history of Lāṭa during this period is confusing. It seems that after the Paramāras, the Yādavas repeatedly attacked it; this provided the opportunity to some local families to assert their powers. The Chaulukyas also attempted to regain their lost province: thus the unfortunate country was turned into a battle field for nearly four decades. The two contemporary Gujarat chronicles, namely the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara (KK) and the *Vasantavilāsa* of Bālachandra (VV), and the contemporary historical drama *Hammīramadamardana* (HMM) record different incidents of this protracted struggle, and by reconciling the statements of all the three we learn that the country came under the possession of a Chāhamāna Siṃha.⁵⁴ Siṃha enjoyed the friendly support of the Paramāras, but being left in the lurch when the Yādavas attacked him, he turned for support to the Chaulukyas.⁵⁵ Some time later, Siṃha's nephew, Śaṅkha, or Saṅgrāmasiṃha, came into prominence,⁵⁶ by inflicting a disastrous defeat on the Yādavas.⁵⁷ It is probable that Arjunavarman did not like that Siṃha, an ally of the Chaulukyas, should remain at Broach; hence he might have gone there in A.D. 1213 to drive away Siṃha, and to install Śaṅkha in his place. More than a decade later, Lāṭa was again invaded by the Yādavas—this time under Siṃhana aided by Śaṅkha; and when Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā attempted to oppose the Yādavas, they were confronted by a rising of the kings of Marwad.⁵⁸ So Lavaṇaprasāda concluded a treaty with Siṃhana,⁵⁹ and accompanied with his son Vīradhavalā, went north to Marwad. In their absence Śaṅkha attacked Cambay, but was defeated by Vastupāla.⁶⁰ Śaṅkha then induced Yādava Siṃhana to invade Gujarat again.⁶¹ This time the combination against the Chaulukyas was even more formidable than before: the Marwad kings had again rebelled, the king of Mālava, Paramāra Devapāla, was about to attack, and a Muslim invasion was apprehended.⁶² But a set of spies managed to effect a breach between Śaṅkha and Siṃhana, after which the former submitted to Vīradhavalā.⁶³ The kings of Marwad also submitted.⁶⁴ The Muslim invasion was success-

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fully repulsed.⁶⁵ During this second phase of the war for Lāṭa, Lavaṇa-prasāda was staying near the river Sabhramati,⁶⁶ and is not stated to have taken any part in the struggle which was successfully faced by Vīradhavalā.

We shall now proceed to give a more detailed account of these protracted warfare from which by the end of Bhīma's reign the Chaulukyas emerged victorious.

Yādava Invasion

The repeated Yādava attacks were even more dangerous than that of the Paramāras, as the former were at the time the strongest neighbour of the Chaulukyas. The attack of Yādava Bhīllama, which has already been noted, seems to have opened the flood gate of invasion of Gujarat from that quarter. After Bhīllama came his son Jaitugi, one of whose inscriptions of A.D. 1200 states that he conquered the Gūrjaras.⁶⁷ We have already seen that the VV states that while Subhāṭavarman was fighting Lavaṇa-prasāda, the Yādava army rose like a deadly poison and were driven back by Śaṅkha.⁶⁸ As both Jaitugi and Subhāṭavarman reigned upto A.D. 1210, the Yādavas mentioned in the VV seems to have been the army of Jaitugi.

Jaitugi's son Śimhāna carried with even greater vigour the policy of his father and grandfather. In an inscription at Ambem, a Brahmin chief called Kholeśvara, who was a general of Śimhāna, claims to have humbled the pride of the Gūrjaras. His son Rāma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent against Gujarat. Rāma advanced upto the Narmada, where a battle was fought in which he slew numerous Gujarati soldiers but was himself killed in action.⁶⁹ This indicates two invasions. Dr. H. C. Ray has identified the first invasion of Kholeśvara with the one described in the KK, and which was probably brought to a halt by Lavaṇa-prasāda by means of a treaty. The second invasion by Rāma according to Dr. Ray was the one repulsed by Vīradhavalā and formed part of the theme of the HMM.⁷⁰ But as Viśaladeva, the son of Vīradhavalā, also claims to have defeated an army of Śimhāna,⁷¹ both R. G. Bhandarkar and Fleet were of the opinion that though the invasion of Kholeśvara might be the one described in the KK, the invasion of Rāma ought to be identified with the one repulsed by Viśaladeva before he had ascended the throne, that is some time in A.D. 1237.⁷² We are inclined to accept the proposed identification of Bhandarkar and Fleet, for the HMM far from describing any victory of Vīradhavalā over Śimhāna relates how a fight between the two was avoided by diverting the Yādava attack. Moreover, according to the HMM, Śimhāna had proceeded up to the river Tapti whence he was diverted towards Mālava by the spy Nipunaka;⁷³ but the Ambem inscription definitely states that Rāma fought on the banks of the Narmada,

which lies to the north of Tapti. It is also known that in V.S. 1298 (c. A.D. 1242), Viśaladeva was governing Broach,⁷⁴ hence it was quite likely for him to have fought Rāma on the banks of Narmada a few years earlier. Thus the invasion which is said to have been averted by a clever stratagem could hardly have been the invasion led by Rāma.

An account of the first invasion of Gujarat by Siṃhana is given by the poet Someśvara in the KK. As it presents in detail a glaring picture of the effects of an invasion in those days written by a contemporary poet, it is worthy of being quoted here. Someśvara writes : "While peace was reigning all over the kingdom, Siṃhana, the king of Deccan (*Dakṣiṇendra*), having heard of the prosperity of Gujarat, ordered his army to invade the country. The capital of Gujarat trembled with fear when the advance of Siṃhana's army was reported. Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gūrjara (king) began the construction of a new house or stored grains, and the minds of all were restless. Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a peculiar solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited moved further and further. When Lavaṇaprasāda heard of the innumerable host of the Yādava prince, he knit his brow in anger; and though he had a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior. When the forces of Siṃhana arrived on the banks of the Tapti, he rapidly advanced to Mahi. Seeing, on the one hand, the vast array of the enemy, and, on the other, the indomitable power of the Chaulukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air, showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yādavas overran the country about Bhṛigukachchha while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields, but the king of Gūrjara land did not think them unconquerable".⁷⁵

In the meanwhile four kings of Marwad (*chaturbhir-Marubhupaiḥ*) rose against Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavalā. The chiefs of Godhra and Lāṭa too, seceded from Lavaṇaprasāda's army, left the camp, and allied themselves with the four Marwad kings.⁷⁶ In these circumstances Lavaṇaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned back to put down the Maru kings. According to the VV, the Maru kings were fighting king Lūṇasāka (a variant of Lavaṇaprasāda), and Vīradhavalā went to fight the Maru kings. The Yādava army, however, did not advance further, because, as Someśvara puts it, "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."

This last sentence of Someśvara was rightly criticised by R. G. Bhandarkar who pointed out : "If the invasion spread such terror over the country as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Siṃhana

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was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gūjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay a tribute or satisfied the Yādava commander in some way." The answer to this problem seems to be contained in the specimen of a treaty with the names of Lavaṇaprasāda and Simhana attached to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must have actually been concluded between them.⁷⁷

This treaty of alliance or *Yamalapatra*, as it is called, runs as follows: "On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat 1288, in the camp of victory, (a treaty) between the *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmat-Simhana* and the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇka Śrī* Lavaṇaprasāda. Simhana whose partimony is paramount sovereignty and the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Śrī* Lavaṇaprasāda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country; neither should invade the country of the other. If a powerful enemy attacked either of them, they should jointly oppose him. If from the country of either any noble fled into the territory of the other taking with him anything of value, he should not be given asylum and all valuables removed by the refugees should be restored".⁷⁸

This treaty is dated V.S. 1288; but as most of the documents in the *Lekhapaddhati*, from which the treaty is quoted, are dated in V.S. 1288, the date is of little worth except for showing the date of the compilation of the *Lekhapaddhati*. The HMM speaks of two attacks by Simhana, the second of which is described in the drama. The invasion, which is referred to as the past one in the HMM, is probably the one at the end of which this treaty was concluded. As one manuscript of the HMM is dated V.S. 1286, the first invasion of Simhana must have taken place earlier than V.S. 1286.

This treaty does not confer on Simhana the advantages of a victor, from which it has been concluded that probably Lavaṇaprasāda induced him to sign the treaty by paying him an indemnity. But there is another document in the *Lekhapaddhati* also dated V.S. 1288 which seems to reveal the reason behind Simhana's willingness to come to terms. This document is a deed for the sale of a slave girl in the preamble to which it is stated that when *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇka Śrī-Vīradhavaladeva* had attacked Mahārāshṭra, a man had brought a fair looking girl as captive,—who was now being sold. From the peculiar form used in this deed it seems that many slave girls were brought from Mahārāshṭra on this occasion.⁷⁹ It appears therefore, that while Lavaṇaprasāda faced Simhana with a small army, he sent his son Vīradhavalā with another army to ravage the territory of the Yādavas. This task Vīradhavalā accomplished with so striking success, that Simhana was left with no other alternative than to conclude the treaty on equal terms.

The treaty was of great advantage to Gujarat and shows Lavaṇaprasāda to be a statesman; not only it relieved the country from the

Yādava attack, but the guarantee of Yādava help in case Gujarat was attacked by a third party, seemed to have had the effect of protecting the country against the Paramāra raids, while Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā went north to put down the rebellion of the Marwad kings. The other clause which obliged both the contracting parties to "confine themselves each to his own country according to former usage" suggests that Lāṭa remained a part of Gujarat. As the Paramāras are nowhere mentioned in this struggle which took place entirely in Lāṭa, it seems evident that they had at this time no influence in that country. But, as we shall see, local rulers still continued to govern Lāṭa.

But the treaty did not prevent Siṃhana to attack Gujarat again, ostensibly at the instigation of Śaṅkha.⁸⁰ Probably Siṃhana did not feel bound to keep the terms of the treaty which circumstances forced him to accept, and as soon as he obtained promise of help from Śaṅkha he marched⁸ towards Gujarat again. This time the minister Vastupāla managed through the medium of a spy to have the Yādava advances diverted towards Mālava or at least stopped near the banks of Tapti near a forest which seems to have been the boundary of the Mālava kingdom.⁸¹ The same spy then managed a forged letter to fall into the hands of Siṃhana, which, purporting to have come from the hands of Paramāra Devapāla, addressed Śaṅkha as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and ordered him to obey certain instructions, and reminded him of the death of his father at the hands of the Yādavas. As the spy had already induced Śaṅkha to accept the stolen horse of Devapāla,—which was mentioned in the letter as a gift from the Mālava king,—Siṃhana naturally started enquiries; this frightened Śaṅkha who immediately left the Yādava camp. As in the HMM it is taken for granted that with the desertion of Śaṅkha the Yādava menace was over, it may be presumed that Siṃhana went back and again sent another army under Rāma several years later (c. 1237 A.D.) to invade Gujarat. This army was defeated by Vīśaladeva and its commander killed.

History of Śaṅkha

It was probably the repeated Yādava attacks which raised into prominence Śaṅkha, an otherwise unknown chieftain of Lāṭa. In the HMM he is invariably referred to as Saṅgrāmasiṃha, whereas the KK and the VV call him Śaṅkha, and all the three works agree that he was the son of Sindhurāja; the *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* definitely identifies Śaṅkha with Saṅgrāmasiṃha.⁸²

In the VV Śaṅkha is called a Chāhamāna,⁸³ and in the KK it is stated that the town of Cambay belonged to him by right of descent, as his ancestors had formerly held it.⁸⁴ The Hansot grant of Bhartṛivaḍḍha issued from Broach in V.S. 813, reveals the existence of a line of six generations of Chāhamānas who appear to have resided in the region of

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Broach and held sway over Lāṭa.⁸⁵ As Broach according to the chronicles was the seat of Śaṅkha's government, he might have belonged to the line of the Chāhamānas mentioned above, but no precise identification of his ancestry is possible.

Besides Siṃha, the uncle of Śaṅkha, the HMM refers to another king of Lāṭa named Sahajapāla, who is spoken of in connection with a past event as well as with the events dealt with in the play.⁸⁶ Śaṅkha's exact status is not mentioned in the HMM except in the forged letter where he is designated as the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Devapāla, the Paramāra king of Mālava.⁸⁷ Both the KK and the VV mention another king of Lāṭa who is not named,⁸⁸ hence S. R. Bhandarkar suggested that Siṃha and Sahajapāla were identical.⁸⁹ As the HMM does not call Śaṅkha the king of Lāṭa, this is probably what is meant, but in view of the testimony of the VV and the KK it has to be admitted that in that case Lāṭa was divided into two parts: one was being ruled by Śaṅkha from Broach, and the other by Sahajapāla, who might have been Śaṅkha's uncle Siṃha, or his cousin, that is Siṃha's son.

Identity of Śaṅkha

In the HMM, Śaṅkha is said to be the nephew of Siṃha king of Lāṭa,⁹⁰ but the KK and the VV does not mention Siṃha. The VV states that when Lavaṇaprasāda and Subhaṭavarman were fighting each other, and the Yādavas took advantage of it and invaded Lāṭa, it was Śaṅkha who repulsed the Yādavas. This indicates that Śaṅkha was wielding power as early as the first decade of the 13th century A.D., as Subhaṭavarman was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman by A.D. 1210. In that case Śaṅkha must have come to power earlier. The HMM states that Siṃha was deserted by his friend the Mālava king when attacked by the Yādavas as a result of which he came to terms with Vīradhavalā.⁹¹ Probably it was in this conflict that Śaṅkha came to the forefront by checking the advance of the Yādavas under Jaitugi. About Śaṅkha's father, Sindhurāja, none of the chronicles give any information, except stating that he was an enemy of Vīradhavalā and lost his life at the hand of the Yādavas.⁹²

In the HMM, Vastupāla praises Śaṅkha very highly for his victory over the army of Siṃhana by which he put into shade the wonder which previously had been witnessed on the Revā (Narmada) when Rāvaṇa's pride was checked by Arjuna (Kārtavyīrya).⁹³ Probably during this time Śaṅkha had been acting as a feudatory of the Paramāras. But later he was defeated and captured by the Yādavas and spent some time in a Yādava prison.⁹⁴ Probably during his imprisonment Śaṅkha shifted his allegiance to the Yādavas, and agreed to lead the army of Siṃhana into Gujarat.⁹⁵ The first invasion of Gujarat by Siṃhana apparently ending in a truce, Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā left for Marwad. Taking

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advantage of their absence, Śaṅkha decided to attack Cambay where Vastupāla had been left in charge. According to Merutuṅga, a Muslim merchant named Saiida (Sayyad?) had invited Śaṅkha, the *Mahā-Sādhanika* of Broach to help him against Vastupāla.⁹⁶ Both the VV and KK state that Śaṅkha sent an emissary to Vastupāla at Cambay demanding the surrender of the city. The emissary threatened Vastupāla with dire consequences in case of refusal and promised him high offices under Śaṅkha if he complied with the demand. Vastupāla disdainfully dismissed the emissary; Śaṅkha attacked Cambay and in a well contested battle was decisively beaten and retired. The Muslim merchant Saiida was killed by Vastupāla.⁹⁷

It is probable that chagrined by this defeat, Śaṅkha again joined the Yādavas, and it was due to his incitement that Siṃhana led another attack on Gujarat. How this attack was foiled and the alliance dissolved has already been narrated.⁹⁸ Śaṅkha after deserting Siṃhana collected his troops and proceeded towards Cambay. This rendered Vastupāla uneasy and he threatened to destroy Śaṅkha. Probably Śaṅkha was coming with hostile intention, but he had maintained a representative at Cambay to allay suspicion. That dignitary, when accused by Vastupāla of bad faith, assured the minister that Śaṅkha was coming with his troops to help Vīradhavalā against the Turushkas. Vastupāla appeared to be satisfied with this explanation, but made arrangements for the defence of Cambay.⁹⁹

This is the last we hear of Śaṅkha. Nothing more is known of him. As Broach is known to have been under Vīradhavalā's son Viśaladeva¹⁰⁰ in V.S. 1298, presumably Śaṅkha was deprived of all power and position by that time. The last known date of Bhīma is V.S. 1296; Broach might have once again come under the sway of the Chaulukyas during the reign of Bhīma, for probably Śaṅkha was finally removed from Broach by Viśaladeva, whom we have supposed to have defeated the Yādava army under Rāma in A.D. 1237 on the banks of the Narmada.

Rebellion in Marwad

During this period the feudatories of Marwad had rebelled twice, and had on both the occasions taken advantage of the Yādava attack. On the first occasion, there were four rebel princes who were finally subdued by Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā. On the second occasion there were three of them, namely, Udayasiṃha, Somasiṃha and Dhārāvarsha.¹⁰¹

Dhārāvarsha is undoubtedly the Abu Paramāra chief of that name, and is probably identical with the king of Chandrāvati said to have been defeated by Lavaṇaprasāda's father, Arṇorāja.¹⁰² This would show that Dhārāvarsha tried to break away from the Chaulukyas on the accession of Bhīma, but being unsuccessful, had to render valuable assistance

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during the Muslim invasion, but again broke into rebellion and was again forced to submit.

Somasimha was probably the *Mahārājādhirāja* Somasimha, known from an inscription found near Nana in the Godvad district.¹⁰³

Udaysimha is probably identical with the Jāvālipura Chāhāmāna king of that name, who was a grandson of Kīrtipāla, and of whom the Sundha Hill inscription states: "He (Udayarāja) curbed the pride of the Turushkas, was not conquered by the Gūrjara king, and put an end to Sindhurāja".¹⁰⁴ This Sindhurāja might have been the father of Śaṅkha.

Another prince mentioned in the HMM is Jayatala of Mewad, who had not joined Viradhavala and against whom Hammūra had marched.¹⁰⁵ This prince has been identified with Jaitrasimha, the Guhilot king of Mewad (c. A.D. 1213-1256¹⁰⁶), whose grandfather, Kumārasimha, ousted from the country the enemy prince Kītu (i.e. Chāhāmāna Kīrtipāla whose grandson Udayasimha is mentioned above) and after pleasing the Gūrjara king (Bhīma) became king at Āghāṭapura.¹⁰⁷ Two manuscripts written at Āghāṭapura in A.D. 1227 and 1256, show that Jaitrasimha was ruling there at the time and had assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.¹⁰⁸ The Ahada grant of Bhīma shows that in A.D. 1207 he was holding sway over Mewad and Āghāṭa; but the HMM and the two manuscripts indicate that some time between A.D. 1207-1227, the Guhilots had declared their independence and Mewad and Āghāṭa were temporarily lost to the Chaulukyas.

Bhīmasimha

The HMM mentions a Bhīmasimha who is called the *Sīmantamaṇi* of Saurāshtra, and who has been identified with Bhīma himself.¹⁰⁹ But the way he is mentioned in the HMM leaves little doubt as to his feudatory status. He seems to be identical with Bhīmasimha, the lord of Saurāshtra, mentioned in the *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī*, who gave up the tax on Jaina temples for the religious merits of his parents. Tejaḥpāla gave this Bhīmasimha 500 drammas for the protection of Girnar.¹¹⁰ This Bhīmasimha may also be identical with Bhīmasimha whose father Luṇiga came from Marusthali to Saurāshtra as a general.¹¹¹

Lord of Godraha

In the KK a *Godraha-nātha* is stated to have rebelled against Viradhavala; he may be identical with Ghughula, the ruler of Godhra in Mahīṭa.¹¹²

An unidentified Muslim invasion of Gujarat

It has been stated above, that according to the HMM, during the second attack of Simhana and Śaṅkha, Viradhavala was faced with an impending Muslim invasion. The drama derives its name *Hammūra-*

madamardana from the defeat of the leader of the Muslim general by Vīradhavalā, which it describes.

In HMM a spy comes and describes to Vīradhavalā the ruthless massacre of men, women, and children by the Muslims in Mewad. The people through terror preferred committing suicide; some fell into wells, some set fire to their houses and burnt themselves, while others filled with rage fell upon the enemy, all of them crying for their dear ones.¹¹³ This was the result of the attack of Mīlachchhrikāra who had a Muslim rival called Kharpar Khan. Mīlachchhrikāra was driven out of Mewad by a clever ruse and Vastupāla sent a spy in the guise of a messenger of Kharpar Khan to Baghdad, where the spy lodged a complaint before the Khalīpa, who is described as the overlord of all the *Mlechchha* tribe,¹¹⁴—that Mīlachchhrikāra did not obey the Khalīpa's order. The Khalīpa thereupon, sent back the spy with an order to Kharpar Khan to send Mīlachchhrikāra in chains to Baghdad. On receipt of the order, Kharpar Khan marched towards the territory of Mīlachchhrikāra to whom this information was conveyed by another Gujarat spy. Yet another spy informed some Gūjara *Maṇḍaleśvaras*, such as Kurapāla and Pratāpa-siṃha,¹¹⁵ that Vīradhavalā would give them the whole of the country of the Turushkas when they (the Turushkas) were killed in battle, and thus won them over. Mīlachchhrikāra had in the meantime sent his two spiritual preceptors, named Radī and Kādī, to Baghdad to intercede with the Khalīpa. During their absence Vīradhavalā attacked him and he fled away without offering any resistance.¹¹⁶ Later when Radī and Kādī returned from Baghdad after receiving from the Khalīpa the authorisation for Mīlachchhrikāra to establish a kingdom, Vastupāla had them captured on the high seas along with another Muslim called Vajradina and kept them confined at Cambay. Mīlachchhrikāra since then often sent his ministers to Gujarat to intercede for the release of his preceptors whose continued captivity ensured a lifelong peace with the Muslims.¹¹⁷

Merutuṅga partly corroborates the last part of the episode. According to him, once Ālima the preceptor of Suratrāṇa, the king of the *Mlechchhas*, came to Gujarat on his way to Mecca, and it was Tejapāla who dissuaded Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā,—who were set on for Ālima as a couple of wolves for a goat,—from capturing Ālima. When the Suratrāṇa heard this he wrote to Vastupāla (sic): "You are ruler in my kingdom, I am only your javelin bearer, so you must always favour me with orders directing me what to do." Being thus pressed by the Suratrāṇa every year, Vastupāla asked for and obtained a statute of Rishavā, but for no apparent reason the god became so angry that he forthwith stopped granting Vastupāla any further interview.¹¹⁸

From the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara, we learn that once spies from Delhi informed Vastupāla that Suratrāṇa Śrī Mojadīna of Delhi was advancing west from that city with his army and had already com-

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pleted four stages of the march. "So be careful", the spy added, "I think he will enter Gūrjaradharā through Abu." The minister after thanking the spy took him to Vīradhavalā, who, having heard the story said: "Vastupāla, Gardhavilla, though accomplished in *Gardhavīvidyā*, was conquered by the *Mlechchhas*. Śilāditya also was put to difficulty by them. Jayantachandra, lord of the earth extending over 700 *yojanas* was also by them led to destruction. Prithvīrāja, who had released Suratrāṇa Sahāvadīna after imprisoning him twenty times, was made a prisoner by them. So they are difficult to be defeated. What will you do?" Vastupāla assured Vīradhavalā and departed with one lac of horses to meet the Suratrāṇa. On his way Vastupāla propitiated the goddess Mahānakadevī who appeared before him and said: "Son! Be not afraid. The *Yavanas* will enter by way of Mt. Abu. As soon as they cross the pass have it closed by one of your princes. Then when they will enter their abode, with a firm mind pounce on them with all your army. The goddess of victory will be yours." Hearing this, Vastupāla sent a man to Dhārāvarsha, the *nāyaka* of Arbudagiri (Mt. Abu) and a servitor (*sevaka*) of Vastupāla. This man told Dhārāvarsha that the *Mlechchha* troops were advancing, and that Dhārāvarsha should allow the troops to enter and then close the pass. Dhārāvarsha did as he was told. The *Yavanas* entered the pass. As soon as the *Yavanas* entered their camps, the dreaded Vastupāla fell on them. Many *Yavanas* were killed; there arose the cry of '*bumbā*.' Some *Yavanas* placed their fingers between their teeth, other did *toba* (*tobām kurvanti*), but they were not spared.¹¹⁹ The decapitated heads of a lac of Muslims were sent by the minister Vastupāla to Dhavalokka (Dholka) to show them to his master Vīradhavalā.¹²⁰

Rājaśekhara then continues that some years after this incident, the mother of Mojadīna started on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Having heard this news from his spies, Vastupāla ordered his sailors to sieze all her properties and forward the same to him. The captain of Mojadīn's mother's ship then came and complained to Vastupāla that pirates had robbed the property of an old Muslim lady. On their disclosing her identity, Vastupāla received her with great respect, and pretending to have caught the pirates, restored her property. He then showered on Mojadīn's mother every honour and kept her in great comfort. On her way back to Delhi, she insisted upon Vastupāla's accompanying her, which he did with Vīradhavalā's permission. Vastupāla obtained from the Suratrāṇa a promise to maintain friendly relations with Vīradhavalā and five large pieces of marbles, with which he caused statues to be made.¹²¹

Apparently the HMM, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, and *Prabandhakośa* are referring to the same Muslim attack. Of these three works, the HMM is the only contemporary one. The story of hostages as given

in the HMM and the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* are practically the same, the difference being in the imagination of the two authors: Jayasimha Sūri wove around it a story of spies as unbelievable as Merutuṅga's story of divine displeasure. Rājasekhara's story of Mojadīn's mother seems to have been based on the same original idea as the other two, namely, pleasing the Sultan of Delhi by Vastupāla's adroit handling of the Sultan's relatives. The story of the hostages is difficult to believe, but the Mongols having at this time closed the overland route to Arabia, it is not surprising that the Sultan of Delhi would have liked to maintain amicable relations with the power that controlled the ports of Broach, Cambay, and Somanath.

S. R. Bhandarkar proposed that Mīlachchhṛīkāra should be identified with Iltutmish who had once held the post of *Amir-i-shihar* under Qutb ud-Dīn, as according to that scholar it was the only word from which Mīlachchhṛīkāra could have been derived. This identification is untenable, because, it has been shown, that the one word cannot be derived from the other. But there are other grounds for identifying Mīlachchhṛīkāra with Iltutmish, such as, the description in the HMM of his rivalry with Kharpar Khan. Though Kharpar Khan too cannot be identified, Iltutmish is known to have had to fight with rival claimants to the throne of Delhi, of whom one was Tāj ud-Dīn Yalduz, the other being Nasir ud-Dīn Qabācha. Moreover in A.D. 1229 (A.H. 626), Iltutmish received from the Caliph al-Mustansir Billa a robe of honour, "accompanied by a diploma confirming him in the kingdom of Hindusthan with the title of great Sultan." This resembles to great extent the message which Radī and Kādī were bringing from the Caliph. But as none of the Muslim historians mention the capture of the envoys and as Merutuṅga says that the Sultan's preceptor's were saved by Vastupāla, the story of their capture may be dismissed as part of the drama, though it was quite likely for the Caliph's envoys at this period to have gone through Gujarat, where the Muslim's were always treated very favourably.

If Iltutmish attacked Gujarat during this period the Muslim histories contain no reference to it. But it was probable for Jayasimha to have based his plot on some of the incidents which might have taken place when Iltutmish captured Mandwar, probably modern Mandor near Jodhpur in the Siwalik territory, in A.D. 1226 (624 A.H.), or when he invaded Mālava in A.D. 1234 (632 A.H.) captured Bhilsa, and sacked Ujjain, where he broke the famous temple of Mahākāla. If Iltutmish sent out a raiding party to Gujarat, it must have been of a very minor nature which none of the Muslim historians have recorded.

The full name and titles of Iltutmish was Sultan Mu'azzam Shams-ud-Duniya Wa ud-Dīn Abu-l Muzaffar Iltutmish; hence he could not have been the Mojadīna of Rājasekhara. The only Mu'izz ud-Dīn,

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who could have been a contemporary of Vastupāla, was Mu'izz ud-Dīn Bahram, the son of Iltutmish and successor of Raziyya; he reigned for only two years (April, 1240-May, 1242), by which time Vīradhavalā was dead. Moreover it does not seem possible that during the brief and inglorious reign of Bahram, an expedition to Gujarat was attempted. It seems far more probable for Rājāśekhara to have added his fancy, in order to throw lustre to the name of Vastupāla, to a traditional story of the defeat of Mu'izz ud-Dīn bin Sam in A.D. 1178 by Mūlarāja II.

Invasion of Cutch by Foreign Powers

According to the *Jagaducharita*,¹²² Cutch was during this period attacked by Piṭhadeva of Pārā, who, having destroyed the whole country, occupied Bhadrevar for some time, and after demolishing the rampart of that city returned to his country. The merchant Jagadu, thereupon, went to Lavaṇaprasāda at Aṇahilapāṭaka. Lavaṇaprasāda sent an army with which Jagadu seems to have defeated Piṭhadeva, who shortly afterwards died. This Piṭhadeva was identified by Bühler with the Sumra chief whom the Muslim historians have variously called Piṭhu, Paṭhu, or Phaṭu. Bühler also identified Pārā with the peninsula on the north-east side of Ran of Cutch called Parkar. If Bühler's identifications are accepted—there being hardly any reason to reject them, the *Jagaducharita* would be the earliest work to mention the Sumras, and the only Hindu chronicle in which the Sumras are mentioned. It would also show that the Sumras were Hindus at this period.

The *Jagaducharita* then states that, "with an army of the Chaulukya king he (Jagadu) conquered the Mudgalas, and, making apparent his valour, gave peace to the world."¹²³ Bühler identified the Mudgalas with the Mughals, but no Mughal or Mongol invasion is known to have taken place during this time. Hence it seems that the *Jagaducharita* contains a reference to the predatory raid sent by the fugitive Khwarazm king Jālāl ud-Dīn Mangbarani. It is stated in the *Tarikh-i-Jahankushi* that, Jālāl ud-Dīn sent "Khas Khan with an army to pillage Nahrwāla whence he brought back many captives."¹²⁴ This raid took place in A.D. 1224 when Jālāl ud-Dīn was near Multan. By Nahrwāla the Muslims sometimes meant the whole of Gujarat, and as the raid was organised from Multan, probably the attack was launched against Cutch.

Jayantasimha, the usurper

This brings us almost to the end of the struggles that took place during Bhīma's reign,¹²⁵ though yet another strife which this unfortunate monarch had to face remains to be recorded. The Chroniclers pass over in silence the disagreeable fact, though it is certain, that for some time Bhīma lost his capital to an usurper called Jayantasimha, described as a Chaulukya in his inscription. There the genealogy begins with

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Mūlarāja I and after mentioning Bhīma II with his usual epithets states, "after him (Bhīma) in (his) place" (*lad-anantaram sthāne*); then follows the name of Jayantasīmha who is called *Chaulukya-kula-kalṣa-vallī-vistāraṇa-dīpta-abhinava-Siddharāja*. From this statement and those in the grant which states that Jayantasīmha ruled over the *Vardhipathaka* and the *Āgambhuta*—or the *Gambhuta-pathaka*, it is evident that he was an usurper who succeeded in occupying Bhīma's capital. As one of Bhīma's grants is dated V.S. 1283 (A.D. 1226¹²⁶), and issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka, it follows that Jayantasīmha, who issued his grant from the same city in V.S. 1280 (A.D. 1223) must have been driven out of the capital between A.D. 1223-1226.

It has already been noted that Jayantasīmha was defeated by Arjunavarman, and as the earliest Paramāra record which mentions this victory of Arjunavarman is of A.D. 1210, Jayantasīmha must have come into power on or before that year. From a manuscript written in V.S. 1261 (c.A.D. 1205), we learn that Bhīma was in Aṇahilapāṭaka at that date.¹²⁷ Hence, Jayantasīmha captured the capital between c.A.D. 1205 and 1210. Probably this usurpation is referred to in the following significant line of Someśvara where he describes Gūjararājalakshmī's complain to Lavaṇaprasāda : "They (Bhīma's ministers and governors)" said the goddess, "raise their eyes to me, though I am their lord's lawful wife."¹²⁸ It is also possible that Someśvara derived the idea of *Surathotsava* from the history of Bhīma's reign. For in that work he describes how king Suratha lost his kingdom to an usurper due to the treachery of his ministers and retired. The fugitive king was at last persuaded to worship the Mother Goddess and by pleasing Her got back his kingdom.

Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavaḷa: the Vāghelās

It has been seen that Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavaḷa played a vital role in the history of Gujarat during the reign of Bhīma. It is possible that they came into prominence by helping Bhīma to recover his capital from the usurper, though different chronicles give different version, of the rise in power of the Vāghelās.

According to Someśvara, once the Gūjararājalakshmī in distress appeared in a dream to Lavaṇaprasāda, and called upon him with the aid of his son Vīradhavaḷa, to save the kingdom which had fallen into decay in the unskilled hands of Bhīma. Someśvara further states that he himself was called before Lavaṇaprasāda on the following morning, and asked the meaning of the vision. He convinced Lavaṇaprasāda that he (Lavaṇaprasāda) was appointed by Providence to save his motherland and induced him to obey the command of the goddess. Thereupon Lavaṇaprasāda entrusted to his son the execution of the duty

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laid upon him. Shortly afterwards Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were appointed ministers by Lavaṇaprasāda without any reference to Bhīma.¹²⁹

Bālachandra Sūri wrote his work for the delectation of Vastupāla's son at the end of the 13th century of the Vikrama era. He praises Bhīma for his charity but states that owing to his extreme youth, he was unable to control the *Maṇḍalikas* who began to divide the country amongst themselves. Arṇorāja, the father of Lavaṇaprasāda, remained true to the king, and annihilating the *Maṇḍalikas*, protected the kingdom. His son was Lavaṇaprasāda, who delighted in battles and before whom the kings of Chēla, Kerala, Lāṭa, Mālava, Rādā, Hūṇa, Andhra, Kāñchī, Kounkana, Jāṅgala, Pāṇḍya, Kuntala, Vaṅga, Kālīṅga, and Chedi trembled. His son Viradhavala, who was also very valiant, shared the burden of administration with him. As Viradhavala was thinking of appointing an able minister, one night he had a dream in which the Rājyalakṣmī appeared before him and asked him to appoint as ministers the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. Next morning Viradhavala acted accordingly.¹³⁰

The other contemporary author Arisimha, writing in c.V.S. 1285, gives a different account of the rise of the Vāghelās into prominence. According to Arisimha, it was Bhīma who dreamt; but in his case Kumārapāla appeared and advised him to appoint Lavaṇaprasāda as the *Sarveśvara* (the chief lord), his son Viradhavala as the *Yuvarāja*, and to help to spread the Jaina faith. Next day in the *darbar*, Bhīma declared publicly that as it was through Arṇorāja's help that he became king, so out of gratitude and in order to increase his decreasing prosperity, he would appoint Lavaṇaprasāda as *Sarveśvara* and Viradhavala as his heir apparent. As Viradhavala humbly begged for an adviser, Bhīma recommended the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.¹³¹

According to the *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti*,¹³² Bhīma was very charitable. He appointed Lavaṇaprasāda to the task of reviving the fortunes of his kingdom. Viradhavala requested Bhīma to give him some good ministers, whereupon Bhīma recommended Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who had been working as Bhīma's ministers.¹³³

According to Udayaprabha, the preceptor of Vastupāla, Arṇorāja was the king of Bhīmapallī and recipient of favours from Kumārapāla. Arṇorāja defeated the kings of Medāpaṭa and Chandrāvātī. In view of the fact that Arṇorāja made him king, Bhīma in his turn entrusted his kingdom to Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda.¹³⁴

Of all these authors, Someśvara's position as family chaplain to the Chaulukyas, his intimate association with contemporary affairs, and his statement that Lavaṇaprasāda consulted him before taking any action, render his account the most important even amongst contemporary evidences. His description of the dream of Lavaṇaprasāda makes it appear as if Lavaṇaprasāda treacherously removed Bhīma and usurped the

power, since these dreams were the favourite devices of the Sanskrit poets to shroud with vagueness the foul deeds of their patrons. Since the time of Mūlarāja I, Someśvara's ancestors had enjoyed the high office of the royal chaplain under the successive Chaulukya kings, and on his own showing, his father Kumāra was a particular favourite of Bhīma's predecessors. Hence Someśvara's perfidy in trying to induce Lavaṇaprasāda to assume the royal powers seems all the more reprehensible. One wonders if it were not to cover his gross act of betrayal that Someśvara described Bhīma in the following disparaging terms: "That prince (Bhīma) was never equal to Bhīmasena, the destroyer of the demon (*asura*) Baka, (nor) able to tame the swan like kings (his enemies). The kingdom of that young (or foolish) ruler was gradually divided between the powerful ministers and provincial chiefs (*maṇḍalīkas*)."¹³⁵ None of the other writers describe Bhīma in such derogatory terms, and three contemporary works state that Bhīma voluntarily transferred powers to the hands of Lavaṇaprasāda and his son. Whether Bhīma was obliged to surrender his power by some intrigue as hinted by Someśvara is not known, but it is possible that spurred by Someśvara and Vīradhavalā, Lavaṇaprasāda forced Bhīma to transfer power to his hands in a public *darbar*, and the Jaina poets being unaware of the backstairs intrigues naturally do not refer to any. In this connection specially significant is Arisimha's statement that Vīradhavalā was appointed the *Yuvarāja* or the heir apparent; this arrangement possibly meant that Lavaṇaprasāda agreed to allow Bhīma to enjoy the dignity of royalty during his life, after which the crown was to devolve peacefully on the Vāghelās. But as Vīradhavalā probably died during the reign of Bhīma, nothing came out of this arrangement except to give the Vāghelās a legal claim on the throne of Gujarat.

This is, however, far from Someśvara's insinuation, said to be supported by six Girnar and the Mt. Abu inscription, that Lavaṇaprasāda became the king in name as well as in fact. The six Girnar inscriptions dated V.S. 1288 and 1289 state that in V.S. (12)76 Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were appointed in charge of the *Mudrā* department in Dhavalakka and other cities in the Gūrjara-*maṇḍala* by Mahārāja Vīradhavalā son of Mahārājādhirāja Lavaṇaprasāda.¹³⁶ The six inscriptions were composed by five different persons, but all the six have sufficient in common to show that they were copying an original; particularly the prose paragraph, in which the father and son are given royal titles, are common to all the six inscriptions. The first and the third of these inscriptions were composed by Someśvara, and there is hardly any doubt that his great reputation, as a poet and one conversant with the political affairs of the time, led the four Jaina monks to copy him.

Another inscription composed by Someśvara is on Mt. Abu, which gives the genealogy of the Paramāras of Abu, of Vastupāla and Tejaḥ-

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pāla, and of the Vāghelās from Arṇorāja to Vīradhavalā calling the latter 'the hero of the Chaulukya dynasty (*vaṃśa*)'. This *praśasti* was composed in V.S. 1287 by Someśvara and he does not mention in it the name of Bhīma. But another inscription at Mt. Abu also dated V.S. 1287, mentions that in that year the Chaulukya king Bh(īma)deva was ruling at Aṇahilapāṭaka. Later in the same inscription, Tejāhpāla is described as 'conducting the whole business of *Mudrā* of the *Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka* Lavaṇaprasādadeva, born in the Chaulukyakula, in the (Gūrja)ratrā-maṇḍala (obtained) by favour of the aforesaid *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhīmadeva.' These two inscriptions leave one in no doubt that Someśvara was deliberately suppressing facts.

That Someśvara was wrong and the author of the other Abu inscription was right, is proved by the Kadi plates of Bhīma of the years V.S. 1287 and 1296 in both of which Lavaṇaprasāda is mentioned as Solum. (*Solaṅki*) Rāna(ka). The status of Lavaṇaprasāda can also be seen in some of the documents of *Lekhapaddhati* dated V.S. 1288. As the date shows, these documents could not have been composed after V.S. 1288, and they are therefore of value; for we may expect a legal or political document to describe faithfully the designation of the high officials of the state. There Lavaṇaprasāda is described as a *Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka* both in the draft of the treaty which he concluded with Siṃhana, and in the draft of the land grant where Bhīma is described as *Mahārājādhirāja*.¹³⁸ We may therefore believe that on the one hand by the year V.S. 1288 (i.e. practically when Someśvara was composing his *Girnar* and *Abu-praśastis*) Lavaṇaprasāda was authorised to conclude treaties with foreign powers and consequently possessed to a high degree either the confidence of Bhīma, or independence of action, or both. On the other hand, when Lavaṇaprasāda made gifts of land, he employed the form usually employed by the tributary princes and acknowledged the overlordship of Bhīma. Hence there can be no question of the defection on the part of Lavaṇaprasāda, particularly as Bhīma is known from several inscriptions and colophons to have definitely ruled upto V.S. 1296. Moreover, Bhīma was not succeeded by Vīradhavalā either, but by one Tribhuvanapāla, a fact which was well known to Someśvara, who lived long enough to compose a *praśasti* in the reign of the next king, the Vāghelā Vīsaladeva.

The other point to be considered in this connection is the appointment of the ministers Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla. We have seen that contradicting the statements of Someśvara and Bālachandra, Arisimha and the *Vastupāla-Tejāhpāla-praśasti* state that the two brothers were in the service of Bhīma and that he had their services transferred to place them under Vīradhavalā at the latter's request. This is supported by Vastupāla's own statement that he accepted the dependence of Gūrjara king Bhīma's minister so that he might devote himself to

the continuous observance of religious festivals.¹³⁷ This statement of Vastupāla moreover shows that the position of Bhīma as the king of Gūjarat was unassailed while Vastupāla accepted service under Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavalā.

It has been held that "the anxiety of the Jaina authors to white-wash the usurpation of Vīradhavalā and his father is evidently to be explained by the fact that after the violent measures of Ajayapāla, the Jaina religion had found new patrons in the line of Vyāghrapalli. And, as in the case of Kumārapāla, the substantial backing of this powerful mercantile community no doubt greatly facilitated the task of Vīradhavalā. In consolidating his power Vīradhavalā we are told, was ably assisted by two Jain Bania ministers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. Jayasīṃha in his *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti* tells us that these two brothers were at first ministers of Bhīma, and the latter at the request of Vīradhavalā gave them to the Vāghelā prince 'as a matter of friendship.' This is probably intended to hide the fact that these two ministers deserted him and joined the party of Vīradhavalā."¹³⁸

This might indeed have been the case, but in view of Vastupāla's statement, there can be no doubt that the Jaina monks were telling the truth. Probably at the time Bhīma conferred on Lavaṇaprasāda great powers of government he also obliged the *Sarveśvara* to accept his two ministers to serve as a check on the absolute power of the Vāghelās. This also adequately explains how Bhīma was able to reign as long as he lived, and was succeeded not by the Vāghelās but by Tribhuvanapāla.

In the Gīrnar inscriptions it is stated that Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla were appointed as ministers in V.S. (12)76. As all the Chroniclers agree that their appointment as ministers of Lavaṇaprasāda synchronised with the rise of the Vāghelās to power, we may fix that event to have happened also during the same year. As the last known date of Bhīma is V.S. 1296 and the known date of Tribhuvanapāla is V.S. 1299, Bhīma at least ruled for twenty years sheltered by the strong arms of the Vāghelās, as the great Shivājī's grandson Shāhu in an almost similar predicament about five centuries later found safety under the protection of his first Peshwa Bālāji Viśvanātha and his son Bājirāo.

Or did the relation between the Vāghelās and Bhīma correspond to that between Nadir and the Safawi king of Persia, Shah Tahmasp? It is said that after Nadir had driven the conquering Afghans from Persia, the grateful king—probably forced by popular demand—granted Nadir half the kingdom, with a richly jewelled crown and the right of stamping coins with his name. But during Nadir's absence in the eastern provinces, the Shah miserably failed in the conduct of an expedition in the west, and not only lost Nadir's gains in that direction but concluded a humiliating peace. The national indignation was very great. The officers of the army felt that if Shah Tahmasp were left

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at the head of affairs, he would only undo all their recent works and bring back national servitude. They with one voice asked Nadir to accept the crown. But though Tahmasp was deposed in 1732, Nadir refused the crown. Abbas, an eight month old son of Tahmasp was proclaimed king, and Nadir became his regent with full authority. Four years later the infant died and Nadir became king.¹³⁹

On the analogy afforded by this historic example, it may be suggested that Bhīma had granted to Lavaṇaprasāda, for deservedly meritorious service, the part of the country around Dholka. That would explain how Lavaṇaprasāda, whose father began his life as a minor official, exercised the rights of a feudal prince. But he demanded nothing more though instigated by Someśvara and others. Later when Bhīma's line came to an end with the death of Tribhuvanapāla, the Vāghelā Viśaladeva assumed the crown amidst universal approbation. But at the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to conclude definitely whether the relation between Bhīma and Lavaṇaprasāda was similar to that between Shāhu and his Peshwa, or to that between Shah Tahmasp and Nadir.

The great power enjoyed by Lavaṇaprasāda was rendered almost inevitable by the condition of Gujarat. Immediately after the death of Mūlarāja II, there was a revolt of the provincial governors, the inevitable result of the succession of one boy king by another who was almost a child. The repeated aggression of his neighbouring powers, the Paramāras and the Yādavas, harassed Bhīma all his life; even the Chāhamāna Prithvīrāja turned against him. Then there was the Muslim invasion and temporary occupation of his capital and his flight to a remote corner of his kingdom. Hardly had the Muslims left than the capital was again lost to him, this time to a usurper. His valiant counsellors such as the Rāshtrakūṭa Pratāpamalla and Pratīhāra Jagaddeva were dead. The repeated misadventures sunk so low the power and prestige of the monarchy that feudatories including Dhārāvārsha took advantage of the situation more than once. Even Lāṭa was lost. Amidst all these miseries and defections, in an age which saw new kingdoms rising over the ashes of the old, only the Vāghelās are known to have stood steadfast for the cause of Bhīma. Arṇorāja died fighting the rebel provincial governors. Lavaṇaprasāda saved Gujarat from the Yādava and the Paramāra attacks as well as from Muslim occupation, suppressed a rebellion of the feudatories, and it was probably he who drove out the usurper Jayantasimha. His son Viradhavala reoccupied Cambay and again faced successfully the attacks of the Yādavas and the Paramāras. It is hardly surprising therefore that Bhīma should have entrusted Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala with almost unlimited power and even went to the length of designating the latter as heir apparent. It cannot be said that he chose his men ill. The Vāghelās were not

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only loyal to their benefactor but restored the kingdom again on a strong foundation, drove out the invaders, and brought peace and tranquility to the harassed country. That in this task they would be heartily supported by the merchant community is not surprising, for nothing hampers trade and commerce so much as the uncertain conditions to which Gujarat was reduced during the greater part of Bhīma's reign.

Bhīma had two wives; one was Līlādevī, the daughter of the Chāhamāna prince Samarasiṃha, who has been identified with the Jāvālipura Chāhamāna king of that name; the other was Sumaladevī, who had the distinction of signing a land grant jointly with her consort.¹⁴⁰ The chronicles testify to his charitable disposition, and his assumption of the epithets such as *Abhinava-Siddharāja*, *Saptama-Chakravartī*, and *Bāla-Nārāyaṇa* tend to show that though overshadowed by the abler Vāghelās he was not without the qualities that make a man fit to rule.

Tribhuvanapāla

Bhīma was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla who is known to have reigned at Aṇahilapātaka from his inscription of V.S. 1299.¹⁴¹ He is not mentioned in any chronicle, though he is included in the list of the Chaulukya kings in some *paṭṭāvalis*,¹⁴² and is mentioned as the king in the prologue of a drama. The *paṭṭāvalis* end the line of Mūlarāja with Tribhuvanapāla and then start the genealogy of the Vāghelās. In his inscription, Tribhuvanapāla describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhīma, which shows that his succession was legal. The writer and *dūtaka* of Tribhuvanapāla's grant, Somasiṃha and Vayajaladeva, being the same as in some of Bhīma's grants,¹⁴³ it appears that he retained in his service the officials of the previous reign. Moreover, a postscript in Tribhuvanapāla's grant states that the grant had been made over to Vedagarbharāśi, the superior of the Śaiva monastery at Maṇḍali. Vedagarbharāśi was appointed trustee in three grants of Bhīma,¹⁴⁴ hence it appears that Tribhuvanapāla was related to Bhīma and was his rightful heir, though the relation between the two cannot be determined at present.

We are told in the prologue of the shadow play *Dūtāṅgada*, that it was composed by the order of the court (*parishad*) of Mahārājadhīrāja Tribhuvanapāladeva at the festival of spring at the procession of the divine and glorious Kumārapālesvara on the occasion of the *dolaparva* at Devapattana. It appears that the celebration was held on the occasion of the restoration of the Śiva temple built by Kumārapāla at Somanath. Unfortunately the date is not given, but we learn from the prologue that Tribhuvanapāla's kingdom included at least Somanath.¹⁴⁵

Tribhuvanapāla has been identified with the Tribhuvana-Rāṇaka

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who fought and killed Bāla, a general of Guhilot Jaitrasimha when the latter was trying to recover Koṭṭadaka (modern Kotada).¹⁴⁶

Tribhuvanapāla's reign was very short. With its end begins a new chapter in the history of Gujarat, the assumption of royalty by the Vāghelās. This dynastic change and the short reign of Tribhuvanapāla has given rise to the suspicion that he was removed from the throne by the ambitious Viśaladeva. But it seems more probable that with the death of Tribhuvanapāla the line of Bhīma becoming extinct, the Vāghelās became king in the absence of any legal heir.

CHAPTER X

VĀGHELĀS

Origin

The Vāghelās called themselves Chaulukyas, and even went so far as to trace the rise of their earliest ancestor to the same mythological person as the Chaulukyas did. The Cambay inscription of Viśaladeva thus describes the beginning of the Vāghelās: "Who then will destroy the sons of Diti? Once upon a time when Brahmā was thus thinking, a warrior suddenly came out of the Chuluka... From (this) Chaulukya... descended the fearless race of the Chaulukyas. In this line of glorious fame flourished king Arṇorāja".¹ But that the Vāghelās did not belong to the dynasty established by Mūlarāja I. is made clear by their court poet, Someśvara, who has stated that the Vāghelās arose from a "different branch of the Chaulukyas".²

The earliest known member of the Vāghelā dynasty was one Dhavala, who, according to Merutuṅga, married Kumārapālas' mother's sister; Dhavala's son by Kumārapāla's aunt was Arṇorāja, mentioned in the Cambay inscription noted above.³ Arṇorāja was the first member of the family to gain any importance. The Muralidhar temple inscription states that he conquered Saurāshṭra. We learn from Udayaprabha Sūri that Arṇorāja in return for services rendered, received from Kumārapāla the village of Bhīmapallī.⁴ It is possible that Kumārapāla rewarded Arṇorāja, because he had led a successful campaign in Saurāshṭra. Probably Arṇorāja acted as a subordinate commander, but later his role was magnified by his descendants. The village Bhīmapallī was probably identical with Vyāghrapallī—the tiger's lair—a village ten miles south-west of Aṇahilapāṭaka. It was from Vyāghrapallī that the dynasty took their name, Vyāghrapallīya or Vāghelā.⁵

Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda was born during the reign of Kumārapāla, when according to Merutuṅga, Arṇorāja was a *sāmānta*. We further learn that the news of Lavaṇaprasāda's birth reached Arṇorāja when he was in attendance on Kumārapāla in the palace. On learning the happy news, the great king is said to have predicted a brilliant future for the new born baby.⁶ Arṇorāja probably continued his career in the army after the death of Kumārapāla, though we do not hear of him again till we reach the reign of Bhīma. The reason probably was that he had to remain content with a subordinate rank without any chance of promotion, after his patron Kumārapāla's death. But he had a chance to show his valour and loyalty to the throne after the accession of Bhīma, when the provincial governors revolted. Arṇorāja not only proved his devo-

tion, he also displayed other qualities as well, for the revolt was crushed, but Arjorāja died in the attempt to restore order. It was probably during this time that he defeated the kings of Medāpaṭa and Chandrāvati.⁷ Probably there were other loyal officers of Bhīma like Pratāpamalla and Jagaddeva who also helped in restoring order, but all the Chroniclers who relate his activities were the protégés of Arjorāja's descendants or of their ministers, so that the whole credit for suppressing the rebellion is ascribed to him. However, there is hardly any doubt that Arjorāja played a leading part in rendering the throne safe for Bhīma.

Arjorāja's son was Lāvaṇyaprasāda or Lavaṇaprasāda. He continued to render faithful services to Bhīma and was promoted by the grateful king to the highest position in the land. We have already discussed the position of Lavaṇaprasāda in the government of Bhīma and have shown that he remained loyal to the king. But it appears that he enjoyed a feudatory status, and Dhavalkka or Dholka was his fief. His official rank was that of a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Rāṇaka*. His son by his wife Madanarājñī was Vīradhavalā. According to Merutuṅga, Madanarājñī left Lavaṇaprasāda after the death of her sister, and began to live with her dead sister's husband, Devarāja. She took Vīradhavalā with her, but when the boy came of age, he became ashamed of the circumstances and went back to his father.⁸

Vīradhavalā shared with his father the burden of government, and he took an active part in repelling the many foreign invasions which at this time threatened Gujarat. The careers of both the father and the son are, however, inextricably linked up with the reign of Bhīma, and have already been narrated in that connection.

It is not known when Lavaṇaprasāda died. Vīradhavalā probably died during the reign of Bhīma, for whereas the last known date of Bhīma is V.S. 1296, the colophon of a manuscript describes Vīradhavalā's son, Viśaladeva, as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* in V.S. 1296.⁹

Successors of Vīradhavalā

Viśaladeva was not the only son of Vīradhavalā, for, from the Vāghelā records we learn that Vīradhavalā's elder son was Pratāpamalla.¹⁰ According to Rājasekhara, however, Vīradhavalā had two sons, namely, Vīrama the elder and Viśaladeva. Vīrama, according to the same authority, was very wild and for having tortured a Bania, who had the presumption to dedicate a costlier present than Vīrama's at a Vaiṣṇava shrine, was banished by his father to Vīramagrāma. Viśala thereafter became the favourite of Vīradhavalā and the minister Vastupāla. When Vīradhavalā fell ill beyond hopes of recovery, Vīrama came to Dholka with his men; but after the death of Vīradhavalā, Vastupāla cleverly managed for Viśala to succeed his father. This was followed by a fratricidal war, in which Vīrama was worsted and retired to the princi-

pality of his father-in-law, Udayasimha, at Javalipura. But Vastupāla brought to bear pressure upon Udayasimha, who murdered Vīrama at the behest of the minister.¹¹

This story of Rājasekhara suffers from several defects, primarily because he had little knowledge of the early history of the Vāghelās. In his genealogy of the Chaulukya kings, he makes Arjorāja,—the contemporary of Kumārapāla,—succeed Bhīma; apart from the incongruity of a man who was in his prime in the middle of the twelfth century coming to the throne in the middle of the thirteenth, we have the testimony of contemporary Chroniclers, all of whom state that Arjorāja died during the early part of the reign of Bhīma. Next, according to Rājasekhara's genealogy, after Arjorāja, first Lavaṇaprasāda and then Vīradhavalā became kings.¹² Apparently he was following Someśvara, whose great admirer he was, but we have already shown that Someśvara's version of Lavaṇaprasāda's assuming the kingship is open to the gravest suspicion. Moreover, Rājasekhara omits Tribhuvanapāla altogether. Further, it has already been shown that Vīradhavalā probably died during the reign of Bhīma, so that Viśaladeva could not have occupied the throne of Gujarat immediately after the death of his father. There is also a colophon of a manuscript which states that *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Vīrama was governing Vidyutapura in V.S. 1296 during the prosperous reign of Bhīma.¹³ Rājasekhara has also not mentioned Pratāpamalla whom we know from epigraphic evidence to have been a brother of Viśaladeva.

Identity of Vīrama

There are however reasons to believe that Vīrama was not the son, but the brother of Vīradhavalā. This identification rests on the identification of *Soluṃ*. *Rāṇā Ānā U. Lūṇapasāka* of the Kadi grants of Bhīma. According to Bühler, the expression meant 'Soluṃki Rāṇā Ānāo Lūṇapasāka'. Now, Soluṃki is the Prakrit form of Chaulukya, just as Lūṇapasāka is the Prakrit form of Lavaṇaprasāda; *U.* stands for Prakrit *ultra* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritised *utra*, meaning son (*Sk. putra*) and in this form has been extensively used in many Mt. Abu inscriptions of the same period. Hence the expression *Soluṃ. Rāṇā Ānā U. Lūṇapasāka* means Soluṃki (Chaulukya) Rāṇaka Lavaṇaprasāda son of Ānā. Ānā, again was a Prakrit form of Arjorāja. We further learn from the same grants that Lūṇapasāka, that is Lavaṇaprasāda, for the spiritual benefit of his mother, Salakhānadevī, built temples at Salakhānapura. Salakhānadevī according to the unfinished Camhay inscription, was the mother of Lavaṇaprasāda.¹⁴ Hence it is evident that the donee of the Kadi grants was the Vāghelā Lavaṇaprasāda, father of Viśaladeva.

In two other Kadi grants of Bhīma the donee of the temple of Vīrameśvara is Rāṇā. Vīrama, son of Soluṃ. Rāṇā. Lūṇapasā, which is

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also another Prakrit form of Lavaṇaprasāda.¹⁵ From the Kadi grant of Viśaladeva,¹⁶ we, of course, come across another Rāṇā. Lūṇapasāja, who was the grandfather of Saṅgrāmasiṃha, one of Viśaladeva's feudatory, but as he is not called Soluṃ it is apparent that he is a different person. Thus, if we are correct in identifying the *Soluṃ*. *Rāṇā Ānā U Lūṇapasāja* with the Vāghelā Lavaṇaprasāda, it will follow that Vīrama was his son, and therefore a brother or half-brother of Vīradhavaḷa.

The only positive evidence against the above conclusion is the testimony of Rājasekhara, who states that Vīrama and Viśala were both sons of Vīradhavaḷa. But Rājasekhara's knowledge of Vīradhavaḷa's sons was not accurate as he did not mention the name of Pratāpamalla. Moreover, Rājasekhara gives the date of Vastupāla's death as V.S. 1298, but according to Bālachandra who wrote at the request of Vastupāla's son Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla died in V.S. 1296.¹⁷ As we know that Bhīma was reigning in V.S. 1296 and Tribhuvanapāla ruled at least upto V.S. 1299, the question of Vastupāla helping Viśala to the throne of Gujarat cannot arise. It may be said that Vastupāla helped Viśaladeva to gain the principality of Dholka; but for that we have no evidence. Rājasekhara definitely was describing how Viśaladeva came to the throne of Gujarat, and in view of the string of inaccuracies that run through his narrative, it seems better to ignore his evidence altogether. How Viśaladeva came to occupy the throne of Gujarat we do not know, but it seems almost certain that Rājasekhara too, was equally ignorant.

We are inclined to believe that Vīradhavaḷa had two sons, Pratāpamalla and Viśaladeva. Vīrama was probably a half-brother of Vīradhavaḷa which might have been the reason for the omission of his name from contemporary chronicles, which were all written by the supporters of Vīradhavaḷa or of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, who in their turn were supporters of Vīradhavaḷa. Vīrama was probably a favourite of Bhīma, who granted him villages for his temple of Vīrameśvara. Vīrama in return remained loyal to Bhīma up to the end, for, in the colophon of a manuscript written in V.S. 1296, Bhīma's name as reigning king is mentioned along with that of Vīrama, who is described as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka*. The same colophon tells us that Vīrama's capital was at Vidyutapura.¹⁸ In the Sundha Hill inscription, Chāchigadeva is described as "destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Vīrama" (*Gūrjareśvara Vīrama*).¹⁹ It was suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar, that perhaps Chāchigadeva assassinated Vīrama during his father Udayasimha's reign. This suggestion has the merit of reconciling Rājasekhara's story, mentioned above, with epigraphic evidence; but, as there is hardly any valid reason for placing credence in Rājasekhara's uncorroborated testimony, we feel justified in assuming that Vīrama fell in a fair fight against the Javalipura Chāhamāna king, who had by this time become too powerful, so that a clash with the Chaulukyas would not be in the least unlike-

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ly. There is no reason to believe that Udayasimha was a craven hearted monster who would have his son-in-law assassinated merely because Vastupāla had ordered him to do so.

Successor of Vīradhavalā

From the Cambay inscription we learn that Pratāpamalla was the eldest son of Vīradhavalā. Probably Pratāpamalla died during the reign of Tribhuvanapāla or earlier, so that he never had the chance to occupy the throne of Gujarat. Other inscriptions which mention Pratāpamalla are the records of his lineal descendants who succeeded Vīsaladeva; but the *Dabhoi-praśasti* which was composed by Someśvara during the reign of Vīsaladeva does not mention Pratāpamalla, which could not have been possible had Pratāpamalla preceeded Vīsaladeva to the throne of Gujarat. If there had been a struggle between Pratāpamalla and Vīsaladeva, we could at least have expected the former's descendants to have mentioned it. But these records acknowledge gratefully that Vīsaladeva placed Pratāpamalla's son Arjuna on the throne.²⁰ This might not have been literally true, and we may assume Arjuna to have succeeded Vīsaladeva after his death, but it shows unmistakably that Pratāpamalla's descendants had no grudge against Vīsaladeva.

VĪSALADEVA

Vīsaladeva, also known as Vīśvala or Vīśvamalla, was the younger son of Vīradhavalā. We learn from the colophon of a manuscript that in the year V.S. 1295 in the realm of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka-Śrī-Vīśala* at Camhay, the *Daṇḍādhipati* Śrī-Vijayasimha was appointed by Vīśala.²¹ The omission of Bhīma's name from the colophon and the fact that formerly *Daṇḍādhipatis* are known to have been appointed by Bhīma,²² indicate that Vīśala was acting with some independence. Probably after the death of Bhīma, Vīśala discarded the rank of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, for, in a colophon dated V.S. 1298 at Bhrigukachchha, he is referred to simply as *Mahārāṇaka*.²³ It is therefore possible that after the death of Bhīma, Vīśala asserted his independence even more and came to grips with Tribhuvanapāla, whom he defeated and ascended the throne of Gujarat as its first Vāghelā sovereign. He might also have ascended the throne after the natural death of Tribhuvanapāla, for, as a matter of fact, we do not know how Vīsaladeva actually came to occupy the throne of Gujarat. However, it is definitely known that he was on the throne of Gujarat about the year V.S. 1302.²⁴

Reign of Vīsaladeva: Vīsaladeva in Mālava

So far as foreign policy was concerned, Vīsaladeva followed the policy laid down by his predecessors. Like other powerful Chaulukya kings, Vīsaladeva attacked Mālava, and sacked the city of Dhārā. In his

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Kadi grant, Viśaladeva is described as that 'destroyer of the pride of the king of Mālava'. The Nānaka-*prāśasti* states : "The heavens on high became terrifically dark by the rings of smoke rising from Mālava set ablaze at the time of his (Viśala's) attack". In the Muralidhar Temple inscription of Karna also Viśaladeva is credited with having destroyed Dhārā.²⁵ Viśala's conquest of Mālava formed the subject matter of a book named *Dhārādhvaniśa*, written by Gaṇapati Vyāsa, the author of the second Nānaka-*prāśasti*.

The king of Mālava at the time of Viśaladeva's invasion was probably Jaitugideva, the successor of Devapāla. Already during the reign of Devapāla, Mālava had been ravaged by the Muslim invasion under Iltutmish, so that Viśaladeva probably did not meet with any stiff resistance.

Invasion of Mewad

Viśaladeva also defeated a king of Mewad, for his Kadi grant calls him "(one) who resembled a hatchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper-like turbulent government of the Medāpaṭa country." His adversary in Mewad was probably the Guhilot king Tejahsiṃha, who was his contemporary.

Viśaladeva and the Yādavas

But the most important struggle during the reign of Viśaladeva took place with the Yādavas. We have seen that there are reasons to believe that it was during the reign of Bhīma, that Viśaladeva defeated a Yādava army which had attacked Gujarat under a general called Rāma.²⁶ Probably this victory is referred to in the Kadi grant, which calls him 'a volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Siṃhana.' The Dabhoi-*prāśasti* also refers to the victory of Viśaladeva over the king of Deccan, by which presumably the Yādava Siṃhana is meant. Probably by his early successes against the Yādavas, Viśaladeva helped in reconquering Lāṭa, wherefore his power became predominant there even before he became the king.

But Viśaladeva suffered reverses at the hands of Siṃhana's successors, Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva. In one of his inscriptions, Kṛishṇa is called 'the terror of the kings of Mālava, Gūjara, and Koṅkana,' and in another he is described as 'a goad to the elephant the Gūjara.'²⁷ In Hemādri's *Vratakhanda*, Kṛishṇa is said to have destroyed the army of Viśala,²⁸ and of Kṛishṇa's brother, Mahādeva, who succeeded him, Hemādri states: "The prowess of his (Mahādeva's) arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūjara."²⁹ The Gūjara defeated by Mahādeva also must have been Viśala, for the Paithan plate of Mahādeva's successor records that Mahādeva defeated Viśala.³⁰

The Hoysala alliance

It is possible that in order to fortify himself against the Yādava menace, Viśala entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Hoysalas. His Kadi plate states that Viśala 'resembled Purushottama since he was chosen as husband by the daughter of the king of Karṇāṭa.' This Karṇāṭa king might have been the Hoysala Vīra-Someśvara, one of whose records states that he fought against the 'famous' Kṛishṇa-Kandhāra, that is the Yādava king Kṛishṇa. Hemādri mentions that Mahādeva defeated the Karṇāṭa king, who was probably the successor of Vīra-Someśvara.

Another king who was defeated by the Yādavas during this period was Someśvara, the Śilāhāra king of Koṅkan. The Yādavas finally annexed Koṅkan by A.D. 1270, and it has been suggested that Koṅkan formed the bone of contention between the Yādavas and Viśaladeva.²¹ The evidence for such assumption is however not conclusive, though it might well be that Viśaladeva found a ready ally in the Śilāhāra king, whose existence was threatened by the Yādavas.

Viśaladeva and Vastupāla and Tejahpāla

In some late chronicles, Viśaladeva has been accused for being ungrateful to his ministers, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla. According to Rājaśekhara, after Vīrama had been murdered, Viśaladeva with the help of Vastupāla extended his kingdom practically to the limits it had attained under Vīradhavalā. Then Viśaladeva appointed a *Vridhha-Nāgariya Brāhmaṇa* named Nāgaḍa as the Chancellor and relegated the two brothers to the superintendence of some minor offices (*laghu-Srī-Karaṇa*). At the instigation of some base intriguers, Viśaladeva demanded Vastupāla and Tejahpāla to undergo the ordeal of the 'snake in the pot' (*ghaṭa-sarpa*) in order to prove themselves innocent of peculation. They were saved from this terrible predicament by the poet Someśvara who came to their rescue with a timely couplet which had the effect of bringing the king back to his senses.

On another occasion, Rājaśekhara states, another incident of an even more serious nature took place. One day while Simha, the maternal uncle of Viśaladeva, was passing by a Jain monastery a servant dropped, from one of the upper floors of the building, some sweepings, which chanced to fall on Simha. The infuriated Simha then entered the sanctuary and gave vent to his wrath by whipping the servant. This news reached Vastupāla as he sat down to his mid-day meal, and the great minister, dropping the first morsel of food which he was about to take, exclaimed: "Is there any Kshatriya here who can remove this sting of insult from my mind?" Thereupon one Bhūnapāla stepped forward and undertook to obey his command. Vastupāla took him aside and asked him to chop off the right palm of Simha and bring it to him. Bhūnapāla immediately went to Simha and under the pretext of deliver-

ing a secret message, took Simha aside till they were alone, and then taking out his knife severed the palm of Simha with a dexterous blow. Bhūnapāla then declared to Simha that he (Bhūnapāla) was the servant of Vastupāla, and warning Simha never again to meddle with the śvetāmbaras, made his escape and brought the gory prize to Vastupāla. The minister thanked Bhūnapāla and hung Simha's palm from his house top. But foreseeing trouble, he then had his family removed to the house of a near relation and asked his retainers to depart, for death was sure and escape with life extremely difficult. All of them however refused to leave Vastupāla, death with whom, they said, was preferable to life without him. Then the minister collected arms, and put his house into a state of defence.

Simha in the meantime had gathered together his clansmen, the Jethvas, who promised to kill the minister as well as his sons, friends and chattel (*sa-putra-paśu-bāndhavam*). As the Jethvas marched towards Vastupāla's residence, one of the elderly men amongst them, afraid lest their high handed act of revenge should incur the displeasure of the king, went and appraised him of the whole affair, on which the king said: "Vastupāla never hurts an innocent man. You must have committed some great wrong. However, you wait, I shall take the proper steps." Then Viśaladeva turned towards Someśvara and said: "Tell me, O Preceptor! what should be done now." Someśvara offered to investigate the matter personally, and with the king's permission went and explained to Vastupāla how his rash act had infuriated the Jethvas. As the king was, after all, their nephew, Someśvara counselled the minister to seek peace. But Vastupāla replied: "What horror can death have in store for me?"

28. "Victor I win the goddess Lakshmī, the celestial damsels if I die Too ephemeral is the body, why worry over death or fight."³² Someśvara returned and reported to Viśaladeva the determination of Vastupāla to fight till death. The poet then interceded for the fallen minister, and reminded the king of his past services and of his heroism and valour, hearing which the king asked him to bring Vastupāla to him with due honour. Someśvara did as was bid, and when Vastupāla came, the king mindful of the past services rendered by the great minister, greeted him with as much respect as a son shows to his father. The king then begged him to look upon Nāgaḍa as his (Vastupāla's) subordinate. The maternal uncles fell at the minister's (Vastupāla's) feet (*mātula mantri-pādayorlagitaḥ*); presumably they were excused, though Rājaśekhara is silent as to their fate. However, he adds that one hundred villages were bestowed on Vastupāla as a gift in perpetuity. The severed palm of the unfortunate Simha was publicly exhibited, and the king declared: "He who will harm the

minister's preceptor will be deprived of his life. In my realm the minister will look after justice." Thus did Viśaladeva increase the glory of Jainism and that of the minister. The next incident described by Rājasekhara is Vastupāla's death, which, according to him, occurred in V.S. 1298.³³

Jina-harsha Gaṇi, in his *Vastupālacharita* written exactly a century after Rājasekhara, gives a different version of the affair, though here too Siṃha is the villain. Jina-harsha Gaṇi states: "The extent of his (Viśaladeva's) kingdom was (made) by degrees as great as that of Śrī-Vīradhavalā, through the power of the minister. Alas! He (Viśala) merely saw or considered even Vastupāla as insignificant or of no moment, after the king had firmly established himself in the land. Again, there was a maternal uncle of the king, by name Siṃha, in office, at whose instance the king was able to take the lead. That slandering wretch moved the king, who taking the signet ring from the lotus-like hand of Tejaḥpāla placed it, conferring a high favour, in the hands of Nāgaḍa the minister, the Nāgara, who was like poison, the destroyer of the people." Jina-harsha Gaṇi then describes how ill the ring shone in the hands of the despised Nāgaḍa.³⁴

These are the stories related by the Chroniclers about the temporary fall of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. But just as there are strong reasons to disbelieve Rājasekhara's account of Viśaladeva's coming to power, there are equally valid reasons for rejecting the author's version of Viśaladeva's subsequent behaviour towards Vastupāla. It is true that Viśaladeva had a minister called Nāgaḍa, but he seems to have come into power long after the death of Vastupāla.

It has already been shown that Vastupāla died in V.S. 1296, and not in V.S. 1298 as stated by Rājasekhara. Vastupāla seems to have been succeeded in his high office by his brother Tejaḥpāla, for a Girnar inscription of V.S. 1296 calls Tejaḥpāla, '*Mahāmātya*.'³⁵ Unfortunately, the Girnar inscription does not state the name of the monarch whose *mahāmātya* Tejaḥpāla was, but as Bhīma was reigning in V.S. 1296, Tejaḥpāla could only have been his *mahāmātya*. The only other alternative is that Tejaḥpāla was serving the Vāghelās as the chief minister of their principality at Dholka. Now, both Rājasekhara and Jina-harsha Gaṇi state that Vīradhavalā died before Vastupāla, hence Tejaḥpāla could in V.S. 1296 only have served Viśala before he ascended the throne. But we learn from the colophon of a manuscript that in V.S. 1298, when Viśala was at Broach, he was being served by Lūṇasīha, the son of Tejaḥpāla and others, who formed the *Pañchakula*.³⁶ This does not totally preclude the possibility of Tejaḥpāla's serving Viśala as the *mahāmātya* at the earlier date, but the only reference to Tejaḥpāla as the *mahāmātya* of Viśaladeva occurs in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1303, in which Viśaladeva is called the *Mahārājādhirāja*.³⁷

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It may be presumed, therefore, that Tejahpāla transferred his services to Vīśaladeva after the latter became the king, till which time, Vīśala had to remain content with the services of the minister's favourite son. It is at least clear that Vastupāla and after him Tejahpāla continued without interruption in the office of the chief minister till V.S. 1303. Rājāśekhara's story, that Vastupāla was dismissed in favour of Nāgaḍa, but later superceded the Brahmin and was restored to his former glory after he had instigated the outrage on Siṃha, does not merit any serious consideration; Jina-harsha Gaṇi's version that Nāgaḍa succeeded Tejahpāla seems to be much nearer the truth.

How long Tejahpāla continued in office after V.S. 1303 is not known. But he probably died soon after, for, from an old paper manuscript, we learn that Vastupāla died in V.S. 1296 and Tejahpāla in 1304.³⁸ As this records the correct year for Vastupāla's death, it seems likely that the date given for Tejahpāla's death is also correct. As Tejahpāla is known to have acted as the chief minister till V.S. 1303, it does not appear too much to presume that he continued in office till his death.

As for the much maligned Nāgaḍa, the earliest mention of his name occurs in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1310, in which he is called *Mahāmātya Śrī-Nāgaḍa*, one of the *Pañchakulas*. In the colophon of another manuscript dated V.S. 1313, *Mahāmātya* Nāgaḍa is said to be enjoying full powers.³⁹ Nāgaḍa is also mentioned as *mahāmātya* in the Porbandar inscription of V.S. 1315, and the Kadi grant of V.S. 1317.⁴⁰ It seems therefore that Nāgaḍa came to power after the death of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, and the Jainas took umbrage at a Brahmin being given the post of the chief minister in preference to the son of Tejahpāla who had served Vīśala before his accession. But it should be noted here, that though Vīśaladeva was a strict observer of Brahmanical rites, and was a great supporter of Vedic learning, the Jaina chronicles do not accuse him of having had any anti-Jaina bias. The main accused is Siṃha, but there is no means of ascertaining his share in the appointment of Nāgaḍa as the chief minister.

Other activities of Vīśaladeva

According to Jina-harsha Gaṇi, Vīśaladeva extended his partiality towards the Nāgara Brahmins beyond the appointment of one of them as his chief minister. Vīśaladeva, he states, once performed a religious sacrifice (*yajña*) at Darbhavatīpura, that is modern Dabhoi,—which traditionally claims to have been the place of Vīśaladeva's birth,—and then formed the various branches of the Nāgara Brahmins, namely, Vīśalanagara, Shatpadra (or Shathodra), Krishnapura (or Krishora), Chitrapuras (or Chitodras) and Praśnikas (or Prasnora) and had *Brahmapuris* or Brahmin's quarters constructed for their use.⁴¹ The

construction of *Brahmapuris* by Viśaladeva is corroborated by the Nānaka-*praśasti* (II), which states that Viśaladeva constructed a Brahmapuri at Somnath, where he gave Nānaka a place to live in. From the same *praśasti*, we learn that Viśaladeva was a devout follower of the Brahmanical religion, and had once made a pilgrimage to Somnath, where he had performed all the religious observances including a bath in the river Sarasvatī. It also appears from the same record, that Viśaladeva had appointed Nānaka to perform funeral oblations for him after his (Viśala's) death, on every full moon and new moon day; this duty, we are told, Nānaka discharged most faithfully.

Viśaladeva was a great patron of arts and letters. According to Rājāśekhara, apart from the Nāgara poets, namely the Mahānāgarīya Nānaka, the Kṛishṇanāgarīya Kamalāditya, and the Viśalanāgarīya Nānaka (the hero of the *praśasti*), there resided in the court of Viśaladeva, Arisimha the author of the *Sukṛitasaukīrtana*, and his disciple Amarachandra.⁴² Yaśodhara, the famous author of the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* lived in the court of Viśaladeva. Someśvara, the author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*, was of course, one of the foremost amongst them, and his position, as the chaplain and confidant of Viśaladeva's father and grandfather, must have given him a pre-eminent place. It does not seem to have been easy to join the galaxy of these literary men, for Nānaka states in his *praśasti* (II), that before receiving the royal favour he had to pass an examination on the Vedas, which was held at the court. This shows the high regard Viśaladeva had for Vedic learning. This should, however, not be taken to mean that Viśaladeva had any strong sectarian or anti-Jaina bias. The presence of Someśvara as a court poet should allay any suspicion on that account, for it is known that Someśvara though the king's priest and a strict Brahmin, used to compose eulogies, for the Jaina Vastupāla and Tejahpāla. We have also seen that Arisimha, a Jaina poet, used to reside in Viśaladeva's court. Jainism and the Brahmanical faiths continued to develop in amity during this period as before. Just as Vastupāla and Tejahpāla used to repair and build Brahmanical temples, we shall see that under Arjunadeva, the successor of Viśaladeva, another Jaina of high rank, built temples for Brahmanical gods and goddesses.

The name of Viśaladeva's queen was Nagalladevi.⁴³ Viśaladeva probably died without leaving any male issue, for he was succeeded by his nephew Arjunadeva, the son of his elder brother Pratāpamalla.

A Famine

There was a famine during Viśaladeva's reign which is said to have lasted for three years, from V.S. 1315-1318. It is stated in the *Jagaducharita*, that the merchant Jagadu foresaw the famine and

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stored grains. During the famine therefore he was able to distribute welcome relief.⁴⁴

ARJUNADEVA

Arjunadeva, the successor of Viśaladeva, was the son of Pratāpamalla, Viśaladeva's elder brother.⁴⁵ Both the Cintra-*prāśasti* and the Muralidhar temple inscription⁴⁶ state that he was set on the throne by Viśaladeva, from which it seems that before his death Viśaladeva nominated Arjunadeva as his heir.

Little is known about Arjuna's reign, but it seems that he had to fight against the Yādavas. The Paithan and the Purushottamapura plates of Yādava Rāmachandra⁴⁷ state, that Siṃhana defeated one Arjuna. Fleet identified this Arjuna with the Vāghelā king and was of the opinion that he might have held a command under Viśaladeva.⁴⁸ Bhandarkar on the other hand proposed to identify the Arjuna of the Yādava inscriptions with Arjunavarmadeva, king of Mālava.⁴⁹ Bhandarkar's identification, evidently, is the correct one, as in the Uddari stone inscription, Siṃhana is described as 'a lion who curbed the pride of the rutting elephant namely Arjuna, the king of Mālava.'⁵⁰

But Siṃhana's grandson, Rāmachandra, probably defeated Arjuna, for the Thana plates of Rāmachandra, dated Śaka 1194 (A.D. 1272) state that Rāmachandra defeated the Gūrjaras.⁵¹ As Rāmachandra ascended the throne about A.D. 1271,⁵² the Gūrjara king whom he defeated is likely to have been Arjuna. In the Purushottamapura plates, it is stated that Rāmachandra defeated the Muslims and liberated Banaras, from which it appears that at the beginning of his reign he started with ambitious projects and before venturing north to fight the Muslims, defeated his rivals nearer home.

Little more is known about the incidents of Arjuna's reign. His Chancellor was Māladeva, who is first mentioned in the Veraval inscription of A.D. 1264 (V.S. 1320), and then in the Rav inscription of A.D. 1272 (V.S. 1328). He is also mentioned in the colophons of two manuscripts dated V.S. 1319 and 1320.⁵³ As an inscription of Arjuna's successor⁵⁴ show that Māladeva continued to function in his high office in the next reign, it may be assumed that he occupied the post of Chancellor from A.D. 1264 till the end of Arjuna's reign. Of the other officers in the reign of Arjuna, we know that he confirmed in the post of the governor of Saurāshṭra one Sāmantasiṃha, who had been appointed to that post by Viśaladeva.⁵⁴ Later his governor in Saurāshṭra was one Palha, who was in charge of the administration of that country under the next king Sāraṅgadeva.⁵⁶

Arjuna's inscriptions show that his kingdom included the whole of the territory from Anahilapāṭaka to Cutch, and included the whole of Kathiawad. In the north, his territory extended as far as Idar.

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The Veraval inscription of Arjuna records that permission was granted to a Muslim to build a mosque in Veraval, near Somnath. This shows that large number of Muslims, mostly sailors, lived honourably in his kingdom.

Probably in his later days, Arjuna allowed his successor Sāraṅgadeva to take an active part in the government.⁵⁷

RĀMA

Arjunadeva had two sons, Rāma the elder, and Sāraṅgadeva. The part of the Cambay stone inscription in which Rāma's name is mentioned is extremely fragmentary, and it cannot be discerned whether he reigned or not.⁵⁸ But the Muralidhar temple inscription states definitely that Rāma occupied the throne,⁵⁹ before Sāraṅgadeva. Rāma's name is, however, not recorded in the Cintra-*praśasti* of the reign of Sāraṅgadēva. That omission may be due to the fact, that unlike the Vadnagar-*praśasti* of Kumārapāla or the Dabhoi-*praśasti* of Viśaladeva, both of which were composed by court-poets with the single object of eulogising the royal family, the Cintra-*praśasti* was composed mainly to eulogise the Pāśupata ascetic whose activities are recorded there. Probably Rāma reigned for a short period of few months, so that his name was omitted, just as the name of Vallabharāja is found omitted in certain inscriptions.

From the Muralidhar temple inscription we learn that Rāma was very charitable, and his relations with his brother Sāraṅgadeva were as amicable as that between Rāma and Lakshmaṇa.⁶⁰ This statement, coming as it does from an inscription of the reign of Rāma's son, seems to be true. Probably at the time of Rāma's death his son Karṇa was too young to be able to safeguard the interests of the kingdom, so that Rāma preferred Sāraṅgadeva to succeed him, but later after Sāraṅgadeva's death the crown passed into the hands of Rāma's son.

SĀRAṅGADEVA

Sāraṅgadeva succeeded his brother Rāma. At the time of his accession Gujarat seems to have been passing through some danger, which he probably warded off immediately after his accession; for, in an inscription of V.S. 1333, he is called 'a boar (incarnation) in upholding the country of Gūrjara.'⁶¹

Sāraṅgadeva in Mālava

What specific deed earned for Sāraṅgadeva the flattering epithet mentioned above is not known, but the same inscription records that Sāraṅgadeva was a 'comet to the Mālava country.' The Cintra-*praśasti* also records that Sāraṅgadeva "reduced in battle the powers of the Yādava and the Mālava lords, as Garuḍa formerly overcame the

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huge-bodied elephant and tortoise." One Vīśaladeva assisted him in his Mālava campaign, and later served him as the governor of Chandrāvātī.⁶²

It is difficult to determine the name of the king of Mālava defeated by Sāraṅgadeva. H. C. Ray has suggested that the defeated Mālava king was "perhaps the (Paramāra?) Jayavarman II, for whom we seem to have inscriptions ranging from c. 1256-1260 A.D."⁶³ Jayavarman II, however, seems to have been succeeded by Jayasimha II by A.D. 1269 (V.S. 1326), and we know that another Paramāra king, namely Arjunavarman, was ruling in V.S. 1345. It is therefore apparent that adversary of Sāraṅgadeva could not have been Jayavarman II, but either Jayasimha II or Arjunavarman II. D. C. Ganguly is of the opinion that it was Arjunavarman who had to bear the brunt of Sāraṅgadeva's attack.⁶⁴ But in this connection we shall have to take into account the statement in the Muralidhar temple inscription, that Sāraṅgadeva defeated one Goga. A late inscription (A.D. 1439) praises a Guhilot prince of Mewad named Lakshmasimha for having defeated Gogadeva the king of Mālava.⁶⁵ Ferishta also mentions that when Ain-ul-Mulk Multani was sent by 'Ala ud-Din to reduce Mālava, "he was opposed by Koka, the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horses, and 10,000 foot".⁶⁶ This Koka is evidently a mistranscription of Goga.

Though Ferishta calls Koka or Goga the king of Mālava, Āmīr Khusrau, the court-poet of 'Ala ud-Dīn states that while Mālava was invaded by the Khaljī army, it was opposed by "Rai Mahlak Deo of Malwa and Koka his *Pardhan* who had under their command a select body of thirty or forty thousand cavalry". Khusrau adds: "Koka the *wazir* commanded the army and he was stronger in the country of Malwa than the *rai*". But they were defeated by the Muslims and "the accursed Koka was also slain, and his head was sent to the Sultan".⁶⁷ According to Wassaf, another Muslim writer, about the year A.D. 1270, a king of Mālava died and dissension broke out between his son and minister. The result of their hostilities was that each acquired a part of that country.⁶⁸ It is possible that Goga was the faithless minister referred to by Wassaf, who at the time of Muslim invasion made common cause with his sovereign and opposed the invaders, so that Āmīr Khusrau was not wrong when he called Koka the *Pardhan* of the Mālava king. Ferishta, who probably did not know the antecedents of Koka, or Goga, naturally supposed that he was the king of Mālava, as Goga was probably controlling a part of that country.

There is hardly any doubt that this Goga was defeated by Sāraṅgadeva. But whether the Mālava king defeated by Sāraṅgadeva is to be identified with Goga or with a successor of Jayavarman, cannot be definitely ascertained at present. The Paramāra power in Mālava had

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at this time sunk into insignificance, and Sāraṅgadeva might have defeated both Goga and the Paramāra king.

Sāraṅgadeva and the Yādavas

We have seen that another victory of Sāraṅgadeva referred to in the Cintra-*prāśasti* is over a Yādava king. This Yādava king has been identified with Rāmachandra, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1271 and lived long enough to witness the downfall of Hindu Gujarat. The final day of the reckoning with the Muslims was drawing near, but oblivious of all dangers from that formidable foe, the Hindu kings went on fighting their petty wars, as if these were parts of a sacrosanct ritual handed down from their ancestors. The result was disunity, disruption, and useless waste of man-power.

An unsuccessful Turushka invasion

Fortunately, Sāraṅgadeva was able to repel a Turushka invasion. The Patanarayana inscription states that Vīśala, the governor of Sāraṅgadeva, defeated the Turushkas. This Turushka invasion is also recorded in the Abu stone inscription of Guhilot Samarasimha dated V.S. 1342 (c. 1286 A.D.) which states: "Samara the son of Tejasimha, the foremost among the rulers of the earth, in a moment lifted the deeply sunk Gūrjara land high out of the Turushka sea".⁶⁹ The invasion must, therefore, be presumed to have taken place on or before A.D. 1285, and it has been suggested that it took place during the reign of Ghiyās ud-Dīn Balban (1266-1278 A.D.).⁷⁰ This abortive expedition is, however, not only not mentioned by any Muslim historian, but Barani definitely states that when some courtiers urged Ghiyās ud-Dīn Balban to conquer Gujarat and Mālava and other provinces, the Sultan replied that he had the will to do more than this (that is conquest of Gujarat and Mālava), but had no intention of exposing Delhi to the fate of Baghdad,⁷¹ referring undoubtedly to Hulagu's capture of that city in A.D. 1258. Well might Balban be anxious on account of the Mongols, for they had several times attempted to invade his kingdom, and in A.D. 1285—the year in which Samara set up his Abu inscription—his eldest son Muhammad Khan died in an encounter with the Mongols in Multan.⁷² Though Muhammad Khan before his death had defeated the main Mongol army under Tamar Khan, it is possible that immediately after his death, and before his son came from Delhi to take up the government of Multan, a mobile army of Mongols had penetrated as far as Abu. This does not appear to be improbable in view of the fact that during the reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn, the Mongols, taking advantage of his absence in Chitor, advanced as far as Delhi and even raided the streets of the city.

Unfortunately the Hindus probably were unable to distinguish

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between the Mongols, who were at this time mostly Buddhists,⁷³ and the Turkish Muslims of Delhi; to them all foreigners were Turushkas, as once they had been *Yavanas* and then *Mlechchhas*. Had they been able to exploit the difference between the Mongols and the Muslims, and had allied themselves with the former, they could have at that date easily defeated the Muslims.

The Turushka was probably stopped near Abu, and Samarasimha's boast of having saved Gujarat from the Turushkas indicates nothing more than that Abu was considered at that time to be a part of Gujarat. The setting up of an inscription by Samarasimha shows that for some time in A.D. 1285 he was occupying Abu, which was probably the price he expected Sāraṅgadeva to pay for his assistance in repulsing the invasion. But the Patnarayana inscription shows that in A.D. 1286, Abu was under Paramāra Pratāpasimha and Viśala, the latter also having taken part in defeating the Turushkas. Viśala held Abu up to at least A.D. 1293,⁷⁴ that is practically to the end of Sāraṅgadeva's reign. Hence it appears as if after defeating the Turushkas near Abu, Samarasimha continued to occupy the country till Sāraṅgadeva managed with the help of Viśala to install Pratāpasimha on the throne of his ancestors. Viśala might have had a large share in dispossessing Samarasimha of Abu, for the Patnarayana inscription describes Abu as the kingdom of Viśala, and Pratāpasimha almost as his feudatory, without any reference to Sāraṅgadeva. But later on Viśala must have submitted to Sāraṅgadeva, for he mentions him as the king in the Abu Vimala Vasahi inscription.⁷⁵ As Pratāpasimha is not mentioned in the later inscription, it may be presumed that by that time Viśala had rid himself of Pratāpasimha.

If the events happened as suggested above, Samarasimha would be sure to suffer from a sense of having been deprived of his just reward. In that case we can understand his motive for coming to terms with the Muslims when Uulgh Khan attacked Gujarat, as related by Jina-prabhā.⁷⁶ The defection of Samarasimha had the most serious consequences for the successor of Sāraṅgadeva.

Expedition against the Jethvas

Sāraṅgadeva had to send an expedition against the Jethvas. The Vanthali inscription informs us that his governor of Vāmanasthalī, Vijayānanda, a grandson of Vīradhavalā through his daughter Primaladevī, invaded Bhuhṛit Palli and fought with one Bhānu. This Bhānu has been identified with Bhānu Jethva, the well known warrior.⁷⁷

Chancellors of Sāraṅgadeva

Little else is known about the political activities of Sāraṅgadeva's reign. From the inscriptions and colophons of manuscripts, we learn

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the names of some of his Chancellors. At the time of his accession, Māladeva, the Chancellor of Arjunadeva, was probably still in office, and Sāraṅgadeva allowed him to act in that capacity for some time. But Māladeva must have been replaced very early in the reign, for in V.S. 1332, we find Śrī Kaṇha as the Chancellor.⁷⁸ Kaṇha probably continued in his office upto V.S. 1339, in which year he is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript.⁷⁹ He was then followed by one Madhusūdāna, whose name first appears in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1343.⁸⁰ Madhusūdāna must have continued in office upto V.S. 1348, when he is mentioned in the Anavada inscription⁸¹, and it is possible that he continued to hold the office till the end of Sāraṅgadeva's reign. Sāraṅgadeva had a minister whose name was Vikrama.⁸² Another important officer of Sāraṅgadeva was Śrī Palha, who, with a *Pañchakulā*, was governing Saurāshṭra in V.S. 1333.⁸³ As from an inscription of the reign of Arjunadeva, we learn that Palha was occupying the same office in V.S. 1330,⁸⁴ it is evident that like Māladeva, he too continued to serve the new king.

Another information about Sāraṅgadeva is given by Jayanta, who finished his *Kāvya-prakāśadīpikā* in V.S. 1350 in the triumphant reign of Sāraṅgadeva, while his victorious camp was pitched near Āśāpalli. Jayanta bestows very extravagant praise on his father and informs us that Sāraṅgadeva threw himself prostrate at his father's feet.⁸⁵

From the provenance of his inscriptions, we learn that Sāraṅgadeva's kingdom included the whole of central and north Gujarat up to and including Abu, Kathiawad, and Cutch. In the south it probably included Lāṭa, for he had defeated his possible rivals for this territory, namely, the Paramāras of Mālava and the Yādavas. Dimishqi, writing in A.D. 1325, says that the coasts of the country of Lar (Lāṭa) are a continuation of the coasts of Jazrat (Gujarat), and it comprises the kingdom of Somnath.⁸⁶ From this statement also, it follows that Lāṭa was included within Sāraṅgadeva's kingdom.

CHAPTER XI

Civilisation is Mortal

Karṇa, the son of Rāma, succeeded Sāraṅgadeva some time in c. A.D. 1296.¹ It has been shown that the kingdom of Sāraṅgadeva included the whole of modern Gujarat including Kathiawad and Cutch, and extended up to Abu. As Sāraṅgadeva is not known to have suffered any reverse, it may be presumed that all this territory he bequeathed to his successor.² But within three years of Karṇa's accession, this kingdom was—if one might use a Sanskrit metaphor—submerged under Muslim invasion. That disaster seems to have passed away, affording the unfortunate Karṇa respite to return and retrieve the situation as best as he might. But another invasion followed within a decade ending the Hindu rule in Gujarat. After that, the last of the Chaulukyas vanishes from history.

We may believe that in the year of his accession, few, if any, were able to foresee that the reign, which had opened as auspiciously as that of any of his predecessors, were to end in unrelieved disaster, for the king as well as for the country. 'Ala ud-Dīn ascended the throne that very year,³ but only a bold prophet could predict that the young Sultan, who had just ascended the throne of Delhi over the corpse of his uncle, would be able to stabilise his power, repel some of the worst Mongol invasions, and, within little more than a decade, change completely the political map of India.

As a resourceful soldier with imagination, initiative, and luck, Garshasp Malik later known as 'Alā ud-Dīn, had made a name for himself, even before he ascended the throne, by his audacious raid on the Yādava capital of Devagiri.⁴ A huge ransom from Rāmachandra induced him to return north. Quickly the Yādavas regained their power, for, though circumstances had compelled them to concede to Garshasp's rapacious demand, their army had not suffered any great defeat. Thus, the situation at the beginning of Karṇa's reign was that though states of Rajputana, Gujarat, and Mālava had suffered Muslim invasions, they were still independent. South of the Vindhyas except for the Yādavas, no other power had as yet been attacked by the Muslims.

But within little more than a decade, the situation changed completely. The countries which had hitherto been invaded by the Muslims unsuccessfully, such as Gujarat, Mālava, and parts of Rajputana, were annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi. The same fate overcame the Seuna kingdom of the Yādavas, and Muslim raiders under Malik Kafur reached the end of South India.

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One can dimly discern in this series of conquests and raids a familiar pattern of advance of the Islamic power in India by well defined stages. The Arab invasion permanently detached Sind from the rest of India, but further advance was beyond the power of the Saracens. About three centuries passed by, and then came Sultān Mahmūd, whose iconoclastic raids penetrated into the heart of northern India. His actual conquest was limited to Afghanistan and parts of Punjab, but it shut off India completely from the western and central Asia. Nearly two centuries passed by: the degenerate Yamīnis of Punjab ceased to be a menace to India. There was a chance for the Hindus to recover their lost territory, but a fresh invasion under the Ghuris carried the day. With Qutb ud-Dīn came a fresh series of expansion and annexation. But the unrelenting cruel raids on the neighbouring Hindu states were not slackened. Ilutmish, busy as he was to consolidate his own position, found time to raid the Hindu states and open Mālava, that is Central India, to the army of Islam. Each of these raids left the Hindus a little more apprehensive of the Muslims, a little more impoverished, a little more disorganised, the morale of the soldiers a little worse than what it had been before they failed to stop the raid. To this was added the deliberate Muslim policy of terrorising the people by their mass massacre, arson, loot, destruction and desecration of the temples. The cumulative result of these atrocious tactics was to instill in the mind of the people lack of faith in the temporal power of the king to protect the state, and in their gods to lead them to salvation. In modern language this may be described as 'tactics to soften the resistance of a nation'. Since the days of Sultān Mahmūd, and even more so from the time of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, this softening of the Hindu resistance had been going on side by side with, and as preliminary to permanent annexation. 'Alā ud-Dīn reaped the benefit of the historic raids of his predecessors, and in his turn carried the arms of Islam south of the Vindhya to open a new vista of operation for the succeeding generations of Muslims.

Besides the cardinal fact of Karna's reign, namely, his defeat and loss of kingdom, practically nothing is known about him. Most of the informations relating to the conquest of Gujarat are derived from Muslim sources, which are conflicting and not always reliable. All these sources agree, however, that during the first two years of his reign, 'Alā ud-Dīn was occupied in suppressing refractory elements within his kingdom and repelling Mongol invasions. In the third year of his reign, he sent a strong force under Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān to invade Gujarat. A contemporary Muslim historian has left a rhapsodic description of the natural beauties of Gujarat,⁵ but one may be sure that it was not the flora of the country that attracted her conquerors. Since the Mongol occupation of countries bordering India the inter-

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national trade of north-western India passed through Gujarat.⁶ The ports of Gujarat, where a large Muslim population lived, were most conveniently situated for the Muslim merchants of northern India desiring to trade with the western countries. Hence the conquest of Gujarat was more important than that of Mālava or Rajputana, and Gujarat was selected by 'Alā ud-Dīn as the first Hindu state to be attacked. The famed wealth of Gujarat, which 'Alā ud-Dīn at this time needed badly, also probably played a part in determining her fate.

The date of despatch of forces by 'Alā ud-Dīn is given differently by different historians, but it is almost certain that they started either late in A.D. 1298, or, which is more likely, early in 1299.⁷ The Muslim army marched through Mewad, and after crossing the river Banas, captured the fort of Radosa. We learn from Jinaprabhā Sūri, that Samarasimha was at this time the king of Mewad; but the verse in which Jinaprabhā relates the conduct of the Guhilot king during the Muslim advance through his territory has been differently interpreted. According to Bühler, the disputed passage means that Samarasimha protected Mewad from the Muslims by buying them off with money.⁸ MM. Ojha is however of the opinion that the passage means that Samarasimha protected Mewad by punishing the invaders, that is a portion of Mewad was unsuccessfully raided by the two Muslim generals.⁹ MM. Ojha's contention seems to be supported by the statement of the Ranpur inscription of A.D. 1439, which states that the Sesodia Guhilot, Bhuvanasimha was 'the conqueror of Śrī Allavadina Sultan'.¹⁰ According to this inscription, Bhuvanasimha was the father of Lakshmasimha, the conqueror of Gogadeva already referred to and was the first Sesodia king of Mewad. As the Sesodias always served the main Guhilot dynasty as feudatories, Bhuvanasimha probably came to the aid of Samarasimha when the Muslims attacked Mewad and defeated them. However, it is clear that Samarasimha did not come to the aid of Gujarat as he had done on a former occasion. The Muslim army also did not suffer any serious reverse at the hands of Samarasimha, or they could not have proceeded through hostile countries, defeat Karna, and plunder the country. Probably intent on their main objective of invading Gujarat, the Muslims let off Samarasimha after a light raid by a mobile column which met with strong resistance.¹¹ But once assured of his safety, Samarasimha seems to have in no way interfered with the passage of the Muslim army to Gujarat.

After passing through Mewad, the Muslim army did not meet with any resistance till they reached Gujarat. The Muslim historians do not mention any fight with the Gujarat army. Only 'Isami states that Karna shut himself in a fort where he was besieged for a long time after which he escaped.¹² But though apparently unprepared to meet the invaders, the Hindus resisted. Jinaprabhā Sūri mentions an action having been

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fought near Āśāpalli, that is modern Ahmedabad, in which Karna was defeated by Ulugh Khan (Ullu Khāna of Jinaprabhā¹³). That, according to the Sūri, sealed the fate of Karna. The Muslim historians state that, after occupying Anahilapātaka, the army of Ulugh Khan plundered Cambay, Somnath, and Surat. The temple of Somanātha was again demolished and the *linga* carried to Delhi. But we know that Somanātha was not given up without a struggle. From an inscription, it is learnt that two Vāja warriors, Mālasūta and Padamala, fell at the door of Somanātha temple on Saturday the 6th June, 1299 while fighting the Turushkas when they had invaded and destroyed the town.¹⁴ Probably similar resistance was offered everywhere, but with no better success. Karna must have been taken absolutely unawares for the historic passes of Abu, where in the previous century two Muslim armies were defeated, was left uncontested.¹⁵

The question that now remains to be answered is that whether Karna lost his kingdom in A.D. 1299, or was a second campaign necessary before the Muslims could annex Gujarat? Hindu sources mention only one campaign; but, whereas Jinaprabhā gives the date of Karna's defeat as A.D. 1299, Merutuṅga, who lived during the fall of his country, states that Karna ruled upto A.D. 1304,¹⁶ after which the Muslims occupied the country. But the two authors do not contradict each other, for the statement of Jinaprabhā does not preclude the possibility of Karna's returning and reoccupying his kingdom, which he lost again and forever in A.D. 1304. Some Muslim historians also have stated that Gujarat was annexed during the second campaign, and it is now necessary to examine them.

The earliest history of the conquest of Gujarat, the *Khaza'inu-l Futuh*, was written by the celebrated court-poet of 'Alā ud-Dīn, Āmīr Khusrau. There Khusrau gives a very short account of the conquest of Gujarat, and mentions one campaign only which took place in A.D. 1299. But Khusrau was no historian and in the *Khaza'inu-l Futuh* totally ignores three Mongol invasions which took place during 'Alā ud-Dīn's reign. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the poet with little sense of history had tried to represent that one invasion only was sufficient to conquer Gujarat.¹⁷

Khusrau is also the author of the better known love poem called the '*Ashiqā*' or the '*Dewāl Rani wā Khizr Khān*', in which, while depicting the love of Devalrani, the daughter of Karna, and Khizr Khān, the son of 'Alā ud-Dīn, Khusrau has left some additional informations. According to the *Ashiqā*, there were two invasions: in the first Ulugh Khān merely went, plundered, broke Hindu shrines, and captured Kawala Di whom 'Alā ud-Dīn subsequently married. Eight years after this incident, Kawala Di requested 'Alā ud-Dīn to get her daughter by Karna, Dewal Di, and 'Alā ud-Dīn sent a message to Karna asking him

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to send the princess. Karna readily agreed and was preparing to send the girl with many presents when he took alarm at the large army, which had marched under Ulugh Khān and Panchami for conquering Gujarat. Karna thereupon fled with his daughter and private attendants to seek protection of the Rai of Deogir, named Sankh Deo, the son of Rai Rayan Ram Deo. Sankh Deo demanded Dewal Di to be married to his brother, which proposal Karna had to accept unwillingly. As Karna was preparing to send her to Deogir, he was attacked by the Muslims under Panchami, the commander of the Muslim van guard. Dewal Di's horse was wounded and lamed by an arrow, and she fell into the hands of Panchami, who sent her to Delhi. There this girl of eight fell into love with Khizr Khan then aged ten. The pair was separated by Khizr's mother, but their passionate love overcame all obstacles and they were united in marriage.¹⁸ Needless to say, the poem may have literary merits, but from the beginning to the end, it is full of absurd situations described in the most exaggerated terms. But the second invasion may be true.

The next historian was 'Isami, who also speaks of two invasions, but his accounts differ from that of Khusrau's. According to 'Isami, Karna shut himself in a fort during the first invasion of Gujarat but ultimately fled.¹⁹ The Muslims thereafter plundered the country and returned to Dehli when Karna returned and occupied his capital. 'Alā ud-Dīn then sent another army to Gujarat under Malik Jhitam accompanied by another officer called Panchmani. This time Karna was totally defeated and fled to Marhat, that is the Mahārāshṭra country of the Yādavas. Receiving no hospitality there, he went to Tilang, that is the Kākatīya kingdom, and sought refuge under Luddar Dev (Rudradeva), the ruler of the country. In the meantime, Karna's family including the famous Deval and all the wives and daughters of Karna fell into the hands of the Muslims. Then a message came from 'Alā ud-Dīn summoning Jhitam to Delhi, whither the general took the captured ladies. The Sultan then bestowed Gujarat as an *iqṭa* on Alap Khan, who was at that time in Multan, and ordered him to take possession of the district without delay.²⁰

The next historian, Barani, wrote his celebrated *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* eight years after 'Isami had finished his work. Barani mentions only one invasion of Gujarat which according to him took place during the third year of 'Alā ud-Dīn's reign. Karna, according to this authority, fled from Nahrwalla and went to Ram Deo at Deogir, leaving his wives, daughters as well as elephants to fall into the hands of the Muslims. Thereafter Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān returned to Delhi laden with booty.²¹

Later historians are divided. Nizām ud-Dīn and Badauni generally follow Barani, except that both mention the capture of Dewal by Ulugh

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Khan.²² But whereas Badauni accepts as true the *Ashiqa* of Khusrau, so far as the later romance of Khizr Khān and Dewal is concerned, the more prosaic Nizām ud-Dīn, like Barani, ignores the *Ashiqa* altogether. Even Badauni, it may be noted, never mentions Kamala Dī, nor her absurd behaviour in demanding her daughter to be forcibly brought from Gujarat.

Ferishta as usual combines all the materials known to him, and adds probably some of his fancy to increase its story value. According to him, Kowla Devy was captured along with all the wives and daughters of Karṇa during the first invasion under Aluf Khan and Nusrat Khan. Karṇa then took refuge with Rāmachandra with whose aid he soon returned at a place called Baglana in Gujarat, bordering on the Yādava kingdom. Later, when 'Alā ud-Dīn was sending an expedition to Deccan against Rāmachandra in A.D. 1308, Kowla Devy requested the Sultan to have her daughter Deval Devy brought to Delhi, and orders were issued to the general Malik Kafur to that effect.

Malik Kafur, according to Ferishta, marched up to the borders of Deccan and demanded Karṇa to surrender his daughter. Karṇa refused to surrender her, and hostilities broke out.²³ For two months Karṇa defeated every attempt of the Muslim general to force the mountain passes. In the meantime Karṇa reluctantly gave his daughter in marriage to Shunkul Dew, the elder son of Rāmachandra, who had been her suitor for a long time, and had been till then refused by the Rajput Karṇa on the ground of the Yādava prince being a Maratha.

Ferishta then continues that, one day as some Muslim soldiers went to see the caves of Ellora, they came across a Hindu cavalcade which proved to be the retinue of Bhim Deo, who was escorting Dewul Devy to Shunkul Deo. The two parties immediately engaged in a fight, and the Hindus were put to flight, while an arrow having pierced the horse of Dewul, she fell and was left on the ground. Afraid, lest she should be molested by the rough soldiers who were already quarrelling about her, Dewul's nurse divulged her identity. She was then taken to Aluf Khan who sent her to Delhi, where she was married to Khizr Khan.²⁴

The story of the *Ashiqa*, from which Ferishta has drawn largely for his materials, has been rightly criticised by many modern scholars as possessing little historical value. But the rejection of all the episodes mentioned by Khusrau, because he interwove in it an impossible love story, seems to be taking an extreme attitude. Particularly the second invasion of Gujarat does not seem to be an invention. Later historians accepted Barani's version that there was only one campaign, because Barani's uncle 'Alā-ul-Mulk was the Kotwal of Delhi under 'Alā ud-Dīn, which added great weight to whatever Barani wrote about 'Alā ud-Dīn's reign.²⁵ But Barani was a 'northerner,' whereas his contemporary 'Isami spent many years at Deogir where he wrote his work and enjoyed an

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excellent opportunity of verifying the history of the fugitive king of Gujarat. However, he has been accused of depending entirely on the *Ashīqa* for his description of the love of Dewul and Khizr, and his version has been called an 'abridgement of Khusrau's description.'²⁶ But if 'Isami did depend on the poet for the account of the romance, he gave an independent version of the actions which led to the capture of the Vāghelā princess. Amir Khusrau's statement that Ulugh Khan was the officer sent to capture the princess was copied by Ferishta, but if the date given by Ferishta for the capture of Dewul is accepted, Ulugh Khan could not have led this expedition having died earlier. 'Isami, therefore, seems to be correct when he mentions Jhitam as the general who led the second expedition against Gujarat. Moreover, 'Isami definitely entitles his chapter on the final overthrow of Karna as 'the second Gujarat campaign', and states that after the second invasion resulted in driving away Karna, the country was definitely annexed, and Alp Khan was appointed the governor.²⁷ Incidentally, Ferishta states that this Alp Khan was the actual captor of Dewul, and had taken part in the second campaign while acting as the governor of Gujarat. Thus he extricated himself from the chronological difficulties into which he would have been led had he accepted Khusrau's version that Dewul was captured by Ulugh. But Ferishta has no authority for stating that Dewul was captured by Alp Khan.

Again, 'Isami's statement, that Karna unable to find asylum in the Marath country—that is with Rāmachandra—had to go to Tilang, is more in keeping with the known facts about the Yādava king, who was as vindictive as he was mean.²⁸ He led the Muslim army to the Hoysala country to score off against his ancient enemy. Such a man could not be expected to have received hospitably the defeated enemy of 'Alā ud-Dīn to whom he was paying tribute in A.D. 1299.²⁹ Moreover, the Yādavas and the Chaulukyas were sworn enemies since the beginning of their rule. Hence 'Isami's version seems to be the correct one. Ulugh Khān's invasion did not produce any permanent result; either the Muslim army left Gujarat of its own will, or it was driven out. Karna then returned to his capital. Then came the second invasion under Jhitam and Panchmani. This time the conquest was complete. The ex-king of Gujarat after being refused asylum by Rāmachandra sought and found a resting place in Telingana. Thereafter we lose his trace.

Did treachery play any part in the final overthrow of the Chaulukya? According to a bardic tradition, Karna had two Nāgara ministers, Mādhava and Keśava. Karna abducted the wife of the former, and slew Keśava. Mādhava thereupon went to 'Alā ud-Dīn and brought the Muslim army.³⁰ Whatever may be the truth in the story regarding Karna's crime, Mādhava's base betrayal of his country is recorded by Merutuṅga also, who, as has been said, witnessed the conquest of his

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country. Merutuṅga in his *Vichāraśreṇi* writes that Mādhava, Nāgara Brahmin, brought the Muslims.³¹ The same denunciation of Mādhava is found in a *Gutko* or genealogical table of the kings of Gujarat written about A.D. 1533.³² Hence the tradition which associates Mādhava with bringing the Muslim army seems to be based on real fact. Karṇa was probably betrayed and had to flee from his capital precipitately, so that he did not have the time to remove his women from the capital all of whom fell in the hands of the conquerors. Thereafter the fallen monarch having tasted the bitter cup of humility to its last dregs vanished from history.

This was the end of the Chaulukyas.

EPILOGUE

I

Devaladevī

The history of the Chaulukyas ends with the final defeat of Karna, but all historians have shown an unusual interest in the fate of his daughter Devaladevī, since Āmīr Khusrau wrote his *Ashīqa*. Notable modern scholars such as, Thomas, Dowson, and following him, Haig, have accepted the version of the Indo-Persian poet as truth, and as unfortunately Dowson hasarded several wrong conjectures, those mistakes also have passed into history. Some modern Indian scholars, on the other hand, have totally rejected as mythical the subject matter of the *Ashīqa*, and some have gone to the extent of denying the existence of Devaladevī.¹ This seems to be moving to the other extreme, for the beginning of *Ashīqa*, where Khusrau gives a list of 'Alā ud-Dīn's conquests is certainly historical. The problem is to find out where history ends and imaginative poetry begins, for the last part of the *Ashīqa* is undoubtedly unalloyed fancy.

We have seen that every Muslim historian, including Barani, state that the wives and daughters of Karna fell into the hands of the Muslims. Only Barani does not mention the name of Devaladevī.² But that by itself is not sufficient for denying her existence, as his contemporary 'Isami specifically mentions her. Barani's silence may mean that he was not interested in her fate, but 'Isami, a poet, was, and took some pains to ascertain how exactly she was captured. Thereafter 'Isami, not unnaturally, follows the *Ashīqa* and ceases to be reliable. The difference in temperament between Barani and 'Isami is also noticeable between Nizām ud-Dīn and Badauni. Nizām ud-Dīn after stating that among the captured ladies of Karna's household Devaladevī was included never mentions her again. But Badauni, who had poetical pretensions, quoted lengthy extracts from the *Ashīqa*, as if those were pieces of historical evidence. Between the two of them, Nizām ud-Dīn certainly had shown better historical sense, so far as Devaladevī's episode is concerned. For, like Barani, he probably did not like to pin his faith on the *Ashīqa*, but Nizām ud-Dīn had the evidence of the *Futuh-us-Salatin* before him,³ an advantage which probably was denied to Barani; for though Barani and 'Isami were contemporaries, there is reason to believe that the two were ignorant of each other. But, what is remarkable is that neither 'Isami, nor Nizām ud-Dīn, nor even Badauni mentions anything about Kamalādevī. Only Ferishta was gullible enough to repeat the description of her incredible behaviour as related by Khusrau. The omission of Kamalādevī's episode from the narrative of 'gossipy Badauni's' narrative is highly

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significant; it shows that even Badauni, who had a high regard for the poetical and historical value of the *Ashiqā*, could not go to the extent of believing the absurd story of a lecherous woman asking her paramour to snatch her daughter from her natural guardian into a life of infamy. Even Ferishta had the good sense not to repeat Khusrau's statement, that Karna was preparing to send his daughter to 'Alā ud-Dīn with many presents, when he suddenly took fright and fled away with her. Āmīr Khusrau seems to have been suffering from a delusion that the Hindus had no sense of honour and their women no sense of chastity.⁴

Hence we must reject the episode of Kamalādevī as narrated by Khusrau: he probably intended it to give a logical sequence to his love poem. Of the wives of Karna captured by the Muslims, there might have been an unfortunate lady named Kamalādevī, but there is no reason to suppose that she willingly shared 'Alā ud-Dīn's bed. The same is true of Devalādevī. She might have been, and in view of the testimony of the Muslim historians, probably was, married to Khizr Khān; but to assume that she fell in love with the son of her father's worst enemy would be calumniating her memory.

The next chapter in Devaladevī's life is supposed to open with the murder of Khizr Khān by the order of Qutb ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. As part of the myth about Devaladevī was started by Dowson, it worth while to quote him: "When Qutb ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh had ascended the throne, to secure his own position, he had Khizr Khān and other of his own brothers murdered. The fate of Dewul Rani is doubtful. Khusrau says that her hands were cut off while she was clinging to her husband's body, and implies that she was left among the slain though he says not so distinctly. Ferishta asserts that she was taken into Qutb ud-Dīn's harem, and that she was also taken after his death by the villian, Khusrau Khan. Barani, who was intimately acquainted with the facts, is silent upon the subject, so that it may be hoped that the high born damsel escaped that union with "the foul Parwari", which would have been worse than death".⁵

Hodivala has shown that there is no such statement in the current text of the *Ashiqā* to indicate that Devaladevī's hands were severed.⁶ About entering the *harem* of Qutb ud-Dīn, the information is given only by Badauni and Ferishta.⁷ Āmīr Khusrau ends his poem with the death of Khizr Khān. It is true that Khusrau says that Khizr Khān was murdered because Qutb ud-Dīn wanted to possess Devaladevī.⁸ But Qutb ud-Dīn had many of his brothers murdered in order to remove rival claimants to the throne, and there is no reason to suppose that the same desire did not prompt him to remove Khizr Khān. But one cannot be dogmatic about what happened to Devaladevī after the death of Khizr, as the capture of a dead man's *harem* was a recognised practice amongst Muslim

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kings.⁹ Probably Devaladevī had to share the fate of other wives of Khizr Khān.

Next, we have seen that on the authority of Ferishta, it has been concluded that Devaladevī was taken after Qutb ud-Dīn's death by the Hindu convert, Khusrau Khan. But where Dowson expresses some doubt, Haig is positive and states: "Khusrau possessed himself of the person of the unfortunate princess Deval Devī, who had been successively the wife of Khizr Khān and of his brother and murderer Mubārak. Against the union with the foul outcaste who became her third husband 'her proud Rajput blood must indeed have risen'."¹⁰ One wonders if Sir Wolsley Haig, the great Persian scholar that he was, was not relying too much on the translation by Briggs, for Ferishta "does not say any such thing at all either in the Bombay text or Cawnpore Lithograph. The statement is one of the many unwarranted and misleading interpolations in the translation of Briggs. All that he, Barani, Nizāmī ud-Dīn, and Badauni state, is that Khusrau married 'a wife', or the 'most honoured wife', of Qutb ud-Dīn, and that Sultan Tughlak afterwards severely punished the individuals who had taken active part in or abetted the illegal *Nikah* or ceremony of marriage. But we know that Qutb ud-Dīn had several wives and neither Ferishta nor any other author declares that the wife of Qutb ud-Dīn with whom Khusrau went through the ceremony of a marriage was Devaladevī. It is not unlikely that she was, as he asserts, forcibly taken into Qutb ud-Dīn's *harem* after Khizr Khān's assassination, but Āmīr Khusrau, the only contemporary author who mentions Devaladevī, says nothing at all of her subsequent fate and there does not seem to be any warrant for indulging in these melancholy speculations and imaginings about her union with the 'foul Parwari'. Dowson was merely repeating the words of Thomas, whose lamentations on her 'after fate' of becoming 'the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultans', and his sentimental surmises about her 'proud Rajput blood' which must have 'risen against her union with the foul Pariah', have more of the tragic glamour of the romance than that of the dry light of history."¹¹

Therefore, all that can be said about the fate of this unfortunate princess, is that we know no more about her end than that of her father.

EPILOGUE

II

Later History of The Vāghelās

No definite information about the descendants of Karṇa II is known. According to Indrajī, 'though the main cities and all central Gujarat passed under Mussalman rule a branch of the Vāghelās continued to hold much of the country to the west of Sabarmati, while other branches maintained their independence in the rugged land beyond Amba Bhawani between Virpur on the Mahi and Posina at the north-most verge of Gujarat'.¹

An inscription of V.S. 1555 shows that a family of Vāghelās was ruling at a place called Dandahi, as feudatories of Mahmud Bigarha.²

The Vāghelā ruling family of the Rewa state have traditionally claimed descent from the Vāghelās of Gujarat. In a manuscript of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, transcribed in A.D. 1678 by one Rupāni Śarmā for Mahārāja Bhavasīmha of Rewa, Rupāni added 99 verses at the end of the manuscript, giving the genealogy of his royal master.³ The genealogy begins with Karṇadeva, of Gujarat, whose son was Sohagadeva. To Sohagadeva was born Sāraṅgadeva, whose son Viśladeva rose to prominence under the Bhars of Kalinjar.⁴ His son was Bhīnamalladeva, whose name we also obtain from the historical *kāvya*, *Viṛabhānudaya*,⁵ where it is stated that Bhīmadeva was the ancestor of the Vāghelās of Rewa. But whereas the *Viṛabhānudaya* begins the genealogy of the family with Bhīmadeva, we have seen that Rupāni carries it back to Karṇa.

CHAPTER XII

Chronology

The principal sources for reconstructing the chronology of the Chaulukya kings of Gujarat are the inscriptions, the dated colophons of manuscripts, and the literary works. The literary sources consist of the two works by Merutuṅga, namely the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Vichāraśreṇi* or the *Therāvali*¹ and several genealogical tables. Of the genealogical tables, two were discovered by R. G. Bhandarkar,² which mention the dates of the accession of each king, while two other discovered by Sri Sharma³ and Bhau Daji⁴ give the duration of the reigns of each king. Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, gives a genealogical list of Chaulukya kings.⁵

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to consider the merits and defects of the literary sources mentioned above, and we shall begin with a critical analysis of the dates given in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (PC).

As most of the dates mentioned in the PC were thoroughly examined by R. Sewell, we cannot do better than quote his valuable observations at some length. Sewell wrote: "There are several ways of writing history. A conscientious historian does not invent details in the hope that their inaccuracy will remain undiscovered; but there have been authors who seek to present to their readers a false appearance of accuracy by mentioning as facts minute details which have no existence except in their own brains. Merutuṅga, the author of *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, an historical work of the early fourteenth century A.D., so far at least as regards the dates which he gives for the accession, etc., of the kings of Anahilavāḍa during the period of about 400 years, appears to belong to the latter class.it is desirable that students of history should be warned against putting too much trust in his chronological assertions. Parts at least of most of his dates appear to be mere blind shots made at random, and to have been entered in order to give an appearance of versimilitude to his story. And if this is so, we have to be cautious in our acceptance of the whole. Contemporary records are far better guides....."

"Merutuṅga generally gives us in his dates the following details: (i) the number of years of the Vikrama era, (ii) the lunar month and *tithi* (1/30 of a lunation), (iii) the weekday, (iv) the *nakshatra* (the moon's place in the heaven), (v) the *lagna* (the zodiacal sign in the ascendant at the moment of the action recorded which...fixes within two hours the exact time of the day). All these elements of a date were

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undoubtedly known to the framers of almanac of Merutuṅga's time, but they were not generally in use during the earlier years of the period comprised in the book. The earliest mention of the *lagna*, for instance, in inscriptions known to the late Professor Kielhorn, is one of A.D. 945 (IA, XXV, 281), but Merutuṅga notes it as part of his earliest date, two hundred years before that time. Suspicion is therefore at once aroused. The *nakshatra* is stated in fifteen of Merutuṅga's dates, but not a single one is correct, most of them being quite impossible on the given lunar day (*tithi*) of the month, and some of them absurdly so. He apparently did not understand the theory of the *nakshatras*, and wrote down their names at haphazard.....

"Let it be remembered that if a writer makes up his mind to make a bold shot at the weekday corresponding to a lunar month and *tithi* in a year long gone by, he stands a fair chance of hitting either on the right day or on the day next to it. His chances are two in seven. As regards the *lagna* his chance of failure is very small, since in twenty-four hours the meridian passes through all the zodiacal signs. (Nevertheless Merutuṅga is wrong in six cases out of eleven). But in the matter of the *nakshatra* he must choose one out of twenty-seven, and here Merutuṅga altogether breaks down. So that we are left with practically nothing but the weekday by which to judge of the accuracy of the given date..."

Sewell then examined all the dates of accession of kings furnished by Merutuṅga in the PC, and found that most of the dates given in that work cannot be reconciled with the weekdays. He therefore concluded: "The true history of the kings of Anahilavāḍa must be threshed out from a careful study of contemporary records, and no reliance can be placed on the chronology of *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*." Though there are manuscripts of the PC which do not contain all the mistakes noted by Sewell, his contention is on the whole correct, and the omission of *nakshatra*, and *lagna* etc., in one or two manuscripts, was probably an attempt by later copyists to pass over the mistakes of Merutuṅga.

Merutuṅga was also the author of another work called the *Vichāraśreṇi* (VS) or the *Therāvalī*, which is a work on chronology from very early times, and includes a chronology of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. Not only the dates given in this work differ from those given in the PC, but an examination shows the VS to be yet less reliable than the PC, so that R. G. Bhandarkar was constrained to write about it as follows: "The *Vichāraśreṇi* appears to me to be a curious composition. It places the foundation of Patan in 821 Samvat instead of 802, the accession of Mūlarāja in 1017 Samvat instead of 998, omits the reign of Chāmuṇḍa, assigns fourteen years to Vallabharāja instead of 6 months, represents Visaladeva to be a brother of Vīradhavalā instead of a son, and contains several other mistakes. It is therefore not entitled to our confidence at

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all, though Dr. Bühler follows it in giving the dates of the Vāghelā princes".⁷ In reply to this criticism Bühler wrote: ".....for my reliance on which (*Vichārasreṇi*) Dr. Bhandarkar blames me. The text of the latter work no doubt contains mistakes which are due to clerical errors in the original of the bad copies of the Government and Bhau Daji's collection. Thirteen or fourteen years ago, I really saw a good copy at Baroda, but could not obtain it.....But I would not now pin my faith on any *paṭṭāvalī* or *Prabandha*, whose assertions, like those of the *Purāṇas*, can only be accepted provisionally in the absence of really historical information from contemporary works, inscriptions and manuscripts".⁸

The last conclusion of the great Indologist stands to-day as valid as it was the day it was written, and we shall try to reconstruct the chronology of the Chaulukyas on the lines indicated by Bühler; but before proceeding further, we shall mention a few other literary sources which would be utilised in the present work. These include the two genealogical tables or *paṭṭāvalīs* discovered by Bhandarkar, which have been designated hereafter as Bh1 and Bh2. Bühler, however, had as little faith in Bh1 and Bh2,⁹ as Bhandarkar had in the VS, but as we shall see, Bh1 and Bh2, though not free from errors, are more accurate than Merutuṅga's works. Another chronological table,¹⁰ a more recent discovery, is full of blunders, and we would not have noticed it here but for the fact that it is the only work hitherto discovered which mentions the name of the usurper Jayantasimha also known as Jayasimha. In the chronological table he is called *Laghu* Jayasimha. Probably perplexed at not knowing the history of the period, this work (hereafter referred to as GS) places the reign of the usurper after the end of 65 years of Bhīma's reign. This shows that the tradition of Jayantasimha existed though the Chroniclers,—whose works have been discovered,—tried to conceal the usurpation.

'Abul Fazl, the great historian of Akbar's reign, in his celebrated work, the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, gives a genealogical table of the Chaulukya kings and the number of years they ruled, but this table, also, is full errors.¹¹

We shall, therefore, try to reconstruct the chronology of the Chaulukyas from inscriptions and dated colophons, but in the absence of such sources it will be necessary to have recourse to the literary sources bearing in mind their limitations.

From the Sambhar inscription of Jayasimha, we learn that Mūlarāja ascended the throne in V.S. 998 (A.D. 941-42),¹² and his last known date, given in his Balera plate, is V.S. 1051 (A.D. 995).¹³ Thus from epigraphic evidences, we find that he reigned at least for 53 years. According to PC, Mūlarāja enjoyed a reign of 55 years, beginning from V.S. 993 (though in two MSS. the date of Mūlarāja's accession is given as V.S. 998).¹⁴ Bh1 and Bh2 give V.S. 998 as the year of Mūlarāja's

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accession, and state that he reigned upto V.S. 1053, while according to the VS, Mūlarāja reigned from V.S. 1017 to 1053. As the year V.S. 1053 is common to most of the literary sources and does not militate against any known date, Mūlarāja may be said to have reigned from V.S. 998 to 1053.

For determining the regnal periods of the next three monarchs no epigraphic record is available. According to the PC, Bh1, and Bh2, Chāmuṇḍa came to the throne in V.S. 1053 (997-98 A.D.), and ruled till V.S. 1066. VS and GS place Chāmuṇḍa in the Chāpotkaṭa list, while 'Abul Fazl rightly places him amongst the Chaulukyas as the son of Mūlarāja and credits him, apparently correctly, with a reign of thirteen years. Hence it may be assumed that Chāmuṇḍa reigned from V.S. 1053-1066.¹⁵

According to the PC, Bh1, and Bh2, Vallabha came to the throne in V.S. 1066 and died six months later. 'Abul Fazl and GS also assign to him a reign period of only six months.¹⁶ The VS alone state that Vallabha came to the throne in V.S. 1052 and reigned for fourteen years; undoubtedly Merutuṅga was adding thirteen years of Chāmuṇḍa's reign to that of his son, to cover his misplacement of the former in the Chāpotkaṭa list. It is also apparent from the *Dvyāśraya*, that Vallabha had enjoyed a very short reign, which probably explains the omission of his name from the genealogy of the Chaulukya kings in certain Chaulukya records. One is therefore justified in assigning to Vallabha a reign of only six months.

Durlabha, therefore, came to the throne in V.S. 1066, as stated in the PC, Bh1, and Bh2; and according to all these sources, Durlabha's reign came to an end V.S. 1078. But according to several *Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvalis*, Durlabha was reigning in V.S. 1080 (A.D. 1023-24), when the Kharataragachchha was established.¹⁷ The date of the inception being of very great importance to the *gachchha*, it is less likely to have committed any mistake about it, than the sources mentioned above, about the date of the death of Durlabha. We may assume therefore that Durlabha reigned at least upto V.S. 1080. But his reign must have come to an end soon after, for, when Sultān Mahmūd attacked Gujarat in A.D. 1025, Bhīma I was on the throne. Mahmūd reached Anahilapāṭaka by the end of December 1025, and reached Somnath on 6th January, 1026. Hence we may assume Durlabha to have reigned from V.S. 1066 to 1080 (c. 1010-1024 A.D.).

Bhīma I therefore succeeded Durlabha some time in V.S. 1080. The first epigraphical date for Bhīma, known from his Kadi and Mandhata grants, is V.S. 1086,¹⁸ while his last known epigraphical date is V.S. 1120.¹⁹ According to Merutuṅga, (both PC and VS) Bhīma's reign ended in V.S. 1120, while according to Bh1, it ended in V.S. 1130, the date being missing in Bh2. As the earliest recorded date of Bhīma's

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successor Karna is V.S. 1131²⁰ (A.D. 1074), Bhīma must have died some time between V.S. 1120 to 1131, but in the absence of any definite information, we are inclined to believe that he died nearer V.S. 1120 than 1130. Though a reign of fifty years is by no means unusual, we might for the present accept the PC's version, that Bhīma reigned for 42 years. Hence if Bhīma ascended the throne in V.S. 1080, he probably reigned up to V.S. 1122.

Karna therefore succeeded Bhīma some time in V.S. 1122. We have seen that the earliest known inscription of this king is dated V.S. 1131; his last known recorded date is supplied by his Sunak grant dated V.S. 1148 (A.D. 1091).²¹ He probably reigned up to V.S. 1150, as his son is said to have been crowned in that year.

The coronation of Siddharāja, according to the PC, took place on Saturday, the third day of the dark fortnight of Pausa, in the *nakshatra* of Śravaṇa, in the *lagna* of Taurus, V.S. 1150. Now, this happens to be one of the few dates in the PC which has been found to be regular and works out to 7th January, 1094. We shall, however, presently see, in the case of the date of Kumārapāla's accession as given in the PC, that even if a given date of the PC agrees with the given weekday, that does not constitute a proof of that date's historical accuracy. But in the case of Kumārapāla, the mistake is of one year only, and in the present instance, Bh1, Bh2, and the VS, all mention V.S. 1150 as the year of the accession of Siddharāja. The earliest known inscription of this monarch is dated V.S. 1156,²² and from the colophon of a manuscript of *Niśtha-churṇi*, we learn that Siddharāja was on the throne in V.S. 1157.²³ On the basis of these evidence therefore, it seems that one may accept V.S. 1150 as the year of Siddharāja's accession. His last known date, V.S. 1200, found in his Bali stone inscription²⁴ seems to mark the end of his reign. Siddharāja, thus, reigned from V.S. 1150 to 1200.

Kumārapāla evidently could not have ascended the throne before V.S. 1200, but all the literary sources agree that he ascended the throne in V.S. 1199. This was probably due to the misunderstanding of a verse which predicted that Kumārapāla would ascend the throne after 1199 years were completed from Vikrama.²⁵ As the last known date of Siddharāja is V.S. 1200, it may be concluded that he died in that year and was succeeded by Kumārapāla. The last known recorded date of Kumārapāla is V.S. 1228, which we obtain from the Nadlai stone inscription,²⁶ and the colophon of a manuscript.²⁷ Merutuṅga in the PC states that this reign ended in V.S. 1230, whereas in the VS he says that it ended in V.S. 1229. Both Bh1 and Bh2 give V.S. 1230 as the year of the accession of Kumārapāla's successor. But the earliest known epigraphical date for Ajayapāla is V.S. 1229,²⁸ so that Kumārapāla must have died on or before that year, but not earlier than V.S. 1228. We think that though the last known year of Kumārapāla is V.S. 1228, it

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will not be rash to assume that he died the next year, so that his reign period extended from V.S. 1200 to 1229.

Ajayapāla, we have seen, must have succeeded Kumārapāla in V.S. 1229 (if not in V.S. 1228). The last known date of this king is found in the colophon of a manuscript which is dated Tuesday, the 1st day of the bright half of Chaitra, V.S. 1232, and is equivalent to Tuesday, 25th March, A.D. 1175.²⁹ Only the VS gives V.S. 1232 as the closing year of Ajayapāla's reign, but according to the PC, Bh1, and Bh2, Ajayapāla's reign ended in V.S. 1233. But from the Brahmanwada plate, we learn that Ajayapāla's successor, Mūlarāja II, was on the throne on Monday, 11th of the bright half of Chaitra, V.S. 1232, which is equivalent to 6th April, 1175.³⁰ Thus Ajayapāla's reign must have come to an end between 25th March and 6th April, 1175.

Mūlarāja II, evidently ascended the throne in V.S. 1232. According to the PC, Bh1 and Bh2, Mūlarāja's reign ended in V.S. 1235, while the VS places the same event in V.S. 1234. We have already shown that there are reasons to believe that Mūlarāja defeated Mu'izz ud-Dīn in V.S. 1235 (A.D. 1178). The earliest known year of Mūlarāja's successor, Bhīma II, is V.S. 1235.³¹ Mūlarāja, therefore, may be presumed to have died in that year, so that his reign probably extended from V.S. 1232 to 1235.

Bhīma II, who was on the throne in V.S. 1235, enjoyed the longest reign of all the kings of the dynasty. The last known epigraphic date of Bhīma is V.S. 1296,³² and the only known date of his successor, Tribhuvanapāla, is V.S. 1299.³³ Hence Bhīma's reign must have come to an end between V.S. 1296 and 1299. Merutuṅga does not notice Tribhuvanapāla at all, but states in the PC that Bhīma reigned for 63 years beginning from V.S. 1235. Thereafter the PC relates the exploits of the Vāghelās and their ministers, and though it mentions the coronation of Viśaladeva, it does not mention the date of that event. In the VS, Merutuṅga merely notices Bhīma's accession in V.S. 1235, and adds drily, '*tato Gajjanakarājyam*', (then began the reign of the Ghaznivides) after which he begins the chronology of the Vāghelās. But Tribhuvanapāla's reign is recorded in Bh1, Bh2, and the GS, Bh1 and Bh2 stating further that Tribhuvanapāla (or Tihunapāla as he is called in all the three works) came to the throne in V.S. 1298. We may, therefore, conclude that Bhīma's reign came to an end in V.S. 1298, so that his reign extended from V.S. 1235 to 1298, which covers a period of 63 years as stated in the PC.

Tribhūvanapāla, therefore, came to the throne in V.S. 1298. The only record of his reign so far discovered is dated V.S. 1299. According to GS, he reigned for 2 years and 12 days. But as GS assigns to Bhīma II a reign period of 65 years and has as his successor *Laghu Jayasimha*, its details are of little value. According to Bh1 and Bh2, Tribhuvana-

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pāla's reign came to an end in V.S. 1302, which was also the year of Vīśaladeva's accession; but according to the VS, Vīśaladeva ascended the throne in V.S. 1300. But as Merutunga does not mention Tribhuvanapāla, his date for the beginning of the Vāghelā rule can have no independent value, and must be rejected until it is corroborated by better evidence. For the present, therefore, we have to accept the date given in Bh1 and Bh2, and fix V.S. 1302 as marking the end of Tribhuvanapāla's reign.

Vīśaladeva, the first king of the Vāghelā dynasty, therefore, ascended the throne in V.S. 1302. The earliest known inscription of his reign is dated V.S. 1308,³⁴ and his last known inscription is dated V.S. 1317 (A.D. 1266).³⁵ But the earliest mention of Vīśaladeva as *Mahārājādhirāja* is found in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1303.³⁶ As the earliest known date of Vīśaladeva's successor, Arjunadeva, is found in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1319,³⁷ it is apparent that Vīśaladeva's reign must have come to an end on or before that year. According to Bh1 and Bh2, Vīśaladeva's reign ended in V.S. 1320, while the VS states that his reign ended in V.S. 1318. Bh1 and Bh2 are obviously wrong, and probably the VS is correct in this particular instance. Hence it may be concluded that Vīśaladeva's reign extended from V.S. 1302 to 1318.

Arjunadeva, therefore, came to the throne in V.S. 1318, and we learn from his Girnar inscription that he reigned at least up to V.S. 1330.³⁸ According to Bh1 and Bh2, Arjunadeva reigned up to V. S. 1333, and according to the VS, Arjunadeva was succeeded by Sāraṅgadeva in V.S. 1331, which may be accepted, because the earliest known date of the latter is V.S. 1332.³⁹ But Rāma the elder son of Arjunadeva probably ruled for a short period, which is not recorded in any literary source yet discovered. Probably he was on the throne for a few months only during V.S. 1331, so that we may conclude that Arjunadeva's reign extended from V.S. 1318 to 1331.

As we have assumed above, Rāma ruled only for a few months in V.S. 1331, so that Sāraṅgadeva probably ascended the throne in V.S. 1331 as stated in the VS. The last known date of Sāraṅgadeva is found in the Abu Vimala Vasahi inscription,⁴⁰ dated V.S. 1350, so we must reject the statement in the VS, that he was succeeded by Karṇa II in V.S. 1335.⁴¹ According to Bh1 and Bh2, Karṇa II ascended the throne in V.S. 1353, which seems to be more likely. Sāraṅgadeva's reign, therefore, may be said to have extended from V.S. 1331 to 1353.

Karṇa, therefore, came to the throne in V.S. 1353. One of his inscriptions is probably dated V.S. 135(3) and another V.S., 1354.⁴² According to GS, the reign of Karṇa came to an end when the Muslims came to Gujarat in V.S. 1351 (A.D. 1293-94). This date cannot be

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correct, as 'Alā ud-Dīn ascended the throne in A.D. 1296. According to the VS, Bh1, and Bh2, Karna's reign ended in V.S. 1360 (A.D. 1303-04), and until further materials are discovered, this date should be accepted as the year which saw the fall of the last Hindu ruler of Gujarat.

Rāji m. Līlādēvi

Mūlarāja m. Mādharī

(c. 998-1055)

Chāmunārāja

(c. 1055-1066)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE (I)
All the dates refer to the Vikrama Samvat.
Names in italics are of persons who did not reign.

Vallabharāja

(c. 1066)

Durlabharāja

(c. 1066-1080)

Nāgarāja m. Lakṣmī

reigned for about
6 months only)

Udayamati m. Bhīma—Bakhlādēvi

(c. 1080-1122)

Karna m. Mayanallādēvi

Kshemarāja

(c. 1122-1150)

Jayasinha Siddharāja

(c. 1150-1200)

Devaprasāda

daughter Kāñchandēvi m. Arjorāja

Vrihuvananpāla m. Kāśmirādēvi

Bhopalādēvi m. Kumārāpāla

(c. 1200-1229)

Mālipāla

Kirtipāla

Premalādēvi

m.

Devālādēvi

m.

Arjorāja

Somesvara (Śākanbhari
Chāhamana king)

Ajayapāla m. Nakti

Mūlarāja II

(c. 1232-1235)

Bhīma II m. Sumalādēvi

(c. 1235-1298)

Vrihuvananpāla

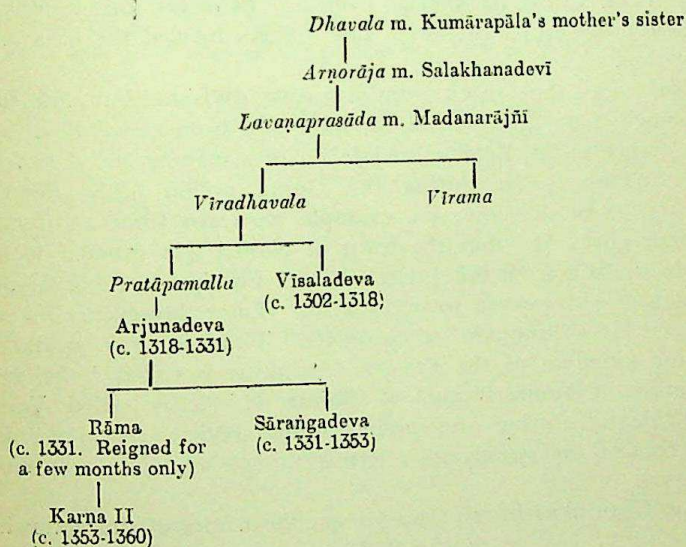
(c. 1298-1302)

(Relation unknown)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE (II)

All the dates refer to the Vikrama Samvat.
Names in italics are of persons who did not reign.

VAGHELAS



CHAPTER XIII

Administration and Revenue

It has been related in the previous pages how the small principality established by Mūlarāja I was gradually developed by his successors into an extensive kingdom. In the days of its largest expansion, that is roughly between A.D. 1140-1180, this kingdom included the territory now called southern Rajputana, including Kiradu and Mewad in the north, western part of Malava upto Bhilsa in the east, and the whole of Lāṭa in the south, while in the west it was bounded by the Arabian sea and included Cutch and Saurāshṭra. Part of this territory belonged to feudatory princes, and the rest was divided for administrative purposes into various units, called *Maṇḍalas*, *Vishayas*, *Pathakas* and unions of villages in descending order of sizes. The villages formed the basic unit of administration.

A *maṇḍala* was the largest administrative division, but two such *maṇḍalas*, namely Lāṭa and Saurāshṭra, have also been called *deśa*¹ and we find a reference to (la) *Lāṭadeśamaṇḍalam* in a manuscript of *Pañcha-vastuka*.² It is known that during the Gupta period '*deśa*' denoted a technical territorial division; for example we learn from an inscription of Chandragupta II,³ that the town of Nashti was situated within the Sukuli *deśa*; again from the Junagadh rock inscription we learn that Skandagupta had sent *gopṛin* to every *deśa*.⁴ Later, however, *deśa* was sometimes used as a synonym of *maṇḍala*. Thus in two grants of Amma II⁵ the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is called Veṅgi-*deśa*, while in a grant of Amma I⁶ and of Bhima II,⁷ it is called Vengi-*maṇḍala*. Evidently during the period under review also *deśa* and *maṇḍala* were used as synonymous terms, though *maṇḍala* was more frequently used.

From the Chalukya inscriptions we get the names of the following *maṇḍalas*:—

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Ashṭādaśaśata- <i>maṇḍala</i> | PO, III, 71 |
| 2. Avanti- <i>maṇḍala</i> | IA, XLII, 258 |
| 3. Bhaillasvāmi- <i>mahā-dvādaśaka-maṇḍala</i> | IA, XVIII, 347 |
| 4. Dadhipadra or Godrahaka- <i>maṇḍala</i> | IA, X, 159. |
| 5. Gūrajara- <i>maṇḍala</i> or Gūjaratrā- <i>maṇḍala</i> | do, EI, VIII, 219. |
| 6. Lāṭa- <i>maṇḍala</i> | |
| 7. Kāchchha- <i>maṇḍala</i> | IA, VI, 193. |
| 8. Medāpaṭa- <i>maṇḍala</i> | A.I.O.C., VII, 643. |

ADMINISTRATION AND REVENUE

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 9. Narmadātaṭa-maṇḍala | IA, XVIII, 83. |
| 10. Satyapura-maṇḍala | EI, X, 76. |
| 11. Sārasvata-maṇḍala | IA, VI, 191. |
| 12. Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala | IA, XVIII, 113. |
| 13. Ṭimvāṇaka-maṇḍala | IA, XI, 337. |
| 14. Ghṛitapadī-maṇḍala ⁸ | PO, III, 20. |

Dr. H. D. Sankalia suggests that Khetaka-maṇḍala so frequently mentioned in the Rāshtrakūṭa records continued to exist during this period though no reference to it is found in any Chaulukya inscription.⁹ However, we find in the colophon of a MS. and the *Lekhapaddhati* mention of a Khetakādhāra-maṇḍala, included within which was *Chaturuttara-chaturāsikā*¹⁰ (a group of villages) which is probably identical with Cahtuśchaturottara, mentioned in a manuscript written during the reign of Sāraṅgadeva.¹¹ Chaturottara has been identified with modern Charotara, a portion of Gujarat north of Baroda, while Chaturāsikā was modern Chorasi, also in Gujarat east of Baroda.¹² The Khetaka-maṇḍala and the Khetakādhāra-maṇḍala might have been identical, but elsewhere in the *Lekhapaddhati*, Khetakādhāra is described as a *pathaka*.¹³

The Ashṭādaśaśata-maṇḍala was near Chandrāvati and included Abu. It is mentioned only once in an inscription of Sāraṅgadeva, and probably was formed out of the territories of the Paramāras of Abu after they had ceased to reign.

The Avanti and the Bhaillasvāmī-mahādvaḍaśaka-maṇḍala comprised the western Mālava, Bhaillasvāmī being modern Bhilsa.

The Dadhipadra and Godrahaka maṇḍalas included most of the Pañchmahal district and probably also parts of Jhabua, Ratlan and other states.

Godhra

The Lāṭa-maṇḍala was formed by the southern half of Broach district, Surat district and the northern part of Thana district.

Kachchha-maṇḍala included most of the modern territory of Cutch.

The Narmadātaṭa-maṇḍala was formed by the eastern part of the Broach district, the territory on either side of Narmadā, comprising parts of Rajpipla state, and Sankheda taluka. = Sanakanika

The Jodhpur state formed the Satyapura-maṇḍala.

Saurāshṭra-maṇḍala comprised either the whole or most of the territory included within the Kathiawad peninsula, modern Saurāshṭra.

The Sārasvata-maṇḍala, which was the cradle of Chaulukya power, was formed by the modern Mehsana prant, Radhanpura and Palanpur states minus Dehgam taluka.

Ṭimvāṇaka was in Kathiawad near Bhavnagar. There is some doubt as to its proper classification. The only inscription in which the place is mentioned seems to refer to one Mehr king Jagamalla as king

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of *Ṭimvāṇaka*, but later in the same inscription¹⁴ reference is made to *Ṭimvāṇaka-maṇḍala*. (*Ṭimvāṇake-maṇḍale-karaṇiya-pujāmātya*).

Ghṛitapadī-maṇḍala was in Cutch and included the village of Rav.¹⁵ It has already been stated that next to *maṇḍala*, the territorial unit of administration was a *vishaya*, but in the whole range of Chaulukya records we find the mention of three *vishayas* only, namely, *Vardhi-vishaya*, *Gambhuta-vishaya*, and *Nāgasārikā-vishaya*. *Vardhi-vishaya* is mentioned in an inscription of Mūlarāja I of A.D. 974 and in another inscription of Bhīma I of A.D. 1034.¹⁶ *Gambhuta-vishaya* is mentioned in an inscription of Mūlarāja, Karṇa I and Jayasīṃha.¹⁷ In subsequent records, however, we find mention of *Vardhi-pathaka* and *Gambhuta-pathaka*.¹⁸ *Nāgasārikā-vishaya* in *Lāṭa* is mentioned in one inscription of Karṇa I only.¹⁹ In a document dated V.S. 1288 quoted in the *Lekha-paddhati*, there is mention of a *Nusāri-pathaka*.²⁰ Probably Mūlarāja had inherited a system in which the division of *maṇḍala* into *vishayas* was the normal practice, but later it having been experienced that grouping of *pathakas* into a *maṇḍala* offered greater advantages, the earlier system was discarded and *vishayas* were transformed into *pathakas*. Similarly in the newly conquered territory of *Lāṭa*, Karṇa I had to accept the administration as he found it, but later *Nāgasārika-vishaya* was transformed into *Nusāri-pathaka*.

The *pathakas* were composed of villages, unions of villages and towns. From the inscriptions we learn the names of the following *pathakas*:—

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Bhṛīṅgārikā- <i>chatuḥshashṭhi-pathaka</i> | IA, XVIII, 344, 347 |
| 2. Chālīsā- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, VI, 200 |
| 3. Daṇḍahī- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, VI, 210; IA, XI, 71 |
| 4. Dhaṇadāhāra- <i>pathaka</i> | EI, XXI, 172 |
| 5. Gambhuta- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, VI, 195, 198 |
| 6. Lāthivadrā- <i>pathaka</i> | BH.Ins., 159 |
| 7. Pūrṇa- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, XVIII, 83 |
| 8. Talabhadrikā- <i>śaṭtrimśat-pathaka</i> | JBBRAS, XXVI, 257 |
| 9. Ūrbhaloḍa- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, X, 159 |
| 10. Vishaya- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, VI, 210 |
| 11. Vardhi- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, VI, 198, 202, 205, 207 |
| 12. Vālauya- <i>pathaka</i> | IA, VI, 204 |

The *Bhṛīṅgārikā-chatuḥshashṭhi-pathaka* was included within the *Bhaillasvāmi-mahādvaḍaśaka-maṇḍala*, and the city of Udayapur was probably included in this *pathaka*. The name implies that the *pathaka* was composed of 64 villages.

The *Chālīsā-pathaka* was composed of parts of Kadi and Kalol *mahals*.

The *Daṇḍahī-pathaka* was composed of parts of Sidhpur, Visnagar, Mehasena and perhaps Kheralu *mahals*.

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The Gambhuta-*pathaka* was composed of parts of Chansma, Patan and Sidhpur *mahals*.

The Purnṇa-*pathaka* was situated within Narmadātata-*maṇḍala*.

The Talabhadrikā-*śaṭtrimśat-pathaka* was situated in Lāṭa.

The Ūrbhaloḍa-*pathaka* comprised the territory near modern Dohad.

The Vishaya-*pathaka* was probably partly situated within the modern Kadi *mahal* and included parts of Vijapur and Mehasana *mahals* in the north and Sabarmati in the south.

Lāṭhivadrā *pathaka* was in Saurāshṭra.

Vardhi-*pathaka* was composed of Viramgam-*taluka* and parts of Chansama-*mahal* and perhaps of Harij.²¹

From inscriptions we get the names of the following union of villages:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Srīmad-Ānandapura-pratibaddha-śaḍvīmśaty-ādihika-grāma-śatam</i> | E.I., I, 317 |
| 2. <i>Ghaḍahaḍikā-dvādaśaka</i> | IA, VI, 193 |
| 3. <i>Mākhulagāmva-grāma-dvichatvārimśat</i> | IA, XVIII, 83 |
| 4. <i>Ratnapura-chaturāśikā</i> | Bh. Ins., 206 |
| 5. <i>Gambhuta-pratibaddha-chatuś-chatvārimśat-adhika-grāma-śatam</i> | Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda II, (1953) 369. |

There have been difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the significance of these numbers, but in our case the use of the word '*pratibaddha*' in connection with *Ānandapura* and Gambhuta distinctly shows that the figures following the place names indicated the numbers of villages included within the unit. This point is made absolutely clear by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, when in explaining a verse of the *Dvyāśraya* he states that Siddharāja donated many villages under *Siṃhapura*: *Siṃhapura-pratibaddhān-ānekān grāmān*.²² Practically in the same sense the word '*pratibaddha*' has been used by Sandhyākaranandin who describes his native village as: *Śrī-Paṇḍaravardhanapura-pratibaddhaḥ puṇyabhū Bṛihadvaṭuḥ*.²³ The commentator of the *Rāmacharita* explains that *pratibaddha* means *samlagna*, that is closely situated or attached. Hence for example, *Srīmad-Ānandapura-pratibaddha-śaḍvīmśaty-ādihika-grāma-śatam* would therefore, mean 126 villages situated close to or attached to the city of *Ānandapura*, which is represented by modern Vadnagar. Similarly, Gambhuta must have consisted of 144 villages.

Mākhulagāmva-grāma-dvichatvārimśat, also must have consisted of 42 villages. It was situated within Purnṇa-*pathaka*. Though the word *grāma* is not mentioned with *Ghaḍahaḍikā-dvādaśaka* and *Ratnapura*-

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chaturāsika, it is evident that these too were unions of villages with the two cities Ghaḍaḥaḍikā and Ratnapura as the head-quarters. Ghaḍaḥaḍikā was situated in Cutch and Ratnapura probably in northern Baroda.

Besides these we get the names of several territorial units from the work called *Lekhapaddhati* (LP) which is a collection of model documents. These divisions are the following :—

1. Khetākādhāra-maṇḍala	LP. 17
2. -do- -pathaka	LP. 5
3. Daṇḍāhī-pathaka	LP. 24
4. Dandahīya-pathaka	LP. 34
5. Nusārī-pathaka	LP. 54
6. Maṇḍali-pathaka	LP. 24
7. Chaṭuruttara-chaturāsikā	LP. 17

Of the above mentioned units, we have already discussed the situation of nos. 1, 2 and 7. Daṇḍāhī and Dandahīya *pathakas* seem to be the same as Daṇḍāhī-pathaka mentioned above. Nusārī-pathaka is said to have been situated in Lāṭa, and is evidently the Nāgasārikā-vishaya in Lāṭa, that is modern Naosari. Maṇḍali-pathaka probably derived its name from Maṇḍali, a modern place of the same name in north Gujarat 2½ miles south of Delmal, and mentioned in Kadi grant of Ajayapāla.

GOVERNMENT

Succession. The king was at the head of the administration. The power, if any, exercised by the *Yuvarāja* or the heir-apparent is not known. There is only one grant issued by a *Yuvarāja*, but that was issued by Chāmunda-rāja while his father Mūlarāja had hardly established himself.²¹ Hence it may not be taken as a general rule. The king was succeeded by his eldest son, failing whom the younger son succeeded. In case the king died without any son he was succeeded by his brother or nephew or nephew's son.

Departments

For the purpose of administration the government seems to have been divided into several '*karaṇas*' or 'secretariats' that is departments. The work *Lekhapaddhati*, which is a collection of model documents, begins with a verse²⁵ in which the names of the following *karaṇas* are found:—

1. *Śrī-karaṇa*: Chief Secretariat. It is mentioned in many Chaulukya records which show that it was under a *Mahāmātya*. The Nilgunda plates of Vikramāditya VI mention a *Śrī-karaṇ-ādhikārī-sarva-mātya* of the *Śrī-karaṇa*.

2. *Vyaya-karaṇa*: The accounts department. It is mentioned in

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the Gala inscription of Jayasinhha, from which we learn that it was under a *mahāmātya* (JBBRAS, XXV, 322). Durlabharāja is said to have built a house for *Vyaya-karaṇa*. (PCJ. 20).

3. *Dharmādhi-karaṇa*: Department of justice.

4. *Maṇḍapikā-karaṇa*: Department for collecting '*śulka*'; that is various taxes, hence may be called the department in charge of excise, customs and octroi. *Maṇḍapikā* in the sense of '*śulka-maṇḍapikā*' has been used in the Nadol inscription of Kumārapāla and the Cintra-*praśasti* of Sāraṅgadeva.²⁶ Both Bhandarkar and Bühler translated '*maṇḍapikā*' as customs house.

5. *Velākula-karaṇa*: Department in charge of harbour. From the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*,²⁷ we learn that the mouth of the river at Broach was found with difficulty, because the shore of the river was very low, and even when one found the passage, navigation was still difficult because of the shoals at the mouth of the river. "Because of this", we learn from the *Periplus*, "native fisherman in the King's service, stationed at the very entrance in well-manned large boats called *trappaga*..... go up the coast as far as Syrastrène (Saurāshṭra), from which they pilot vessels to Barygaza." Further details of navigational difficulties are also given in the *Periplus*. It is clear therefore that during the 1st century A.D. there was at Broach arrangements for piloting ships into the harbour. Now, the Chaulukyas controlled Broach for a very long time and it is quite likely that such arrangements for piloting ships continued during their period, and that the *Velākula-karaṇa* was the department which controlled the pilots. Besides piloting there are other works in connection with a harbour, and the *Velākula-karaṇa* might have been in charge of those works as well. The Chaulukyas also controlled the important ports of Cambay and Somnāth, which in those days were ports of some importance. Hence it is quite likely that the work of the *Velākula-karaṇa* was not confined to Broach only, but was extended over all the ports in the Chaulukya kingdom.

6. *Jala-Patha-karaṇa*: Department in charge of roads and waterways. We shall see later that a document in LP shows that a lessee of a village was obliged to maintain the roads. These roads were probably the *Rāja-mārga*, mentioned in the Royal Asiatic Society grant of Bhīma II.²⁸ *Mārgapati* or, guardian of the roads, is mentioned in an inscription of Yaśovarmadeva (EI, XX, 41) but from similar expressions occurring in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, *mārgapati* was taken to mean guardian of the passes or frontiers. But this *mārgapati* is also called a *manṭṛin*, which seems to indicate, that he was the minister in charge of the roads. Probably an officer with similar duties was employed by the Chaulukya kings to look after the king's highway.

7. *Ghaṭikāgriha-karaṇa*: The exact significance of this department is not clear. We learn from the Cintra-*praśasti* that there was a

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'*jṛṇa-ghaṭikālaya*' near the temple of Somanātha; this *jṛṇa-ghaṭikālaya* was translated by Bühler as 'old water clock' on the analogy of the modern Gujarati word '*Ghadiāl*' which means any kind of time piece, which Bühler believed was derived from the word '*ghaṭikālaya*'. But it seems that a building was intended by '*jṛṇa-ghaṭikālaya*' as the term was used to denote a boundary. Fortunately, from two illustrations from a manuscript which shows a building with the caption '*ghaṭikāgriha*'²⁹, it is now clear that the term meant a building.

A reference to '*ghaṭikāgriha*' is found in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, where it is stated that Durlabharāja built a *vyaya-karaṇa*, an elephant's stable along with a *ghaṭikāgriha* (*vyaya-karaṇa-hasti-śālā-ghaṭikā-griha sahitam kārītam*). Tawney translated this *ghaṭikāgriha* as clock tower.³⁰ But it is difficult to believe that in those days when sand clocks or water clocks were the usual instruments for measuring time, anyone would build a tower to house these instruments. Moreover, from the illustrations mentioned above, it appears that though the front portion of the *ghaṭikāgriha* was shaped like a tower, it was mainly an open hall, with high wall on one side. As for Bühler's assumption that *ghaṭikā* was derived from *ghadiāl*, we find in Hemachandra's *Deśnāmamālā* (II, v. 105) the words *ghaḍi* and *ghaḍiaghāḍā* (i.e. *ghaṭikāghaṭā* or *ghaṭikaghāṭā* Kielhorn) for both of which the Sanskrit equivalent has been given by Hemachandra as '*goshṭhī*'. *Goshṭhī* during this period meant a board of trustees, as we learn from several inscriptions, and as in the manuscript the illustrations shows the *ghaṭikāgriha* just in front of a temple it might have been the place where the trustees used to meet. On the other hand, if we suppose that in the illustration the *ghaṭikāgriha* was placed near a temple due to fortuitous circumstances, it may be contended that *ghaṭikā* was really derived from *ghadiāl* and the hall was the office of the *Mānā-dhyaksha* who according to the *Arthaśāstra* (II, 20) was employed to measure time and distance.

The word *ghaṭikā* is however found in several Pallava inscriptions and was translated by Kielhorn as "an establishment (probably found in most cases by a king) for holy and learned men, such as is often mentioned in other inscriptions under the name Brahmapuri." (EI, VIII, 26).

Ghaṭikā, therefore, may mean either a clock, a board of trustees or an educational institution. Of these three explanations the last one seems to be the best, as we know from the fragmentary Kīrtistambha inscription of Siddharāja that a teaching house for teachers (*upādhyāya-śikshā-griham*) stood on the Sahasraliṅga lake. We also learn from the *Dvyāśraya* that there were educational institutions by the side of the Sahasraliṅga lake.³¹ The buildings must have been erected by Siddharāja himself. Thus, as steps were taken to instruct the teachers it may be presumed that the state was taking a keen interest in the education of the people. We have also seen that from the Pallava inscriptions it appears

as if the 'ghaṭikā' or the educational institutions were built by the king. *Ghaṭikā-griha-karaṇa* therefore seems to mean 'department in charge of the educational institutes' or in a more restricted sense the buildings of such institutes. For it is quite likely that in those days the king discharged his duties by constructing buildings and maintaining them, while the actual education remained the particular province of the Brāhmaṇa.

8. *Taṅkaśālā-karaṇa*: Department in charge of mint. We learn from the *Lekhāpaddhati* that there was a mint at Śrīmāla.³²

9. *Aṁśuka-karaṇa*: Department in charge of weaving fine clothes. This department corresponded to the department under the 'Sūtrā-dhyakṣa' mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 39).

10. *Dravya-karaṇa*: Department in charge of stores.

11. *Bhāṇḍāgāra-karaṇa*: Department in charge of royal granary. In this sense 'bhāṇḍāgāra' has been used by Merutuṅga. (PCJ, 53). This *karaṇa* reminds one of the *raṇa-bhāṇḍāgār-ādhipakaraṇa* of Chandragupta II known from his Baśārḥ seal, and which has been translated as 'office of the chief treasurer of the war department.'³³ It should be noted that *bhāṇḍāgāra* meant a store, and we come across the term *Bhāratī bhāṇḍāgāra*, that is a library, which apparently existed during the reign of Viśaladeva. (S. R. Bhandarkar Report, II, 48).

12. *Vārigriha-karaṇa*: Department in charge of irrigation. The history of lake Sudarśana near Junagadh shows that from very early times, at least in that part of Gujarat, the state took upon itself the responsibility of irrigating the country. The lake Sudarśana near Girnar, we learn from the Junagadh inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, was first built by the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta and was perfected under Aśoka. It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman and all the water having escaped, the lake became 'dudarśana': but Rudradāman reconstructed the lake.³⁴ The same lake again burst its dams during the reign of the Gupta Emperor Skandagupta and was repaired by his governor Paṇadatta.³⁵

During the period under review excavation of big lakes was undertaken by the kings and queens. Thus we learn that Queen Udayamatī built a large reservoir which surpassed even Sahasraliṅga. Her son Karna is said by Merutuṅga to have built the lake called *Karṇasāgara*.³⁶ According to Forbes this lake was made by damming up the river Roopeyn and the skill of the Chaulukya engineers stood the test of time till 1814 when that river broke through its embankment, "and the ocean of the king became in a moment an uncared for waste".³⁷ But the most famous lake built by any Chaulukya king was the Sahasraliṅga lake of Siddharāja. Recent excavations have shown that a channel about 300 feet in length connected the lake with the river Sarasvati, which evidently provided the lake with its abundant supply of water. Some other arrangements of introducing water into the lake by stone sluices etc.,

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show the high degree of technical skill with which the irrigation engineers of the Chaulukyas were gifted.³⁸ The kings not only excavated big tanks but also had small wells dug for the benefit of their subjects, as we learn from the Ahada grant that Bhīma II granted an *arghaṭṭa* that is a well with a Persian wheel to a Brahmin.³⁹ We learn from Śrīdhara's *Devapattana-praśasti*⁴⁰ that one of his ancestors was commissioned by Mūlarāja I to dig square and round wells and tanks (*vāpi-kūpa-taḍāga*), which shows clearly that from the beginning of the Chaulukya rule officers were employed to look after the irrigation of the country. Evidently it was this kind of work,—construction and maintenance of water reservoirs—which were under the charge of the *Vāri-griha-karaṇa*.

13. *Devaveśma-karaṇa*: Department in charge of palaces. *Devaveśma* may also mean temples, but there is a *Deva-karaṇa* mentioned later, which was probably the department in charge of temples, so that *Devaveśma-karaṇa* may be taken to mean the department which was in charge of palaces.

14. *Gaṇikā-karaṇa*: Department in charge of prostitutes. The existence of such a department is known from very early texts such as the *Arthaśāstra*. We also learn from a Chāhamāna inscription dated V.S. 1147⁴¹ that there was an officer called *śūlapāla* whose duty it was apparently to control the courtesans attached to temples though according to lexicographers the word means 'the keeper of a brothel'. It is possible that officers corresponding to the *śūlapāla* were employed by the Chaulukyas to supervise the brothels.

15. *Hastīśālā-karaṇa*: Department in charge of elephant's stable.

16. *Aśvaśālā-karaṇa*: Department in charge of horse's stable.

17. *Kalabhaśālā-karaṇa*: Department in charge of camel's stable.

18. *Śreṇī-karaṇa*: Department in charge of guilds. We learn from the *Cintra-praśasti* that there existed a *śreṇī* or guild of gardeners during this period. The institution of guilds flourished in Lāṭa from quite an early period as we learn from the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta that there was a *śreṇī* or guild of silk weavers who originally came from Lāṭa.⁴²

19. *Vyāpāra-karaṇa*: In the colophon of a manuscript of the *Jñānapañchamī*, Viśaladeva's minister Nāgaḍa is said to have been in charge of *samasta-vyāpāra*.⁴³ Elsewhere this Nāgaḍa is said to have been in charge of the *mudrā-vyāpāra*, so that *vyāpāra* may be contraction of *mudrā-vyāpāra*. This *mudrā* mentioned in the records has generally been taken to mean 'seals', and the minister in charge of *mudrā* has been called 'the minister in charge of seals'. But from the *Arthaśāstra* we learn that *mudrādhyaksha* was the passport officer who issued a pass or *mudrā* on receiving certain payment.⁴⁴ Taken in this sense *mudrā-vyāpāra* would mean the department that issued passports and probably

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also collected import duties. As we shall see *vyāpāra* has been used in a similar sense in some Bengal inscriptions.

Merutuṅga however calls a class of officers '*vyāpāris*' who were employed by the king to bring to Aṇahilapāṭaka all the farmers who had failed to pay the king's share of the produce.⁴⁵ It is not stated whether the *vyāpāris* were collectors of taxes as well. Curiously enough the word '*vyāpāra*' indicating a class of officials is found in three copper plates of the 6th century A.D. found at Faridpur (East Bengal). Pargiter who edited the three inscriptions discussed the probable meaning of the word '*vyāpāra*' in the context of a royal officer, and stated: "*Vyāpāra* in ordinary Sanskrit means 'occupation, business, trade, or professions' with reference to persons, but here it certainly seems to have the more special meaning of 'trade, traffic, commerce' with reference to merchandize. It has this special meaning in Bengali, where *bepāri* (Skt., *Vyāpārīn*) means 'merchant, trader', and more particularly 'a trader who carries his goods about to different marts, an itinerant trader'

"The two words '*vyāpāra-karaṇḍaya*' and '*vyāpārāṇḍya*' therefore refer to the same thing, and show that there was an official who was charged with the duty of looking after trade, a minister of commerce in fact; and this is clearly what the third expression '*vyāpārāya vīnīyukta*' implies.

"The large rivers in this province and the proximity of the Orissa and Chittagong coasts afforded great facilities for riverine and coastal trade and the people were largely occupied in boating and shipping There can be little doubt that they engaged in shipping. Trade must have been very brisk in the province, and such a department of commerce must have been a most important source of revenue. Its duties would have been to levy customs-dues on foreign trade, and octroi on internal trade and it would no doubt have been expected to look after harbours and marts in order to maintain trade, and probably to exercise some kind of maritime jurisdiction. It must have been a most lucrative office. At the date of the latest of these grants, plate C, the *Uparika* himself had the charge of this department.

"The management of this department obviously required that there should be one or more officials in each *viśaya* or district, local customs officers in fact; and the descriptions of Vasudeva and Vastupāla in plates B and C show that such was the arrangement".⁴⁶

All the arguments advanced by Pargiter to show that there was brisk trade in East Bengal, may with greater relevancy be applied to Gujarat under the Chaulukyas. In fact, the Muslim travellers and Marco Polo testify to the great volume of trade that passed through Broach and Cambay at this period. It is therefore interesting to learn from the colophon of a manuscript that during the reign of Bhīma II there was an officer working under the governor of Lāṭa, in charge of *mudrā-vyāpāra* of

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Broach.⁴⁷ We may hold therefore that *vyāpāra-karaṇa* was concerned mainly with the general supervision of trade, and the collection of import and export duties; the harbour management and maritime jurisdiction no doubt belonged to the *velākula-karaṇa*. The statement of Merutuṅga mentioned above shows that the district officers of this *karaṇa*, namely the *vyāpāris* were sometimes employed to arrest villagers for non-payment of king's dues. These *vyāpārins* employed in the district may be analogous to the *vishaya-vyāvahārins* mentioned in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla. (EI, IV, 250).

20. *Tantra-karaṇa*: Political department, in the same sense as the word was used in British India, that is a department which dealt with the feudatories. The word '*tantrapāla*' is found in the Partabgad inscription of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II (EI, XIV, 176). The Sudi plate of Chaulukya Someśvara I (EI, XV, 77) also mentions two *tantrapālas*. An officer called *mahā-tantrādhikṛita* is mentioned in the Ramganje plate of Īśvaraghoshā.⁴⁸ *Tantrapāla* has been rendered as a 'political officer' like a *charge d'affaire*, but the position of *Tantrapāla* Mādhava of Mahendrapāla II shows that he was evidently posted to watch over the feudatories. To conduct the foreign relations with independent states the *sandhivigraha* department and its officers namely the *dūtas* were employed.

21. *Koshthāgāra-karaṇa*: The department in charge of treasury.

22. *Upakrama-karaṇa*: Department for examining ministers; may be analogous to modern public services commission. In his commentary on the *Amarakośha*, Kshīrasvāmī has explained that *upakrama*—defined in the dictionary as *upadhā*—was *upadh-āmātya-parīkshā*, that is examination of ministers by means of *upadhā*, which must have been here used in the same sense in which it is used in the *Arthaśāstra* (I, 10) where Kauṭilya laid down that the *amātyas* are to be tested as to *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *bhaya* by means of *upadhās*, that is deceitful means. Kauṭilya recommended that a minister was to be appointed if he passed the four tests. Similarly Manu also recommended that ministers be appointed after being examined. That these tests were sometimes applied before appointing an high officer is learnt from the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, where it is stated that his governor of Saurashtra, Paṇadatta, had been found to be pure by all tests of honesty: *sarv-opādhibhiś-cha viśuddha-buddhiḥ*. (CII, III, 59). The practise of appointing ministers by testing them had not fallen into disuse in the mediaeval period, as we learn from an inscription of an Eastern Chālukya prince where it is stated that one *Mahāsāmantāmātya* Kuppanayya had successfully stood the tests of four kinds of honesty; *chatur-upadhā-śudhya-sya*. (EI, XIX, 153). These tests were evidently conducted by the *upakrama-karaṇa*.

23. *Karma-karaṇa*: The word '*karma-sachiva*' occurring in the Junagadh inscription (EI, VIII, 44) was translated by Kielhorn as 'execu-

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tive officer'. In his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, Hemachandra gives several synonyms of *Karma-sachiva*, namely: *niyogi karma-sachiva āyukta vyapri-taś-chasaḥ*. Of these synonyms *āyukta* occurs in several inscriptions but its exact significance is not known, though it may mean 'an executive officer'. Following Kielhorn therefore we may translate *Karma-karaṇa* as the executive department.

24. *Sthāna-karaṇa*: According to the *Arthaśāstra* (II, 36) an officer called *sthānika* was to be appointed in charge of one fourth of a city or a fort. *Sthānika* was also required to superintend the work of the *gopa* in gathering certain statistical data from the village. According to Manu (VII, 56) among the subjects which a king daily should consider with his ministers was *sthāna*, a word which according to some of his commentators meant the army, the treasury, the town and the kingdom. Yājñavalkya (II, 173) mentions an officer called *sthānapāla* in connection with the finding of lost goods, who appear to be the same as *sthānika*. As Yājñavalkya wrote much later than Manu or Kauṭilya, it seems that his interpretation of the word should be accepted, so that we may conclude that the *sthānika* was an officer whose main duty was to look after the city but they had possibly to superintend some rural affairs as well. But the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* gives *sthānādhyakṣa* as a synonym of *sthānika*, and we learn from the Kadi grants of Bhīma II (IA, VI, 201, 203) and the Cintra-*praśasti* that the head of a monastery was called a *sthānapati* and a *sthānādhipa*; evidently all these terms were synonyms of *sthānika*. Now, from Śrīdhara's Devapattana-*praśasti* we learn that some of his ancestors were appointed by Mūlarāja to look after the erection of halls, monasteries, alms houses, gilt flag staffs, arches, towns, and villages (*kutūlma-maṭha-prāsāda-satrālayān sauvarṇadhvajatoraṇ-āpana-pura-grāma-prapā-maṇḍapān*). We shall see later that alms houses were looked after by a different department, but monasteries and the towns and the villages were probably looked after by the officers of the *sthāna-karaṇa*, though it may be considered doubtful as to whether the head of a monastery would be a royal officer. But from the Veraval inscription of Arjunadeva (IA, XI, 241) it appears that the permission of the chief priest of Somanātha temple was necessary before land could be transferred; again from the Girnar inscription of the same king (PO, III, 21) we learn that when a man was given the exclusive right of engraving inscriptions in all the temples of Girnar, permission of the royal officers as well as that of several religious teachers was necessary, which show that the latter had some administrative duty attached to their office. Hence probably they were called *sthānapati*.

25. *Deva-karaṇa*: Department in charge of temples. *Deva-karaṇa* is mentioned in the Bali inscription of Kumārapāla¹⁹ where evidently the *Mahām (ātya)* in charge of the department acted as the *dūtaka*, because it was a religious grant. In the Timana grant of Bhīma II we get the

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name of one *pujāmātya* of Timvanaka-maṇḍala. He was probably a provincial officer, the central department being under a *mahāmātya*.

26. *Sandhi-karaṇa*: The abbreviation *Mahāsāndhi* in the sense of a *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* is used in the Anavada inscription of Sāraṅga-deva.⁵⁰ It is clear that in the present instance also *sandhi-karaṇa* meant the department of peace and war; that is the foreign office, which was under the *mahāsāndhivigrahika*.

27. *Mahākshapaḷa-karaṇa*: It is learnt from many Chaulukya grants that the *mahākshapaḷa* had to act as the *dūṭaka* of the royal grants. His department was probably the department of conveyance, registration, accounts, and record. (cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 7). The Madhuban inscription of Harshavardhana (EI, VII, 158) mentions a *mahākshapaḷa-ādhyakṣit-ādhyakaraṇa* which evidently meant the same department.

28. *Mahānasa-karaṇa*: The department in charge of kitchen. Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, II, 4) and Merutuṅga (PCJ, 117) call a royal kitchen 'mahānasa'.

29. *Jayanaśāla-karaṇa*: The meaning of 'jayana' is not known. It has been suggested that the department was in charge of armour.⁵¹ Merutuṅga (PCJ 79) mentions *Jyāyāna-pradhāna* in the sense of a chief councillor.

30. *Satrāgāra-karaṇa*: Department in charge of poor houses. We have already seen that Mūlarāja I appointed officers to superintend poor houses. Siddharāja is also known to have opened poor houses. These were evidently looked after by this department.

31. *Antahpura-karaṇa*: Department in charge of the interior of the palace.

32. *Koṣṭhikā-karaṇa*: It was probably a department in charge of store house or granaries.

As has been said the names of the departments enumerated above are found in the opening verse of the *Lekhapaddhati* (LP), though unfortunately it does not state when that verse was composed, nor does it refer to any particular government to which it was applicable. The following considerations, however, lead us to believe that the verse is applicable for the government of the Chaulukyas during the period under review.

A more detailed discussion of the historical character of some of the documents of the *Lekhapaddhati* will be found in the following pages, for our present purpose it is sufficient to point out that in the dated documents in the work, the dates range from V.S. 802 to V.S. 1433 and the manuscript at present available was copied in the 16th century A.D. But, by far the largest number of documents are dated V.S. 1288, only a few are dated later than the Chaulukya period, and all the documents are related to Gujarat. It is highly improbable that the verse giving the names of the *karaṇas* was composed during the Muslim period, hence

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it must have been composed during the Chaulukya or any other earlier period. Even if the verse was composed at an earlier period it may be regarded as generally applicable to the Chaulukya administration, for of the *karaṇas* mentioned we come across at least three and possibly a few more in the Chaulukya inscriptions. Thus for example *Śrī-karaṇa* is so familiar a term both in the inscriptions and colophons of manuscripts of the period that no reference is necessary. As to the other *karaṇas* we have specific mention of *vyaya-karaṇa* in the Gala inscription of Jayasimha while the colophon of a manuscript states that *Mahāmātya Nāgaḍa* was in charge of all the *vyāpāras*, from which it appears that '*vyāpāra*' was a *karaṇa*. *Deva-karaṇa* is mentioned in the Bali inscription of Kumārapāla. Another *karaṇa* mentioned in the *Lekhapaddhati* is the *maṇḍapikā-karaṇa*, and both the Nadol inscription of Kumārapāla and the Cintra-*praśasti* of Sāraṅgadeva have referred to the *śulka-maṇḍapikā* as *maṇḍapikā*; as collection of *śulka* was an important activity of the state it is quite likely that there should be a separate ministry in charge of the department. Among other *karaṇas*, *mahākshapaṭala-karaṇa* and *sandhi-karaṇa* are also most likely to have existed, for we have many epigraphic reference to *mahākshapaṭala* and *mahāsāndhivigraha*, the last mentioned officer in one inscription being actually called *mahā-sāndhi*. The existence of *śreṇī* or guild is also known from an inscription, hence a *śreṇī-karaṇa* may be presumed to have existed. Thus we have some sort of evidence for the existence of nine *karaṇas*. For the existence of the rest it is true that there is no evidence but it seems that such *karaṇas* as that of justice (*Dharmādhi*) mint, elephant, horses and camel's stable, palace, (*devaveśma*), prostitutes, and political affairs (*tantra*) must have existed to ensure a stable government while the great sea trade carried at Broach and Cambay must have necessitated a ministry of harbour (*velākula-karaṇa*). Similarly, departments in charge of roads, stores and grains were equally necessary and there is no doubt of their existence. The existence of a few *karaṇas* such as *upakrama*, *karma*, and *ghaṭikāgrīha* may be accepted with some reserve but from the huge irrigational projects executed during this period the existence of the *vārigriha-karaṇa* seems to be evident.

Thus we see that apart from the few *karaṇas* for the existence of which we have proof, the necessity of the others can not only be rationally explained but most if not all of them would be necessary in an organised government. It must be remembered that the Chaulukyās gave the country a stable government for about three centuries and a half, and it is hardly likely that they could have been as successful as they actually were had the government not been organised into well marked departments. It is most likely that countries other than Gujarat had their administration carried on by similar departments, but as has

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already been pointed out, all the documents in the *Lekhapaddhati* relate to Gujarat, from which it seems obvious that the compiler was sure of the applicability of the verse to that country. Hence it may be concluded that during our period the administration in Gujarat was carried on by the departments mentioned in the *Lekhapaddhati*.

Of the *karāṇas* mentioned above, those relating to *Antahpura*, *Mahānasa*, *Aṁśuka*, and the *Deva-veśma*, cannot be called real departments of state. These departments were wholly concerned with the personal affairs of the king, and grouping them together with important departments shows that no distinction was made between the person of the king and the state. In short, the king was the state. The affairs of the chancellory or the mint were as much his private affair or business as those relating to his daily food or the internal arrangement of his palace. The ministers were his servants appointed by him to carry on his work. The frequent expression in the inscriptions that the ministers were at his lotus like feet (*tal-pāda-padma-ṣaṅgī*) was not exactly an empty formula. This however is not at all surprising since the idea of sovereignty as an attribute of the state is a modern democratic one. Originally, in every country both in Europe and Asia, sovereignty was viewed as an attribute not of the state but of the king, which was natural since the struggle that gave rise to the conception of the sovereignty was carried on by the king in order to establish his personal independence and supremacy. As he triumphed over his rivals, sovereignty was ascribed to him.

Ministers

Each department was under a *Mahāmātya*, but the *Mahāmātya* who was in charge of the *Śrī-karāṇa* and usually the passport and foreign trade also (*Śrī-karāṇādi samasta mudrā vyāpāra*) was the chief among them, which is shown by the frequent references only to this particular minister in the Chaulukya records (both inscriptions and colophons of MSS.) to the exclusion of all others. Hence he has often been called the Prime-Minister, but we think that 'Chancellor' would be a better term to describe his office, and the 'Chancellory' to describe the *Śrī-karāṇa*.

Little except the names of the Chancellors are available, but it seems that before being appointed to that post a man had to prove his ability and worth. Thus we find from the Ujjain inscription of Jayasinha,⁵² that one Mahādeva was the governor of Mālava under Siddharāja, and apparently the same Mahādeva is found mentioned in three inscriptions of Kumārāpāla (Kiradu, Bali, Gala) being referred to as Chancellor. Another example is afforded by Nāgaḍa, the Chancellor of Visaladeva. Two colophons, dated V.S. 1310,⁵³ mention Nāgaḍa as the *Mahāmātya*, but does not state the name of the department over which he presided. A third colophon dated V.S. 1313 mentions Nāgaḍa

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in charge of all the *vyāpāras* or the *vyāpāra-karaṇa* while one inscription dated V.S. 1315 and another dated 1317⁵⁴ describe Nāgaḍa as *Mahāmātya* in charge of the *mudrā*, *vyāpāra* and *Śrī-karaṇa* and *mudrā-vyāpāra* respectively. We have also the testimony of Rājaśekhara and Harsha Gaṇi, that Nāgaḍa succeeded Tejaḥpāla as the Chancellor. Thus we see that if Nāgaḍa became the Chancellor in about V.S. 1317, prior to that date he had to content himself by holding some minor ministry. What ministry he was actually occupying in V.S. 1310 cannot be ascertained, but that was not probably that of the Chancellor.

Sometimes Chancellors appointed by one monarch continued to serve his successor, like Māladeva who was appointed by Arjunadeva and continued in his office under Sāraṅgadeva.⁵⁵

The two other departments which are known from inscriptions are the *Vyaya-karaṇa* and the *deva-karaṇa*. The Gala inscription of Jayasimha⁵⁶ mentions one Ambaprasāda as the *Vyaya-karaṇa-mahāmātya*. In the Gala inscription of Kumārapāla⁵⁷ however, apparently the same Ambaprasāda is mentioned as a *mahāmātya* along with another *mahāmātya* Chāhaḍadeva and the Chancellor Mahādeva, but whereas it is specifically mentioned that Mahādeva was in charge of *Śrī-karaṇa*, the exact department to which *mahāmātyas* Ambaprasāda and Chāhaḍadeva belonged during the reign of Kumārapāla is not mentioned. However, from the same inscription it appears that Ambaprasāda and Chāhaḍadeva appointed a number of men to do certain work, and it is possible that the inscription which is now in a mutilated condition was set up to record these appointments and their purpose; Ambaprasāda and Chāhaḍadeva therefore might have been the ministers in charge of the *Upakrama* and the *Karma-karaṇas* which we have shown were in charge of appointment and execution respectively. Mahādeva apparently had no share in the business recorded in the inscription, still his name was put in, probably because such usage was sanctioned by custom. Even the feudatories are known to have inscribed in their own grants and inscriptions⁵⁸ the names of the *Mahāmātyas* in power. But the practice was not always rigidly adhered to, as is shown in the Gala inscription of Jayasimha, where Ambaprasāda is mentioned as *Vyaya-karaṇa-mahāmātya* the name of the then Chancellor is not mentioned. But it should be remembered that the mentioning of the name of the *mahāmātya*, after that of the king as part of the recital is probably a late custom and we first come across it in the inscriptions of the reign of Kumārapāla.

Other officers of the central government

Besides the *mahāmātyas*, there were other officers called *mahā-mantrins*, *mantrins*, and *sachivas*, but our information about their status

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is very meagre as they are only casually mentioned in one or two inscriptions.

Mahāmantrin

The names of only three *mahāmantrins* are known. One was Lahadha father of the famous Vimala, known from the latter's Mount Abu inscription.⁵⁹ The other was *mahāmantrin* Mahādeva, known from Śrīdhara's Devapattana *praśasti*.⁶⁰ What their exact status was cannot be determined. Jambuka was the *Mahāmantrin* of Mūlaraja. (Commentary on DV. II, v. 56).

Mantrin and Sachiva

Śrīdhara's Devapattana *praśasti* also mentions one *Sachiva* Valla, without giving any further information about him. *Sachiya* is also mentioned in the Kantela inscription of Arjunadeva; but there Sāmanta-simha who is described as a *Sachiva* in verse 9 is called a *mantrī* in the next verse.⁶¹ It might have been a case of promotion, but it is more likely that no distinction was made between these two terms both being employed to mean a high royal officer as Hemachandra says that the two words are synonyms.^{61a} In the texts both *sachiva* and *mantrī* are often mentioned without revealing their exact status. The great Vastupāla was himself described by one of his contemporary poet as the *keliveśma-sachiva*, that is minister-in-charge of the house of sports.

We learn from the colophon of a manuscript that during the reign of Kumārapāla a *mantrī* was in charge of Valapadra-*pathaka*.⁶² The Dohad inscription of Jayasimha also speaks of the appointment of a *mantrin* at Dadhipadra.⁶³ It is difficult to say whether these officers belonged to the provincial or central administration.

Mahāmauhurtika, Mahākshapaṭalika, Mahāsāndhivigrahika

The name shows *Mahāmauhurtika* was a royal astrologer. From Śrīdhara's Devapattana-*praśasti* we learn that one of his ancestors was an astrologer of Mūlarāja I and was probably employed by him as the royal astrologer. In an unpublished manuscript however we come across the name of one person who was the *Mahāmauhurtika* of Kumārapāla.⁶⁴ Kautilya mentions that the king should at an appointed time consult his *mauhurtika Mahākshapaṭalika* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*.⁶⁵

The two officers most frequently mentioned in the grants are the *mahākshapaṭalika* and the *mahāsāndhivigrahika*. Of these *mahāsāndhivigrahika* was the minister of peace and war as his designation implies, but his duties included that of *dūtaka* or conveyor of a grant. The *mahāsāndhivigrahika* is also known to have performed other duties as we know from the Anavada grant of Śāraṅgadeva from which it

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appears that *Mahāmātya Mahāsāndhi (vighraḥika)* Madhusūdana was in charge of the *Śrī-karaṇa* and *mudrā-vyāpāra*.⁶⁶ Probably in addition to his duties as the *mahāsāndhivighraḥika* Madhusūdana was in charge of the Chancellory and the *mudrā* department.

The *mahākshapaṭalika* was evidently the head of the *akshapaṭalika* department which has been translated both as 'account office' and 'record office.' From the description of the *akshapaṭala* given by Kauṭilya it appears that records of miscellaneous types of accounts were kept there.⁶⁷

Aṅganiguhaka

He was a royal bodyguard mentioned in one Chaulukya inscription only.⁶⁸

Provincial Administration

At the head of the province or the *maṇḍala* was the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, but it appears that sometimes a province was governed by a *daṇḍanāyaka*. Curiously enough however, in the Kadi plate of Viśaladeva⁶⁹ it is stated that one *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* was governing the place called Maṇḍali situated in Vardhi-pathaka. Evidently whatever type of administrative unit this Maṇḍali might have been, it was smaller than a *pathaka*. Similarly in the Unjha grant⁷⁰ we find that a *Daṇḍanāyaka* was in charge of a village. The government of these small administrative units by high ranking officials is difficult to explain unless we assume that the places mentioned in connection with the two officers were either their personal property or were bestowed upon them as gifts by the king.

Between the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *daṇḍanāyaka*, the rank of the former was the higher, for even Lāvanyaprasāda and Vīradhavalā are called *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* in the Abu inscription⁷¹ which show that this was the highest rank in the country. From the colophon of a manuscript we also learn that Viśaladeva was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* when he appointed a *daṇḍādhipati*, which is the same as a *daṇḍanāyaka*,—and from an inscription of Ajayapāla's reign we find a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* issuing orders to all the *daṇḍanāyakas*,⁷² which shows that the former was the superior officer. Usually these high officers were appointed by the king, and Viśaladeva, at the time when he appointed a *daṇḍanāyaka*, was enjoying very extensive powers.

There is an example of a *daṇḍanāyaka* being promoted to the rank of a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. He is *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva who is first mentioned in the Bhatunda stone inscription of Kumārapāla (V.S. 1210) as *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijaka of Naḍḍula. In two other inscriptions of V.S. 1213 apparently the same man is referred to as *Daṇḍa*. Vaija governing Naḍḍula.⁷³ From the Bali inscription of Kumārapāla⁷⁴ we learn that in

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V.S. 1216 *Daṇḍa*. Vayajaladeva was in charge of Naḍula. But in the Bombay Secretariat grant of Ajayapāla, we get the name of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vaijalladeva who had attained the *Pañchamahāśabda* and was governing the Narmadātata-*maṇḍala*. The names Vaijaka, Vaija, Vayajaladeva, and Vaijalladeva have been taken to refer to the same individual⁷⁵ and we cite this example to show how an officer was promoted in rank and transferred from one province to another. Incidentally Vaijalladeva is one of the two Chaulukya officers known to us to have attained the *pañchamahāśabda*.⁷⁶

There is another example of a governor being transferred from one province to another, which shows that this practice was probably quite common. Salaksha was the governor of Saurāshṭra but later was transferred by Viśaladeva to Lāṭa where he died. This information is supplied by the Kantela inscription of Arjunadeva from which we further learn that Sāmantasiṃha, the brother of the deceased Salaksha, was appointed by Viśaladeva as the governor of Saurāshṭra and was confirmed in his post by Arjunadeva.⁷⁷ The last information is interesting, as it shows that these high officials were probably confirmed or removed from their posts at the accession of every king. It is this Sāmantasiṃha who has been referred to as '*mantrī*' and '*sachiva*' earlier in the same inscription as stated above. Probably he was a provincial officer who was promoted to the rank of a governor after his brother's death.

Were the governors civilian officers

At least in some cases the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* seem to have been civil officials, for, from the Dohad inscription of Siddharāja we learn that apart from the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Śrī-Vapanadeva*, Siddharāja had appointed a *senāpati* or *vāhinīpati* called Keśava, undoubtedly as the commander of Dadhipadra-*maṇḍala*. This indicates that Vapanadeva was not altogether free, and had no control over the army which was under Keśava who was directly under the king. The object of this arrangement will be clear if it is remembered that one of the great routes from Gujarat into Mālava passes through the Pañchmahals, where Dadhipadra was situated; its situation on the frontiers of Mālava and the continued hostility between the two countries rendered Dadhipadra a place of strategical importance. A similar example is afforded by the Prachi inscription from which we learn that Kumārāpāla sent one Gūmadeva, whose designation is not given, to control Somanātha area. As the inscription states that the Ābhīras being afraid of Gūmadeva kept peace, it is apparent that Kumārāpāla had sent Gūmadeva to put a stop to Ābhīra depredations, probably because the situation had become such that it was beyond the control of the local authorities. As Gūmadeva does not mention the name of the local governor, it is apparent that he was serving directly under the king. Thus we find that both in difficult

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periods and in the districts, the administration had to rely on the centre for armed support, and the fact that in neither of the two instances known to us the army was placed under the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* indicates that he was a civilian official, though sometimes he was a soldier like Lāvaṇyaprasāda and Viradhavala, who probably owed their elevation to the high office to their martial abilities.

With *daṇḍanāyaka*s however the position was different, for though they might have acted as civilian administrators, we have it on the authority of Hemachandra that they were army officers; Hemachandra calls them generals: *chaturāṅga-valādhyaksha-senānī-daṇḍanāyaka*.⁷⁸ We have already seen that a *daṇḍanāyaka* was some times promoted to be a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*; such a promoted *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* may be considered as a retired army man. It seems also that a *daṇḍanāyaka* might aspire to the highest office in the land. This is learnt from the colophon of a manuscript where we find a Chancellor is called a *Daṇḍa*: *Mahāmātya-Daṇḍa-Śrī-Tāte Śrī-karaṇādi-parīpanthayati*.⁷⁹ Probably before his promotion Tāta held the rank of a *daṇḍanāyaka* which he retained after his promotion.

Other Provincial Officers

The provincial officers mentioned above were appointed by the king, though we know of one instance where Viśaladeva while still a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* appointed a *daṇḍanāyaka*. But Viśaladeva was enjoying unusual powers even before his accession, hence this should not be taken as a precedent. There are however, other instances of a provincial officer being appointed by the provincial governor. Thus we find from the colophon of a manuscript that during the reign of Bhīma II, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Lāṭa, himself appointed by the king, had appointed one Ratnaśiḥa to superintend the passport department at Broach (*Śrīmad-Bhīmadeva.....prasādādavāpta Śrī-Lātadeśo nirupita-daṇḍa.—Śrī-Sobhanadeve asya nirupaṇāya mudrā-vyāpāre Ratnaśiḥa pratīpattau iha Bhṛigukachchhe*).⁸⁰ The Dohad inscription of Siddharāja also speaks of the appointment of a *mantrī*, who was most probably appointed either by the governor or by the local commander of the army. The reason why the evidence of a similar nature is so few, is that in the Chaulukya inscriptions, with one exception, barring the Chancellor, only those officials were mentioned who were directly concerned with the issue of the record, or were in some way implicated with the execution of the tasks specified in the records. Therefore, names of comparatively fewer officials are found in the Chaulukya records.

Provincial Officers

We give below the designations of several provincial officers, though it is by no means certain that they belonged to the provincial cadre, for,

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as will be apparent, our knowledge of their nature of duties is based on inference and surmise.

Mahāsādhhanika

We get the name of *Mahāsādhhanika* from the Udayapur inscription of Kumārapāla where it appears that the *mahāsādhhanika* was in charge of Udayapur city. *Mahāsādhhanika* is also mentioned in the Vanthali inscription of Śāraṅgadeva, and Merutuṅga mentions a *Mahāsādhhanika* of Broach. (PCJ, 102, 189). The same designation is also found in the Ujjain grant of Paramāra Vākpatirāja⁸¹ who issued the grant at the request of Āsinī, the wife of *Mahāsādhhanika* Mahāika who was apparently the governor of Bhagavatpura where Muñja was residing at the time. *Mahāsādhhanika* is also mentioned in an inscription of Kalachuri Sodhadeva of V.S. 1134 and in an inscription of Saṅgrāmagupta.⁸²

It is interesting to note that the term '*sādhhanika*' signifying a royal official of importance occurs in the three Faridpur grants which mentions the *vyāpāri*. Pargiter, who edited the inscriptions, wrote about the *sādhhanika* as follows: "The word *sādhhanika* does not occur in the dictionaries. It is a noun of agency formed from *sādhana*, and would seem to mean a person who transacts any kind of business or who carries any matter through. In plate A it seems to denote some agent, attorney or factotum and he was no doubt appointed by the lord of the district to transact business generally on his behalf. The comparison made further on between him and *vyāpāra* points in that direction..... The *sādhhanika* was clearly a person of higher authority than the officer who looked after the *vyāpāra*".⁸³ Later on in Bengal, we come across the designation of an officer variously called *duḥsādhya-sādhhanika*, *dauḥsādhhanika*, and *dauḥsādhya-sādhhanika*, while *dauḥsādhha-sādhhanika* is mentioned in the Banskhera plate of Harshavardhana, and a Chāhamāna record of V.S. 1176 mentions a *duḥsādhha-sādhhanika*.⁸⁴ The word *duḥsādhya-sādhhanika* and the allied terms have been taken to mean a high police officer. We have already suggested that the *mahāsādhhanika* was in charge of a city; he might have been actually in charge of the police of a city, which he controlled by means of the *sādhhanikas*.

Mahāpradhānas

Another class of officials were the *mahāpradhānas*, two of whom are mentioned in the Ahmedabad inscription of Viśaladeva's reign.⁸⁵ As both the *mahāpradhānas* mentioned in the inscription were appointed by the king and held the personal rank of *Rāṇakas*, they must have held important posts. Though the nature of their duties is not clear, it is apparent that they were appointed by Viśaladeva to do certain work at a place called Mahimsaka.

From the *Dvyāśraya* it is learnt that Jehula was the *mahāpradhāna*

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of Mūlarāja I, and that he was the *Rāṇaka* of Khairālu. (DV, II, v. 56, p. 167). It is possible, therefore that the *mahāpradhānas* were usually *Rāṇakas*, that is appointed from amongst the feudatory princes.

An inscription of Kalachurya Śaṅkara (A.D. 1178⁸⁶) mentions one *Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka* Brahmadeva, and a Yādava inscription of A.D. 1179,⁸⁷ and some Western Chālukya inscriptions⁸⁸ mention *Mahāpradhāna Senāpati Maṇḍalika*. This also indicates their possibility of being feudatories, though *senāpati* means that they were army officers of very high rank. But in another inscription of A.D. 1094, a *Mahāpradhāna* Mahādevaiya under *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Ananatadeva is mentioned,⁸⁹ from which it appears that *mahāpradhānas* sometimes held a rank inferior to that of a provincial governor, and may have been provincial officials.

Mahāpratīhāra

A *mahāpratīhāra* means the Lord High Chamberlain, but we learn from the Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Bhīma II, that *Mahāpratī (hāra)* Somarājadeva was carrying the administration of Saurāshṭra. From the Timana grant of the reign of the same king we learn that at that time the *vyāpāra* department of Timvanaka was under the administration of *Pratī (hāra)* Sakhada. In a land grant issued by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vaijalladeva, we find a *Pratīhāra* acting as the *Dū (taka)*. From these it appears that *pratīhāras* and *mahāpratīhāras* were provincial officials though sometimes they might have acted as chamberlains.

From the following sentence of an inscription of Ajayapāla's reign,⁹⁰ we get the names of several officials: *samasta-daṇḍanāyaka-deśaṭhākura-ādhisṭhānaka-karaṇapurusha-śayyāpāla-bhaṭṭaputra-prabhṛti-niyukta-rāja-purushān Brahman-ottarān pratīnivāsi-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīnścha*. All these officials were being addressed by the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, so that it is evident that they were serving under him.

Daṇḍanāyaka

We have already considered the position of the *daṇḍanāyaka* but it is evident that in this particular instance, the *daṇḍanāyaka* was either an army commander or head of a *pathaka*. A *daṇḍanāyaka* has been sometimes translated as judicial officer, but the unambiguous definition of Hemachandra, that a *daṇḍanāyaka*, *chaturaṅga-balādhyaksha* and *senanī* were synonymous terms, show that in Gujarat at any rate he was a military officer, though as we have seen, he sometimes filled the civilian office of a provincial governor.

Deśaṭhākura

Thākura is a very common term and is usually taken to mean an honorific title. But from the present inscription it is clear that a *deśa-*

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ṭhākura was a royal officer. It has been pointed out above that *maṇḍala* was sometimes referred to as *deśa*, hence it seems that a *deśa-ṭhākura* was an officer who was in charge of particular department of the *maṇḍala*, or he might have been the chief *ṭhākura* of the *maṇḍala*. A document in the *Lekhapaddhati* also mentions a *deśa-ṭhakura* (LP, 8) where distinction is made between *deśa-talāra* and *grāma-talāra*. It is therefore evident that the prefix *deśa* was used to denote high provinsial rank.

Adhishṭhānaka

Adhishṭhāna means a city, while Kauṭilya has used it in the more restricted sense of a royal capital. (*Arthaśāstra*, I, XVI). But as the present inscription was issued by a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, *adhishṭhānaka* cannot mean an officer connected with the royal capital. In the Damodar-pur copper plate of Budhagupta⁹¹ *adhishṭhāna* has been used in the sense of the headquarters of a *vishaya*, which seems to be applicable in the present instance. *Adhishṭhānaka* therefore probably meant an officer in charge of the headquarters of a *vishaya* or *pathaka*.

Karaṇa-purusha

Karaṇa-purusha evidently meant officers or clerks connected with the secretariat, in the present instance provincial secretariat.

Śayyāpāla

The word *śayyāpāla* as well as *śayyāgrāhaka* also occur in the Brahmanwada grant of Mūlarāja II; the editor of Brahmanwada grant took the term to mean a guardian of the bed chamber. But it is evident from the inscription of Ajayapāla that the *śayyāpāla* was an officer who served under a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*; therefore either a provincial governor was provided by the state with guardian's of the bed chamber, or what is more likely, *śayyāpāla* inspite of its etymological meaning had nothing to do with beds.

Bhaṭṭaputra

Bhaṭṭa is a title of respect usually used in addressing princes and learned Brahmins. But it also means a mixed caste whose occupation is that of bards and panegyrists, but as *bhaṭṭaputra* is mentioned along with *bhāṭa*, *dauvārika* and others in a Nadol inscription (EI, XI, 37) it probably did not denote a bard, who was usually called a *bhāṭa*. In the *Lekhapaddhati* (LP, 15, 20) the term has been used apparently to mean soldiers, in which sense, too, the word *bhaṭṭaputra* might have been used in the present inscription.

Vishayika and Paṭṭakila

It wil be observed that *vishayika* and *paṭṭakila* mentioned in the

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present inscription, are not included in the list of royal officers but amongst the Brahmins and neighbours. It appears therefore that they were not royal officers though it is difficult to determine their status. *Paṭṭakila* was translated by Tawney as *patel*, but the context in which Merutuṅga uses the word shows that he did not mean by *paṭṭakila* an ordinary village dignitary like *patel*: the mother of Vīradhavalā left Lāvanyaprasāda to live with her brother-in-law who was a *paṭṭakila*. From the Jhalrapatan inscription of Paramāra Udayāditya we learn that there was a *paṭṭakila* who belonged to a oilman's family but was rich enough to build a temple. Evidently *paṭṭakila* was a man of high status, and if he was not a royal officer, he must have been a landholder owning rather large area. The word *patel* might have been derived from *paṭṭakila*, just as *subadar* which under the Mughals meant a provincial governor, to-day means a Junior Commissioned Officer in the Indian Army.

Uparori

This inscription of Ajayapāla's reign which gives the list of officers mentioned above, ends with the words '*Uparori Vāmadeva*'. This *uparori* was not the *dūtaka* who is mentioned separately; probably *uparori* was a *tadbhava* form of *uparika* which denoted a very high officer under the Guptas and Harsha, when an *uparika* was sometimes placed in charge of a *viśhaya*; and the same office might have been filled by Vāmadeva.

Deśādhikari

The *deśādhikari* occurs in several Chaulukya inscriptions and has been taken to mean a viceroy. But as will be shown later, *adhikāri* probably meant a revenue officer of a village and was probably analogous to the term *adhikārika*, an officer mentioned in a grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantivarman of Gujarat. (E.I., VI, 288). *Deśādhikāri* should therefore mean the chief revenue officer of a *deśa*, that is a *maṇḍala*. We learn from an inscription that he was helped by a *pañchakula*.²²

Nāyaka

The term *nāyaka* is used once only in the Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla^{22a} where it might have been used as an abbreviated form of *daṇḍanāyaka*. According to Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, I, 12) *nāyaka* was one of the 18 *mahāmātyas* important enough to be spied upon. According to the *Sukranīti* however, *nāyaka* was the lord of ten villages, and most probably it is in this sense that *nāyaka* has been used in the Mangrol inscription.

Bālādhi

Bālādhi is mentioned in the *Lekhapaddhati* (LP, 8) and though its editor is of the opinion that *bālādhi* was a revenue officer, it seems that

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it was an abbreviation of *balādhikṛita*, that is a high military officer; that *bālādhi* was an officer of high status is indicated by the fact that in the document in which he is mentioned he is found issuing orders to all *deśa-ṭhākuras*, *deśa-talāras*, *grāma-talāras*, *hiṇḍipakas*, and *volāpikas*.

Pūjāmātya

From the Timana grant we get the name of another officer, namely the *pūjāmātya* of *Ṭimvānaka-maṇḍala*. Evidently this officer was in charge of the places of worship within the *maṇḍala*.

Provincial Administration

Besides the designations of the officers as given above, who carried on the provincial administration, hardly any information is available regarding the actual working of the machinery of administration. We only learn from the Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Bhīma II, that there was a *Śrī-karaṇa* at Vāmanasthalī, and from another inscription that there was a *karaṇa*—probably a *Śrī-karaṇa*—at Ghṛitapadi-*maṇḍala*. These *karaṇas* were probably the chief secretariat of the *maṇḍalas*, Vāmanasthalī being most probably the head-quarters of Saurāshṭra-*maṇḍala*. Though it is not known whether there were any other *karaṇas*, we shall probably be not far from truth if we imagine the provincial administration to be modelled after the central. Indeed there was an officer in charge of *vyāpāra* both at Broach and *Ṭimvānaka* as we have already shown which indicates that this department existed in the provinces. Probably these departments were in charge of *amātyas*—as distinguished from the *mahāmātyas* of the central government—and we know the name of only one of them, namely the *pūjāmātya* of *Ṭimvānaka-maṇḍala*.

City Administration

In the Veraval inscription of Arjuna, we find that when a Muslim wanted to purchase some land he had to take the permission of the *pañchakula* and of the two religious teachers. The probable reasons which made the permission of the religious teachers necessary in this case has already been discussed.

A much more detailed and interesting information about the administration of a city is provided by the Anavada inscription of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva.⁹³ It states that a *pañchakula* composed of Pethada and others had been appointed by the king in charge of *mudrā*-at Palhanpur, and as this *pañchakula* with the consent of the leading merchants of the town imposed several taxes, it is apparent that the administration of the city was entrusted to this body, that, is the *pañchakula* by Sāraṅgadeva.

The same inscription then continues to state that on former occasions, gifts were made for the worship, offering, and theatricals (*preksha*-

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naka) before the god Kṛishṇa, and the local *karaṇa*, that is the city administration and the customs-house had granted in perpetuity a contribution of 180 *drammas* and 72 *drammas* respectively. Thus we learn that there was a *karaṇa* in Palhanpur, and as Palhanpur is not known to have been the head-quarter of a *maṇḍala* or *pathaka*, it has to be presumed that the city had its own secretariat to look after the city administration; this *karaṇa* had the right to grant money to religious establishments.

Besides the money granted by the *karaṇa* and the customs house, there were some private donations and contributions, but all these having proved insufficient for fulfilling the original purpose of the grants, the *pañcha-mukha-nagara* of Palhanpur met together and imposed certain taxes. We learn from the inscription that the *pañcha-mukha-nagara* was composed of the following: (1) the *pañchakula*, (2) the *purohitas*; D. R. Bhandarkar suggested that *purohitas* probably included all the Brahmins of the city, but it seems that only the priests were meant. (3) The *mahā-janas*, that is merchants, including *Sādhu* (*Sahukar*), *Śresthī* (*Seth*) *Thākura*, *Sonī* (goldsmith), *Kainsāra* (brazier), (4) the *vañijyārakas* (*vanj-ras*), and (5) the *nau-vittakas* (ship-owners). Thus we see that the *pañcha-mukha-nagara* included apart from the *pañchakula*, the priests, the merchants, and the industrialists; the separate mention of ship owners is interesting but hard to explain. This system may be called a primitive type of functional representation with some reservations, for the bankers and the braziers and the goldsmiths were put into the same category. Many of them are however named in the inscription and it is not possible to ascertain the principle underlying their selection or the persons who selected them, if indeed they were nominated to serve as a member of the *pañcha-mukha-nagara*. But for all we know these men might have been elected by their guilds, or there might have been a convention by which only the richest members of the profession were asked by the *pañchakula* to serve as *pañcha-mukha-nagara*.

The *pañcha-mukha-nagara* met and imposed several taxes on sales and purchase of commodities for the upkeep of the temple and performance of the show. The taxes were as follows: (1) half of one *dramma* to be paid by the seller on one *dhaḍī* of madder (*māñjishṭhā*), (2) one *dramma* to be paid by both the seller and the buyer on one *dhaḍā* of Solonum melongena (*hingudī*), (3) some portion from each cart filled with grain the nature of which is not clear, (4) one *palī* from a *dhaḍā* of *ghī* to be given by the seller.

Though rigid distinction is made between the taxes to be paid by the seller and the buyer, what arrangements, if any, there existed for preventing the seller from passing the incidence of taxation on the buyer is not mentioned. However, we learn from the post-script of a Kadi grant of Bhīma II, which records many taxes on commodities, that there

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was a *haṭṭa-karaṇa-śulka-maṇḍpika*. The officer in charge of the markets, mentioned in Śrīdhara's *praśasti* might have been in charge of this *haṭṭa-karaṇa* and enforced these taxes. Probably his duties corresponded to that of the *paṇyādhyakṣa* mentioned by Kauṭilya⁹⁴, which was to fix the price of commodities and the rate of profit thereon, any infringement being punished with fines.

Thus we find that a town enjoyed certain amount of fiscal autonomy so far as it related to raising funds for the upkeep of a temple. Unfortunately no information is available as to whether the *pañcha-mukha-nagara* could tax the citizens to meet civic needs.

The *pañcha-mukha-nagara* is also mentioned in several documents of the *Lekhapaddhati* which were intended to serve as models for the sales of houses and female slaves, from which we learn that it was necessary to inform the *pañcha-mukha-nagara* before those transactions could take place.⁹⁵ In another document in the same work—called *dharmachīrikā* (LP, 16) which appears to be an affirmation on oath not unlike a modern affidavit, the accused declares that he has shown himself as guiltless as the moon to the *pañcha-mukha-nagara*, which probably means that that body which included the priests, was competent to administer an oath and in this respect fulfilled the functions of a modern notary.

Other City Officers

The Anavada inscription only mentions the *pañchakula* amongst the *pañcha-mukha-nagara*, but there must have been other officers also to carry on the administration of the city. Probably *mahāsādhnika*, *talāra*, and the *adhishṭhānaka* were city officers.

Village

The villages were the smallest units of administrative division. From inscriptions and from the documents in the *Lekhapaddhati* we learn the names of several village officers, who were most probably appointed by the authorities of the *pathaka* or *maṇḍala* to administer to the needs of the village, maintain peace and collect the revenue.

The village had definite boundaries (*āghāṭā*) on every side which marked it off from neighbouring villages. From two documents in the LP—both dated V.S. 1288—which makes provisions for a breach of peace, we find that occasional cause of quarrel between two villages was disputed boundary. In such cases of dispute the parties to it could approach and receive from revenue officer, his subordinate officer in charge of land (land registrar) and *pañchakula* (*adhikāri-kшетamantrī-pañchakula*) a *śīlapatra* (LP, 50) or certificate which bound the two parties to keep peace and remain satisfied with their actual possessions. In case of a breach of peace, both the disputants were liable to be prosecuted and punished. These two documents of the LP are of interest as showing that

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boundary disputes for which the *Smyitis* prescribed elaborate regulations, probably continued to be a common cause of village litigation as of old.⁹⁶

Village Administration

The actual process of administering a village is not known but the function of the following list of officers may provide a rough idea of it. The names of some of the officers are found in Chaulukya inscriptions, some in documents of the LP, while others are common to both.

1. *Selahasto*: (EI, XI, 58; PO, III, 69). Probably a revenue officer.

2. *Talāra*: (IA, LVI, 10; PO, III, 69, LP, 8). Sri R. B. Halder suggested that *talāra* meant a night watchman who watched over the crops (IA, LVI, 10) but it appears that Bhandarkar correctly translated *talāra* as *kotwāl* (EI, XI, 47) as Hemachandra in his *Deśināmamālā* has translated *talāra* as *nagara-rakshaka* (DN, V, v. 3). *Talāra* might have been derived from *talavara*,—an officer mentioned in the Basārḥ seals, and *Mahātalavara* mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda inscription (EI, XX, 32). The *talāras* used to receive a gratification called *talāra-bhāvyā* (BH. Ins. 158; WZKM, 1907, 43; EI, XI, 47; LP, 8). It must have been a perquisite attached to the office of the *talāra*, for, though none of the inscriptions explains the term, the document of the LP makes it clear that *talāra-bhāvyā* was not part of any regular salary. The LP also mentions a *grāma-talāra* who was evidently the village *kotwāl*.

3. *Hiṇḍīpaka*⁹⁷. (LP, 8). A tax collector. In the postscript of a Kadi grant of Bhīma II (No. 6, IA, VI, 202) Bühler read the name of an officer as '*hithipaka*', who along with the *pratisāraka* was apparently responsible for collecting certain taxes. But as this part of the inscription is very mutilated and full of too many terms in ancient Gujarati, Bühler confessed that he could not ascertain their meanings. We think that *hithipaka* is a misreading for *hiṇḍīpaka*, which in view of the mutilated condition of the postscript is not unlikely, notwithstanding the fact that the inscription was edited by Bühler. Unfortunately the facsimile of the inscription is not reproduced and the plate is now lost.

4. *Pratisāraka* (IA, VI, 202; LP, 8). A collector of road cess or octrois who allowed the carts to go out of a piece of low ground, where the carts were detained while the owners obtained a permit to travel called *Deśoḷṭāro*.

5. *Balādhi* (LP, 8). This is probably an abbreviation of *Balādhi-kṛita*, which means an army officer.

6. *Adhikāri* (LP, 50). A revenue officer. In LP *Adhikāri* is mentioned in a document which settled a village boundary dispute, and is mentioned along with other officers, namely *Kshetamantrī*, and *Pañchakula* (*Adhikāri-Kshetamantrī-pañchakula*) and it is stated that they lived in a city. In the Sanjan plate of Buddhavarasa, we come across the name of *adhikāri*, who was undoubtedly a village official for he is spoken of

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thus: *vishayapati-rāshṭra-grāmakūṭa-kula-mahattar-ādihikarinah* (EI, XIV, 150). As the Sanjan plates were found in the Thana district, it is evident that *Adhikāri* mentioned in the LP and the Sanjan plates were the same type of officers.

7. *Volapika* (LP, 8). It seems that formerly a *volapika* or men under him accompanied merchants in their journey for the safety of their goods. A tax was collected for giving them this protection on the road which was called '*dāna-volāpana*'.

8. *Māṇḍavī* (LP, 54). Collector of market taxes in charge of a *pathaka*.

9. *Pathakīyaka* (LP, 54). Collector of road taxes.

10. *Uparahṇḍiyā* (LP, 54). Inspectors.

11. *Grāma-Ṭhākura* (PO, III, 69). A village landlord or headman. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi gives it as a synonym of *Grāmapati*. (DV, III, v. 3).

12. *Dokara* (PO, III, 69). A village official.

Pañchakula

Having presented briefly an account of the administrative system in Gujarat under the Chaulukyas, it now remains to discuss the function and position of the most important administrative institution of the period, namely, the *pañchakula*. *Pañchakulas* are mentioned in the inscriptions of other dynasties, but we shall begin our survey of this institution by quoting from the Chaulukya records.

Pañchakulas associated with Mahāmātyas.

The first epigraphic reference to this administrative arrangement is found in the Gala inscription of Siddharāja where along with the *vyaya-karaṇa* a *pañchakula* is mentioned; though the fragmentary nature of the inscription prevents us from learning much else, the *pañchakulas* may be presumed to have been helping the *mahāmātya* in charge of the *vyaya-karaṇa* in the discharge of his duties. During the reign of Bhīma II, we find from his Abu inscription of V.S. 1265⁹⁸ that the affairs of the *mudrā* and the chancellory were being carried on by *Amātya-Maham*. Thabhu and all the other *pañchakulas*: *Śrī-karṇe mahā-mudr-āmātya-Maham-Thabhu prabhṛiti samasta-pañchkule parīpanthayati*. Most probably Thabhu was the *mahāmātya*. During the reign of Viśaladeva we find his minister Nāgaḍa sometimes associated with a *pañchakula* and sometimes apparently working independently of that body. For example, of two colophons both dated V.S. 1310⁹⁹ mentioning Nāgaḍa as a *mahāmātya*, only one describes him as being associated with a *pañchakula*.

Pañchakula in the provincial administration

Though the evidence for showing that *pañchakula* was associated normally with a *mahāmātya* in charge of a department in the central government is scanty and inconclusive, so far as the association of the

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pañchakulas with the provincial government is concerned, our evidence is more numerous, though most of it relates to Saurāshṭra-*maṇḍala*. Thus we learn from an inscription of Bhūma II¹⁰⁰ that when *Mahāprati* (*hāra*) Somarājadeva was carrying on the administration of Saurāshṭra-*maṇḍala*, he with the consent of *Maham*. Sobhanadeva and other *pañchakulas* of Vāmanasthali *Śrī-karaṇa* granted a piece of land. From the Porbandar inscription of Viśaladeva it is learnt that *pañchakula* was appointed to administer Saurāshṭra¹⁰¹; the name of one member of the *pañchakula* was given as usual but it is now lost. From two other inscriptions¹⁰² we learn that in V.S. 1330 Saurāshṭra was being governed by one *Tha*. Palha and a *pañchakula* composed of Dhandha and others. This Palha continued to serve under Sāraṅgadeva, for we learn from one of his inscriptions that in V.S. 1333 a *pañchakula* composed of *Deśādhikāri Maham*. *Śrī*-Palha and others were carrying on the administration of Saurāshṭra. But from the Vanthali inscription of Sāraṅgadeva we learn that in V.S. 1346 *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vijayānanda was governing Vāmanasthali. As most probably the seat of the governor of Saurāshṭra was Vanthali, the inscription evidently means that Vijayānanda was governing the whole province, but the interesting part of it is the omission of the mention of *pañchakula*. It is most likely that *Deśādhikari* Palha was not governing the whole province, but was in charge of the revenue department only, so that his being helped by a *pañchakula* does not indicate that a governor was also helped by a similar body, still it is necessary to examine whether a *pañchakula* was associated with a provincial governor when it was being administered by a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.

Again the evidence at our disposal is not sufficient to warrant a definite answer. We have already seen that one Vijalladeva was once the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Naḍḍula and later became the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Narmadā-taṭa-*maṇḍala*. The inscriptions show that while he was a *daṇḍanāyaka* he was assisted by a *pañchakula* but apparently he was acting on his own authority without its aid when he became a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. On the other hand we learn from the colophon of a manuscript copied at Cambay¹⁰³ that in V.S. 1295 *Rāṇaka* Viśaladeva was the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Lāṭa, while the colophon of another manuscript copied at Broach in V.S. 1299¹⁰⁴ states that *Mahārāṇaka* Viśaladeva and a *pañchakula* composed of Lunasiha, the son of Tejaḥpāla (the same son for increasing whose merit Tejaḥpāla built the famous temple at Abu) and others were governing the country, that is Lāṭa. It is apparent from these two colophons that Viśaladeva must have continued to govern Lāṭa as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* till V.S. 1298, for the title of *mahārāṇaka* does not convey any official status, so that it follows that Viśaladeva, a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, was governing Lāṭa with the help of a *pañchakula*, and the statement that Tejaḥpāla's favourite son was one of its members shows that the office of the provincial *pañchakula* was

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of great importance. Of course, Viśaladeva's being the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* might have induced Tejāhpāla's son to accept the post, but even in that case it must have carried with it a sufficiently high status.

It has been shown that the *pañchakula* is mentioned in some inscriptions and not in all. One possible explanation of this anomaly may be that they were mentioned only when necessary. In a royal grant the consent of any other authority than that of the king being evidently unnecessary, in not a single one of them is a *pañchakula* ever mentioned. But there are examples which show that not only *pañchakulas* but others, who were not connected with the administration at all, were mentioned in the Chaulukya grants when necessary. Thus in the Girnar inscription of Arjunadeva (PO, III, 21) we find that besides the administrator and his *pañchakula* several Jaina monks jointly conferred on an individual the unique right of monopoly of engraving on the Girnar hills. Evidently the Jaina monks had some sort of undefinable right over the Girnar hill—a place of Jaina pilgrimage—and their name was recorded to signify their assent to this novel arrangement. Similarly in the Veraval inscription of Arjunadeva (IA, XI, 241) we find that it was with the permission of the *pañchakula* and two *āchāryas* that a Muslim purchased land near Somanātha-pattana. This shows that as the custodian of the famous temple the *āchāryas* must have had some say over the alienation of land in that holy city and its adjacent territory. Similarly it seems that the name of the *pañchakula* was recorded when their permission was necessary to render valid some transactions of the governor. Thus of the five inscriptions of Vaijalladeva mentioned above, all of which were issued from Naḍḍula, the Bali inscription, which alone among these five records a grant by the governor, mentions the *pañchakula*. The Bombay Secretariat grant, however, issued presumably by the same Vaijalladeva when he had become a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* does not mention a *pañchakula*, but this grant is unique as it is signed by the governor himself as: '*sva-hasto-yam-mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-śrī-Vaijalladevasya*',¹⁰⁵ which shows that either Vaijalladeva was at that time enjoying extraordinary powers, or took the whole responsibility of issuing the grant, or was donating a personal property. Similarly the Udayapur grant of the reign of Ajayapāla¹⁰⁶ records a grant by a provincial governor but does not mention the *pañchakula*.

In this connection it may be noted that provincial officers sometimes donated their personal property as is known from the Dohad inscription of Siddharāja of V.S. 1196, which records the establishment of a temple by a *mantrī*, and the concluding part of the same epigraph, dated V.S. 1202 records that a junior officer serving under the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* donated three ploughs of land to meet the expenses of the same temple. Thus it is possible that the Bombay Secretariat and the Udayapur grants record the donation by the governors of their personal properties. Until

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therefore further evidence is forthcoming, it may be concluded tentatively on the basis of the conflicting evidences noted above regarding the association of a *pañchakula* with a provincial governor, that the *pañchakula* was normally associated with a provincial governor—both *daṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*—and it was obligatory to receive the assent of the *pañchakula* before the governor could donate a state property, so that those provincial grants in which the *pañchakula* is not mentioned may be presumed to be grants of personal property by the governor.

What was a pañchakula

One of the earliest epigraphic mention of *pañchakula* occurs in a Sarada inscription from Hund (ancient Udbhandapura) which has been assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D.¹⁰⁷ The term *pañchakula* next occurs in the Siyadoni inscriptions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings, where it is mentioned five times.¹⁰⁸ A Chāhamāna inscription of V.S. 1306¹⁰⁹ and a Bhinmal inscription of V.S. 1336¹¹⁰ prove the existence of *pañchakulas* at Bhinmal, and both the inscriptions state that they were appointed by the king. *Pañchakula* is again mentioned in another Chāhamāna inscription of V.S. 1345¹¹¹ while yet another inscription of the same dynasty mentions a *grāma-pañchakula*,¹¹² and an inscription of Chāchigadeva mentions that the *pañchakula* was associated with the *mahāmātya*.¹¹³ (*mahāmātya-prabhṛiti-pañchakula*).

A Chāpa inscription from Saurāshṭra of the Śaka year 839 mentions a *pañchakulika* which probably meant one of the members of the board which constituted a *pañchakula*,¹¹⁴ and an inscription of Saṅgrāma-gupta mentions a *mahā-pañchakulika*, apparently the designation of a high officer of the state.¹¹⁵ These terms—*pañchakulika* and *mahā-pañchakulika*—naturally remind one of the *prathama-kulika* of the Damodarpur plates of the Gupta emperors,¹¹⁶ but in view of the unanimous opinion of the scholars that *prathama-kulika* was the chief or foreman of the artisans, we would not venture to suggest that all these three offices had their common origin in the *pañchakula*, though it is clear that the duty performed by that body was of a nature which would to-day be called desk-work as opposed to the manual labour of an artisan. It may be noted however, that the system of engaging a body of officers to perform the same task was not unknown in the Gupta age. Thus in each of four Damodarpur plates we find three *pustapālas* engaged whereas in one plate only one *pustapāla* is mentioned. But the Paharpur plate of Gupta year 159 mentions one *prathama-pustapāla* and five other *pustapālas* working under the *prathama-pustapāla* who was the chief.¹¹⁷ It is possible therefore, on the analogy afforded by the inscriptions mentioned above, to assume that originally the term *pañchakula* meant a board of five members, each of whom was called a *pañchakulika* their chief being called *mahā-pañchakulika*: in Gujarat where the custom of

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five members working jointly persisted, only the term *pañchakula* was used, though the name of one member was recorded who was probably the head of the committee.

So far as the mention of *pañchakula* in the Chaulukya records is concerned, we have already cited examples from inscriptions and colophons of manuscripts which show that they were actively connected with the ministers and governors, and were sometimes placed in charge of a city as we find them in charge of Palhanpur from the Anavada inscription. Kielhorn, who edited the Siyadoni inscriptions was also of the opinion that *pañchakulas* mentioned in those inscriptions were groups of five men in charge of a city. But we shall see that the diverse duties assigned to them by contemporary authors prove that their activities were not confined within any particular field, such as town, village, or ministry.

Literary references to pañchakula

In the drama *Moharājaparājaya*, we find a merchant bringing the news of the death of another rich merchant called Kuverasvāmi who had died without leaving any male issue, and the first merchant requesting the king to send a *pañchakula* to go and seize the deceased's property as he had died without leaving a son. Kumārapāla, however, refused to send the *pañchakula*.¹¹⁸

In the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, *pañchakulas* are mentioned several times so that we get an idea of the various tasks which they had to perform. First we hear of a *pañchakula* who came from Kanyakubja to collect the revenue during the time of Vanarāja.¹¹⁹ Next we find Mūlarāja employing a *pañchakula* to summon verbally to his aid his loyal soldiers, when he was attacked by the king of Sapādalaksha.¹²⁰ During the reign of Siddharāja the pilgrim tax at Bahuloda was collected by a *pañchakula*.¹²¹ Again when Kumārapāla wanted to restore the temple of Somanātha he appointed a *pañchakula* to supervise the building, and this *pañchakula* kept him informed of the progress of the work.¹²² Next Merutuṅga confirms the statement of the *Moharājaparājaya* and informs us that the department which seized the property of a man dying sonless was presided over by a *pañchakula* (*tad-adhikṛitam-pañchakulam*).¹²³ Kumārapāla also appointed a *pañchakula* to watch that living creatures were not killed (*amārikāri-pañchakula*) in order to enforce his non-slaughter measure.¹²⁴ The kitchen of Prithvīrāja, the Chāhamāna Emperor, was, according to Merutuṅga, looked after by a *pañchakula* appropriately called *mahānas-ādhikṛita-pañchakula*.¹²⁵

Historical accuracy of course cannot be claimed for the incidents cited from the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, but the importance of these examples lies in the fact that Merutuṅga, who completed his work in A.D. 1305, must have lived under the reigns of successive Chaulukya

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kings from Arjunadeva downwards and so he would only assign such duties to them as they were normally employed to perform. For the same reason the testimony of the *Moharājaparājaya* is even more important, for it was written during an even earlier period.

From the informations yielded by the sources mentioned above it is apparent that no instrument of modern government can serve as an apt analogy to the system of government by *pañchakula*. We find them associated with the highest dignitary in the land, namely, the Chancellor, and find another committee bearing the same designation employed in rural administration. They are appointed to supervise the construction of a temple, sent normally to seize a dead man's property, and preside over the royal kitchen. It is obvious that there were several grades and the term is as vague as a *mansabdar* under the Mughal government, if the number of horses the *mansabdar* commanded be unknown.

It is however certain that *pañchakula* denoted more than one man. This is shown by the Porbandar inscription of Visaladeva and the invariable set formula which is commonly found in the records: "*Śrī... (the proper name of a person) prabhṛiti pañchakula*". It is therefore clear that the *pañchakula* was a board composed of five persons amongst whom the member whose name is mentioned in the record served as the president. This system then, of governing with the means of a board composed of five persons, pervaded the Chaulukya administration from top to bottom, and in every department of their government. The disadvantages of this system which multiplied the number of officials by five and prevented probably those officers from showing any initiative was offset by the many advantages which the system undoubtedly offered. In dividing power and authority amongst five persons it provided an automatic check upon the concentration and abuse of power by any one of them as every member was constantly under the close scrutiny of four of his colleagues. It was partly for these reasons that Kauṭilya advised a king to have several *Mukhyas* (heads) in every *adhyakṣaṇa* (department), and to keep these heads under further check, Kauṭilya provided that they should not be made permanent.¹²⁶ The idea of entrusting a department to a board was followed by the Mauryas, for we learn from Megasthenes; that the management of the city and the direction of the military affairs was commissioned by the Maurya emperors to committees of five members each.¹²⁷ Thus we see that the method of delegating administrative duties to a board of five members is very old.

It has sometimes been said that the *pañchakula* was the forerunner of the modern *pañch*. But whereas the modern *pañch* is usually elected, all the evidence we possess go to prove that the *pañchakula* consisted of all nominated members. In the Anavada inscription it is definitely stated that the *pañchakula* of Palhanpur was appointed by the king. We have also seen that in the *Moharājaparājaya* the king is being requested to

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appoint a *pañchakula*. The very fact that they were sometimes, if not always, associated with the Chancellor, goes to show that the members of the *pañchakula* were appointed.

It is difficult to say however, whether the members of *pañchakula* were officials or non-officials. Of course once a man is appointed by the head of a government to an executive post, he necessarily assumes an official status thereby, though before being appointed he might not have been an official at all. This might have been the case with the *pañchakula*, which was probably sometimes appointed as and when its services were needed.

REVENUE: *Sources and administration*

The main source of revenue must have been then, as now, the land revenue, while other sources included various imposts, transit duty, octroi, road cess, pilgrim tax, liquor tax and the escheat of the property of a man dying without son.

Land revenue

Land revenue was mainly collected from the villagers, by king's officers (*karodgrāhaka-rājapurusha*, DV, III, v. 18) as explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi. We also learn from the same work that after the harvest was over in autumn a share of the produce was taken by the village landlord (*grāmapati*) and another share by the king.¹²⁸ It is possible that Hemachandra and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi were giving illustrations of two different systems, according to the first of which there was a landlord in a village who collected the shares both for himself and the king, while in other cases the king directly collected his share of the produce through his collectors, presumably without the intervention of any landlord.

But from the documents of the LP it appears that there were other systems for collecting rent than those mentioned above. The LP has copies of two land settlement deeds or *grāma-paṭṭakas*,¹²⁹ both of which are agreements between a private person and the government for payment of yearly revenue, what would to-day be called *ryotwari* settlement. Both the deeds make it clear that the agreements are for one year only. The first document is dated V.S. 802 and the second document V.S. 1288, but the one dated V.S. 802 must have served as a model in the Chaulukya period as well, otherwise its retention in a compilation of this nature cannot be explained.

As the two documents are similar for all practical purposes we shall consider the first one only. This was an agreement between the *pañchakula* and a man named Goda, who agrees to pay for the following year 3000 *drammas* as the land-revenue. In addition he agreed to pay 216 *drammas* as the perquisite of the *pañchakula*: the first document has *pañchakulasya karpāṭa-bhāvyē deya-drammāḥ* 216, while the second docu-

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ment is clear and states, '*pañchakulasya bhāvyē-deya-drammāḥ 216*'. Goda further agreed to pay 40 *drammas* for miscellaneous expenses (*vikarapada**). In addition he was found to pay by agreement the following:

(1) Any increase in rent; called *chaṭāpaka* (cf. Gujarati *Chadavo**). Another tax which was to be utilised when the whole village wanted to show respect to a particular man. This tax was called *malamārgaṇa* (cf. Gujarati *maḷavero**). (3) Another tax which seems to have been collected on some auspicious occasions called *māṅgalīyaka*. (4) Another tax was collected probably for the maintenance of the police station called *chaturaka* (from Sanskrit *chattvara*, Gujarati, *choro*, i.e. a public place in a village, a police station).

Further clauses provided that Goda was to pay the land revenue of 3000 *drammas* to the treasury in three equal instalments, called *skandas*; the first in *Bhādrapada*, the second in *Mrgaśīrsha* and the last on the *Akshayaṭīṭīyā* day. It seems that this practice of paying the land revenue in three instalments was prevalent in Gujarat since a long time, for in a grant of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II of Gujarat¹³⁰ we find that the money, apparently the revenue, was to be paid in three instalments (*drammaś-chatribhīḥ skandakair-deyaḥ*),¹³¹ the first instalment in *Bhādrapada* the second in *Kārttika* and the third in *Māgha*. Thus we see that the payment of government revenue in three instalments in cash was a very old custom in Gujarat.

According to the LP after each payment was made, the *Śrī-karāṇa* was to be informed. It is not mentioned which *Śrī-karāṇa* is meant, but it must have been that of the *maṇḍala* or *paṭhaka*. The system undoubtedly was devised to act as a check against dishonest collectors and revenue officials. In the second deed there is an additional clause under which the tenant was obliged to maintain the road in his area in good repair. As this clause is absent in the first document, we suppose that this innovation was imposed by the Chaulukya kings who were always under the necessity of moving troops from one part of the country to another, and probably wanted their roads to be kept in good condition.

Another system of revenue, according to the LP, was in force, under which the rent of a village was fixed and the villagers were free from having to pay any additional imposts other than the annual revenue mentioned in the deed called "*Samakara-uddha-grāma-paṭṭaka*". The villagers had to pay a revenue of 4004 *drammas* and nothing else. This agreement which was in the nature of a permanent settlement was between a person and the *pañchakula* working under a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.¹³²

The LP records yet another system of land revenue in which the government fixed different rates of rent for different types of land, depending on their productivity. This seems to be according to the *Śukranīti* (IV, 2, 124-5) which prescribes that the king should assess land revenue

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after causing the land to be classified according to their fertility. It is apparent from LP that under this system the rent was collected through the king's officers,¹³³ as mentioned by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi noted above. There are two specimens of this type of document called *Grāma-saṁsthā* in the LP, one of which is dated V.S. 802 and the other is undated. But for reasons already stated it is presumed that this system continued to be in force during the Chaulukya period. It is interesting to note that the document dated V.S. 802 states that rates of revenue mentioned in it will be applicable in all the villages of the *vishayas* under Lātapallī, whereas the second document simply states that the rates will be current in all the villages of Lātapallī. Apparently the system of subdividing into *vishayas* which was customary in V.S. 802 was given up by the time the second document was prepared; so that while the latter was in many ways a copy of the first one, it had to be modified and brought into conformity with the later usage when the country was no longer sub-divided into *vishayas*.

The *grāma-saṁsthā* was more in the nature of a notice than an agreement. It was issued by the *adhikāri* and his *pañchakula* and fixed the land revenue of an entire area. The rate of revenue was as follows:—

(1) In every village there was some land called '*samakara-bhūmi*' of which the revenue was fixed permanently at 24 *drammas* per *viṁśopaka*.

(2) There was some soft land called '*pochila-bhūmi*' of which the revenue was fixed at 20 *drammas* per *viṁśopaka*.

(3) For the uncultivated high land called '*uddhakhila-bhūmi*' one had to pay 16 *drammas* per *viṁśopaka*. *Khila* or fallow land is also mentioned in the Damodarpur copper plate of Budhagupta,¹³⁴ and a comparison of the Damodarpur plates show that the *khila* was assessed at a lower value than ordinary land. According to the document of the LP of V.S. 802 if such fallow land was put under cultivation by a farmer who came from outside (*navya-samāyāta-kutumbikaiḥ*) he had to pay only 10 *drammas* per *viṁśopaka*. The undated document however makes no such distinction, but states that for *uddhakhila-bhūmi* one had to pay 16 *drammas* per *viṁśopaka* and for *khila-bhūmi* 10 *drammas* per *viṁśopaka*. This difference in two otherwise similar documents may be due to the fact that in the 9th century V.S. some inducement was necessary to bring farmers from outside and put the fallow land under cultivation. In course of time this necessity disappeared, and people began to cultivate even the low fallow land, which is probably the meaning of *khila-bhūmi* as opposed to *uddha-khila-bhūmi*; *khila-bhūmi* is not even mentioned in the document dated V.S. 802.

(4) Another class of land was the '*nāḍiyaka*' or '*aṇāḍiyaka*' for which the revenue was 3 *drammas*. It has been suggested that by these two terms was meant the place where the carts stood to dispose of the goods. Apparently the revenue for this and the following types of land were not fixed

according to the area but according to the use to which the land was put. The settlement officers could probably form a rough guess as to the area which such lands would occupy in a village.

(5) For grazing fields for cows and buffaloes 2 *drammas*.

(6) For the grazing field of oxen 1 *dramma*.

(7) For the grazing field for rams and sheep $\frac{1}{2}$ *dramma* only.

(8) For the grazing field for bullocks used in ploughing lands no tax was levied (*vahamāna-hala-balivardānām gocharo nahi*).

Gochara as a tax is mentioned in the Kadi grant of Mūlarāja. We also learn from Abhayatilaka Gaṇi that the villagers had to pay tax on grazing land for animals, and these taxes were collected yearly by the tax collectors (DV, III, v. 18).

The same deeds then proceed to provide for fines to be realised for the following offences:

(1) For the theft of hide (*charma-chaurikāyām*): 25 *drammas*. It will be shown later that Gujarat during this period used to export large quantities of leather goods for which she was famous. Hence probably precaution had to be taken against theft of hide which must be kept during certain process of tanning in an open space.

(2) For breaking of heads (*mastaka-sphoṭana*): 6 *drammas*.

(3) Ploughing land belonging to some one else: 6 *drammas*.

(4) For allowing the cattle to graze on corn fields: 1 *dramma*.

(5) For disobeying orders: 5 *drammas*.

Mention of these fines in a deed of land settlement is peculiar, and this aspect of the deed shall be discussed along with *daśāparādha*.

Ownership of land

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss whether the entire land in ancient India belonged to the king or not. We shall only mention here that there are two documents in the LP, both dated V.S. 1288,¹³⁵ which shows that in case of doubtful proprietorship the land was escheated; the damaged owners in such cases had to go to the court (*Śrī-escheated*; the damaged owners in such cases had to go to the court (*Śrī-dharmādhi-karaṇa*, literally ministry of justice, but we think that in the present context court is meant) where he had to establish his right and titles with the help of witnesses. If the decree was in their favour an executive order was issued by the *Mahāmātya* in charge of the *Dharmādhi-karaṇa* restituting to them their property. This procedure of escheat conforms to a provision of Manu (VIII, 200) which lays down that, "where possession is evident, but no title is perceived, there the title (shall be) a proof (of ownership) not possession", which means that mere possession without title shall not be any proof of ownership at least where the state is adversely affected.

Villages were also confiscated for its owner having taken part in a rebellion. This we learn from a document¹³⁶ in the LP dated V.S. 1288.

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Hence it is possible that Rāja Nāgapāla whose village is said to have been confiscated was one of the *maṇḍalikas* who rebelled against Bhīma.

Other sources of revenue(1) *Śulka*

Another source of revenue was the *śulka*. Several inscriptions refer to the *śulka-maṇḍapikā* or *maṇḍapikā* both of which have been rendered as 'customs house'. Though neither the scope nor the object of the term is stated, the word *śulka*, is a familiar fiscal term in the *Dharmaśāstras*.¹³⁷ The meaning of *śulka*, however, according to both the *Amarakośha* (II, 8, 27) and the *Anekārthasaṅgraha* (II, 19) is '*ghaṭṭādideya*'. What other terms are included in the word *ādi* are given in Kshirasvāmi's commentary, which are the following: ferry duties, the tols paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties paid by the merchants. As an example of the last we have a document in the LP which shows that 10 oxen and 48 carts loaded with seasamum paid a duty of 4 *dramma*s which probably included the road cess along with a tax on sacks. The receipt dated V.S. 1288 issued by a *pañchakula* was called '*mārga-ksharāni*', which may be called 'transit clearance certificate'.¹³⁸

(2) *Pilgrim tax*

In the Abu Vimala *Vasahi* inscription of Sāraṅgadeva, we find it specifically mentioned that nothing was to be demanded in the shape of tax by the officers of Arbuda or Chandrāvātī, nor should anything be taken from the worshippers who were declared to be (thenceforth) free from all taxes. The inscription further stated that if any article of the pilgrim was stolen while getting up or down the hill, the loss would have to be made good by the *Ṭhākurs* of Abu.¹³⁹ These provisions show as if an attempt was being made to attract pilgrims to Abu. The loss of revenue incurred by the provisions mentioned above, was sought to be balanced by imposing fresh taxes on the neighbouring villages for the specific purpose of maintaining the temple and the conduct of a fair.

A more celebrated case of the abolition of the pilgrim tax is recorded by Merutuṅga: Siddharāja at the request of his mother abolished the pilgrim tax at Bāhuloḍa.¹⁴⁰ Apparently Bāhuloḍa was the place where the tax was collected from pilgrims to Somanātha.

(3) *Liquor tax*

From the drama *Moharājaparājaya* it is learnt that when Kumārapāla was introducing prohibition, one of the grounds of objection to the measure was that the sale of liquor fetched a large revenue.¹⁴¹ But Kumārapāla paid no heed to this remonstrance, with which modern reformers are familiar. Whether his successors repealed prohibition or not is not known. In some *Dharmaśāstras* tax on liquor is included within *śulka*.

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(4) *Escheat of property of a man dying sonless*

According to all the literary sources, Kumārapāla abolished the practice of escheating the property of a man who died without leaving behind a son. Escheat on this ground, however, is opposed to the *Dharmaśāstras*, according to which the property of a deceased can be escheated to the crown, only if the owner died without leaving any of the diverse category of heirs. But from the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* we learn that in the days of Kālidāsa the sonless widow did not succeed to the property left by her husband but was only entitled to a maintenance while the estate escheated to the crown. This is clear from the letter written by the minister to king Dushyanta about the wealth of a merchant who died in a ship wreck.¹⁴²

Besides the evidence of the *Śakuntalā* we have epigraphic evidence too which, show that the practice of confiscating the property of a man dying without a son was not confined to Gujarat in mediaeval India. From an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya we learn that an officer of the king remitted along with other things the right to realise the property of the 'aputrika', which was translated by Fleet as a fine realised from the property of a man dying without a son.¹⁴³ Similarly a grant of Vikramāditya V of A.D. 1012, among other things, grants to a Brahmin the right to 'aputrika-dravya', which has been translated as the property of a man dying without heirs.¹⁴⁴ This rendering of the term 'aputrika-dravya' can be justified by reading into it the sanction of the *Dharmaśāstras* according to all of which only the property of a man without any heir could be escheated. But in view of the evidence of the *Śakuntalā* and the unanimous statement of the Gujarat Chroniclers that in Gujarat the property of a man dying without a son was escheated, it seems that the 'aputrika-dravya' of the two inscriptions mentioned above really refer to the property of a man dying sonless. As the crown in those instances was conferring the right to the donees, it, that is the crown, must have in the first instance been possession of such right.

According to the Jaina Chroniclers, Kumārapāla gave up this right of escheat under, the humanitarian influence of Jainism. But this system of confiscating the property was against the law of inheritance prescribed by all the *śāstras*. Kumārapāla might have repealed this act under the influence of Hemachandra as stated in the chronicles, probably because the great monk had pointed out to him that this measure had no sanction behind it.

(5) *Miscellaneous sources*

From many of the copper plates we learn that the land donated by the king was usually granted along with "vriksha-mālākula-kāshṭho-trin-odak-opetah śa-hiranya-bhāga-bhoga-saṇḍo-daśāparādha sarva-dāya-sameta-nava-nidhāna-sameta purva-pradatta-devadāya-brahmadāya-varj-

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ja".¹⁴⁵ From this formula it should not be concluded that all the trees, woods, grass, weeds and water in the kingdom belonged to the king. This recital was necessary to make the gift valid, for from the LP it is learnt that even when a house was sold it was necessary to recite a part of this formula.¹⁴⁶ Similarly in the time of the Marathas, when land or villages were granted, it was usual to put in such words as '*jala-taru-trīṇa-kāshṭha-pāshāṇa-nidhi-nikshepa*', and it was decided by the British Indian courts that these words conferred on the grantee ownership in the soil itself, and that in the absence of these words it is possible to hold that the grant was only of the royal share of the revenue and not of the soil.¹⁴⁷

The next part of the formula, namely, '*sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhoga*' presents some difficulties, for *bhoga* is certainly the *ashṭa-bhoga* mentioned in some texts and inscriptions. These eight *bhogas* were the following: (1) *nidhi*, treasure trove; (2) *nikshepa*, unclaimed property deposited on the soil; (3) *pāshāṇa*, mines etc.; (4) *siddha* lands yielding produce on which improvements have been made (5) *sādhya*, produce from such lands after improvements have been made; (6) *jala*, water; (7) *akshinī*, present privileges; (8) *āgāmi*, future profits. Of these eight *bhogas*, with the exception of the first three the rest must be held to be part of a legal formula while *jala* is a repetition. About unclaimed property left on the soil we have no information but mines and treasure troves have been considered by *śāstras* to be the property of the king.¹⁴⁸

According to Bühler and U. N. Ghoshal, however, *bhoga* means the periodical supplies of fruits, fire-wood, flower and the like which the villagers had to furnish to the king.¹⁴⁹ In this connection may be mentioned the '*bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiraṇya-ādi*' mentioned in the Sunak grant of Karṇa I; this expression was taken by Dr. Ghoshal to mean that the residents of the village were required to pay the donee the customary contributions in kind (*bhāga-bhoga-kara*) and in cash (*hiraṇya*).

Daṇḍa-daśāparādha

The clause under which land is granted with *daṇḍa-daśāparādha* is frequently contained in the ancient Indian land grants, a very early example being afforded by a Maitraka grant of A.D. 633.¹⁵⁰ The expression '*sa-daṇḍa-daśāparādha*' was taken by Fleet to imply the donee's right to the proceeds from the fines for the commission of ten offences by the villagers.¹⁵¹ Though most of the scholars accepted this explanation of Fleet, there were differences of opinion as to the nature of the offences. Fleet himself held it to consist of three specific sins of the body, three of the mind and four of speech. But Jolly connected it with the ten grave sins mentioned by Nārada,¹⁵² while Hira Lal¹⁵³ identified it with the ten offences mentioned in the *Sukranīti*. Whatever the offences may be, Fleet's main contention that *sa-daṇḍa-daśā-*

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parādha meant the donee's right to the proceeds from the fines for commission of offences is supported by an inscription from Nepal, which states that in the case of a person committing theft, adultery, murder and abetment(?) only his person will belong to the king, while the donee (in this case a monastery) will receive the offender's house, fields, wife and all other properties. We think that this is the inscription from which, somewhat erroneously, Dr. Ghoshal concludes that the term *daśa-parādha* "refers to the right of the donee to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers".¹⁵⁴ Dr. Ghoshal admits, however, that the phrase undoubtedly stands for a kind of income accruing to the king from the villages, since it is included along with contributions in grain and in domestic animals in a list of the king's receipts in the Cambay grant of Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda IV issued in A.D. 930. That this phrase was used in a similar sense, that is an income, so far as the Chaulukya period is concerned, is we believe conclusively proved by an expression in the Bombay Secretariat grant of Ajayapāla, which confers on the donee the right of '*daṇḍa-dosha-prāpt-ādāya*'. According to Dr. Ghoshal, *ādāya* means royal dues,¹⁵⁵ so that the above expression may be rendered as 'the royal dues and receipts derived from inflicting fines for offences'. What the ten faults were is not mentioned, and as a matter of fact, Ajayapāla's grant does not mention the word ten. It has however been already shown that in a deed of land settlement five offences are enumerated, namely, (1) theft of hide, (2) breaking of heads, (3) ploughing of land belonging to some one else, (4) allowing cattle to graze on corn fields, (5) disobeying of orders; we have also seen that specific fines for each offence was mentioned in the deed. It is therefore probable that it was the right of receiving these fines which was transferred to the donee by the king. The LP mentions only five offences, what the remaining five offences were is not known; those might have been any five of the ten offences mentioned in the *śukranīti*, or might be that it was a tradition to state *daśa-parādha* when really five offences only were meant.

Sarva-dāya-sameta

Sarva-dāya-sameta means inclusive of all gifts; by this expression was probably included the *māṅgalīyakas* etc., mentioned in the LP.

Nava-nidhāna-sameta

This expression probably stands for some taxes imposed for the first time at the date of the grant.¹⁵⁶

Purva-pradatta-brahmadāya-devadāya-varjja

This expression means that lands already granted to Brāhmaṇas and temples are exempt from the operation of the grant.

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Mārganaka

The Bombay Secretariat Grant of Ajayapāla mentions that the land is granted with the 'new *mārganaka*'. The word *mārganaka* occurs in a land grant of Gūjara-Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla II and has been taken to mean a benevolence of a general character levied upon the villages.¹⁵⁷ The expression *abhinava-mārganaka* has been taken to mean that the original imposition of this kind had become permanent, and that an additional levy was made at this time.¹⁵⁸ It may be noted however that 'benevolence' has a technical meaning in English constitutional history, where it is exclusively applied to the apparently voluntary gifts which Edward IV compelled the richer classes to make¹⁵⁹ under a facetious term. There is no reason to suppose that *mārganaka* was a 'benevolence' of this nature, though literally it means 'a beggar'. *Mārganaka* might have meant the forced labour which Manu (VII, 138) permitted the king to exact from mechanics, artisans and *śūdras* one day in each month.

Sale and purchase tax

In connection with the city administration it was shown that the Anavada grant mentions sale and purchase taxes over certain commodities. Also in the mutilated post-script to Bhīma's Kadi grant (no. 6) and in the Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla (Bh. Ins. 158) we find mention of a large number of articles such *mañjishthā*, *hiṅgula*, *pravāḷaka*, *karpūra*, *kasturi*, *kumkuma*, *aguru*, *jāyaphala*, *nālikera* to mention only a few articles which had to pay *śulka* in the *haṭṭa-karaṇa*, that is, the office attached to the market. The amount of tax to be realised from—either the sale or purchase—each of these articles is mentioned, and in every case the tax was levied in cash. According to Manu (VII, 131) a king could take sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, and fruit. All the articles mentioned in the two inscriptions cited above practically fall within the categories mentioned by Manu, though instead of taking the sixth share of the article the king was taking cash.

*Cintra Praśasti*¹⁶⁰

The Cintra *praśasti* of Sāraṅgadeva provides an insight into a part of the administrative machinery which is not to be found in any other record, and should therefore be treated separately and in some detail.

It is stated in the *praśasti* that one Tripurāntaka had procured some land for religious purposes, with 'pure self-acquired property' which he donated or assigned to Śrī-Chaturjātaka, in exchange of which apparently the Chaturjātaka issued two grants. Unfortunately the contents of the two grants are not known; probably they included some of the privileges enjoyed by Tripurāntaka's temple as mentioned in the

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praśasti, for in a preceding verse (vv. 60-1) Tripurāntaka claims that he had caused the Chaturjātaka to issue an edict whereby one *dramma* per day from the customs house was assigned to the temple and nine *drammas* monthly—presumably from the same source—for the maintenance of a disciple. In other words Tripurāntaka had induced the government to bestow on his temple and its attendant an annuity by paying a lump sum. It might not have been an instance of purchasing an annuity, but was very nearly so. The next few verses show that Tripurāntaka purchased from the Chaturjātaka three shops which he converted into a temple endowment. Further, Tripurāntaka deposited every month a sum of 15 *drammas* into the treasury ¹⁶¹ so that Paśupāla (from the text it appears that the chief priest was meant) might be paid 15 *drammas* monthly. It is difficult to offer any explanation of this unusual round about method of paying the priest; probably the mundane professional priest, suffering from a genuine misgiving about the extravagant Tripurāntaka's capacity to pay him 15 *drammas* monthly, insisted on the state guaranteeing him a monthly stipend of the same amount, as had been done in the case of the attendant, but Tripurāntaka being unable to pay a lump sum to secure another annuity of 15 *drammas* per month paid to the treasury the amount every month probably under some sort of contract to that effect.

The *praśasti* then states that the merchants had to assign from each shop one *dramma* as contributions to certain religious festivals, and three shopkeepers were further obliged to provide garlands, cocoanuts and pairs of soft garments (?) during the three processions of Somanātha. It is not clear whether all the merchants of Somanātha had to pay the contribution of one *dramma* per shop, though that seems to be meant. As for the three shopkeepers who had to provide the garlands etc., it is almost certain that they were keepers of the three shops which Tripurāntaka states to have purchased from the Chaturjātaka. It seems therefore that what Tripurāntaka actually purchased were not the corpus of the shops but the right of the state to levy taxes over them, for it is clear from the fact of Chaturjātaka's issuing of edicts and granting of money from the customs house, that he was a government official and was throughout dealing with state property. Chaturjātaka, which literally means connected with, that is ruling the four castes, here undoubtedly stands for a high local official, as Bühler suggested. In the Veraval inscription of Bhāva Bṛihaspati mention is made of *Chaturjātaka-lokāli* which was erroneously translated (WZKM, III, 19) as 'men of four castes'. Evidently the expression meant the staff of Chaturjātaka.

Tripurāntaka also received from the guild of gardeners daily contribution in the shape of flowers for which the gardeners were compensated by the Chaturjātaka who gave them the use of a garden. But what

induced the Mers to supply betel leaves daily, or the store-keeper of Somanātha's temple to supply certain materials for worship at Tripurāntaka's temple is not stated. However, from the lavish praise bestowed on both Tripurāntaka and Chaturjātaka it seems that all these and the contribution of 1 *dramma* from the merchants were the result of some arrangement between Tripurāntaka and the Chaturjātaka which being mentioned in the edicts referred to in the *praśasti* are not repeated in it. Probably Tripurāntaka had to pay for all these with his self acquired property which he mentions with justifiable pride.

Were the taxes paid in cash or kind

It has been already shown that in such expressions as '*sa-hiranya-bhāga-bhoga*' and '*bhāga-bhoga-kara*' which occur in land grants, *bhāga-bhoga-kara* has been taken to mean the king's share in grains, or contribution in kind to be paid by the villagers,¹⁶² and *hiranya* to be tax levied upon certain special kinds of crops which was of a nature difficult to be divided into shares.¹⁶³ It has also been suggested that *kara* was a periodical tax levied primarily upon agricultural land over and above the king's normal grain share,¹⁶⁴ though according to the *Smritis*, *kara* meant the tax on merchants.¹⁶⁵ According to Dr. Altekar, *bhāgakara* was the land tax whereas *bhogakara* represented the petty taxes in kind to be paid to the king every day and were usually assigned in practice to local officers as part of their income.¹⁶⁶ Abhayatilaka Gaṇi has, however, explained *kara*, used by Hemachandra in the *Dvyāśraya*, as follows: *karaḥ: kṛishi-paśuchāraṇādi-kṛita-rājakīya-bhūmyupobhoga-hetuko-rāja-grāhyo-bhāgaḥ* (DV, III, v. 18) that is, the share due to the king by one who has enjoyed (the fruits of) the royal agricultural land and pasture. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi definitely states that this *kara* was paid by the farmers during the harvesting season in corn. But this might have been the part due for using the agricultural land; for the pasture the tax probably was paid in cash.

While narrating an incident in the reign of Bhīma I, when due to a failure of crops the farmers were unable to pay their revenue, Meruṭiṅga uses the expressions '*rāja-deya-vibhāga*' and '*sasya-nidānī-bhūta-dānī-sambandhe*'.¹⁶⁷ The second expression has been correctly translated by Tawney as the 'king's share that was to be deducted from the grain', and it seems that *bhāga* and *dānī* were synonymous terms, and that both denoted the tax payable in kind. Thus we see that part of the land revenue such as *hiranya* and the grazing tax (*gochara*) were paid in cash and the rest of the land revenue in kind. But probably with the exception of land revenue all the other taxes were paid in cash. For example, we learn from the post-script of a Kadi plate of Bhīma II, that many articles were taxed probably on entry into the market by the *hatta*-

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karāṇa and for each article this octroi had to be paid in cash. From the Anavada inscription also we learn that of the four articles for which either sales or purchase tax had to be paid, the taxes on three had to be paid in cash while the tax on *ghi* had to be paid in kind. As the taxes were being imposed for the maintenance of a temple, the advantage of the system would be that it would receive clarified butter—an article necessary for worship—free, the other articles being unnecessary for worship their sellers or buyers had to pay the tax in cash. The customs dues, on the other hand were always paid in cash which is shown by the grants which invariably mention any payment received from a customs house as cash payment.

Lekhapaddhati

It may be pointed out here that with the exception of one document—supposed to be a copy of a land grant issued by Lāvanyaprasāda during the reign of Bhīma II in V.S. 1288—all the other documents in the LP mention taxes in cash only. This was probably due to the fact that the taxes in cash and kind were sanctioned by long usage and separate documents were not necessary to collect them. If the cultivators failed to pay these dues they were probably put under arrest as related by Merutuṅga or distrained in some other way till they paid. These royal dues, sanctioned by age old usages, were not therefore subject to any written agreement between the king and the farmer. But other arrangements, which completely differed from the customary one, required written documents for their validity and enforcement, and it is these documents which were collected by the compiler of the LP.

These new arrangements as depicted in the documents of the LP have been described in the foregoing pages. They show a distinct tendency to collect land revenue from one person. This had the advantage of lowering the collection charges while it ensured the state a fixed revenue every year, irrespective of the failure of crop or any other misfortune. In short, it gave the state many of the advantages which induced Lord Cornwallis to introduce permanent settlement in Bengal. But the arrangement in mediaeval Gujarat was better than permanent settlement because the agreement generally was for one year only with distinct understanding that the revenue was liable to be increased, fully protecting the interests of the state.

Feudatories

The account of the administration and revenue system given above applies only to the area directly administered by the crown, but the kingdom of the Chaulukyas also included the territory administered by feudatory princes, who were known under the generic title of *Maṇḍaḥa*-*feudatory* princes, who were known under the generic title of *Maṇḍaḥa*-*lika*, but sometimes styled themselves as *Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmaṇḍalika*.

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eśvara and sometimes as *Mahāmaṇḍalika*.¹⁶⁸ The most important of these feudatory princes were the Paramāras of Abu and the Chāhamānas of Nadol. But there were other feudatories such as the Mer king Jagamalla and the Paramāra Someśvara. The names of some other princes are known from the chronicles.

Of the relation between the central authority and the feudatory states we have no precise information. Probably the feudatory states were controlled through the *tantra-karaṇa*. The feudatory princes, of whose history we have some knowledge, were forced to accept the suzerainty and they tried to free themselves as opportunity occurred. Thus it has been suggested that the Chāhamāna Kaṭudeva tried to assert his independence after the death of Siddharāja so that Kumārapāla deprived him of his principality and brought Naḍḍula under direct administration placing *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva in charge of the area. Kumārapāla also removed from Abu its rebellious prince Vikramasinha and installed the latter's nephew, Yaśodhavalā, on the throne. Yaśodhavalā's son and successor was the famous Dhārāvarsha who rendered distinguished service to three generations of Chaulukyas, namely, Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhīma II; but even Dhārāvarsha turned against Bhīma II and was either won over or forced to submission by Lāvaṇyaprasāda. We also learn from the chronicles that many feudatory princes rebelled at the same time but were put down by Lāvaṇyaprasāda and Vīradhavalā. This shows that the relation between the suzerain and the vassal rested absolutely on force.

What degree of subordination a feudatory has to tolerate is not known. They give the name of their suzerain in some of their inscriptions but omit it in others.¹⁶⁹ Hence it seems that there was no hard and fast rule which obliged a feudatory to mention his overlord in all his public records. But the general relation between the two probably depended upon circumstances and the relative strength of the vassal *vis-à-vis* his suzerain.

Duties of the feudatory

It seems that one of the most important duties of a feudatory prince was to help his suzerain against the latter's enemy. Thus Yaśodhavalā helped Kumārapāla in defeating Ballāla, and Dhārāvarsha helped Kumārapāla to defeat Mallikārjuna. Dhārāvarsha's brother Prahlādana is said to have saved Ajayapāla from the Guhilot Sāmantasinha. The two gallant brothers gave their lives on the field of battle in trying impetuously to defend their king and country against the aggression of Qutb-ud-Dīn during the reign of Bhīma II.

Sometimes the feudatory conquered new territory for the suzerain or brought another prince under the latter's vassalage. This we learn from an inscription which states that one Paramāra Someśvara who was

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a feudatory under Kumārapāla defeated one king Jajjaka and captured two forts. Someśvara also captured 1700 horses, but it is not stated whether he sent those to Aṇahilapāṭaka. However, the same inscription states that Jajjaka was reinstated on his throne after he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Kumārapāla.¹⁷⁰

The nature and limits of a feudatory prince's obligation towards his suzerain is not known, but it is a remarkable fact that the Paramāras of Abu are never known to have helped their suzerain against the Paramāras of Mālava in the long drawn Chaulukya-Paramāra struggle. But prince Someśvara mentioned above was also a Paramāra, and he claims to have defeated the Mālavas, presumably the Paramāras of Mālava, during the reign of Siddharāja.

The inscription of Someśvara states that he obtained back the possession of Sindhurājapura through the favour of Siddharāja in V.S. (11) 98, and in V.S. 1205 he made his kingdom firm by the favour of Kumārapāla, which probably implies that at the accession of a new king the feudatories swore fealty to their new overlord who confirmed them in their possessions. We have already seen that a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* appointed by Visaladeva was confirmed in his post by Arjunadeva. It is possible that all the feudatories and *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* were confirmed by each king at the time of his accession.

Did the feudatories pay any tribute

There is no epigraphic evidence to show that the vassal princes paid any tribute. In the *Dvyāśraya*, Hemachandra uses the words '*sāmval-sarakam pradāyī*' which Kumārapāla donated during his campaign in Abu to certain temples. This phrase is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as '*sāmvalsare deya*' which according to him consisted of one hundred thousand '*dravya*' and '*bhāga*' payable to the king (Kumārapāla) by Vikramasimha of Abu. The actual words used by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi are: "*laksha-saṅkhyā-rāja-grāhya-bhāga-dravyādi*"; *dravya* here stands for money and *bhāga* means share in kind. Hence from this it appears that the feudatories had to pay his overlord both in cash and kind. These dues were probably payable in *Agrahāyana* and *Mārgaśīrsha*.¹⁷¹

Feudatories like the Paramāras of Abu or the Chāhamānas of Nadol ruled over quite extensive territories and had their own systems of administration, but a discussion of those systems is beyond the scope of the present work.

CHAPTER XIV

Economic Life

From the extremely meagre data that we possess it is not possible to give any adequate idea of the economic life of the people of Gujarat during the period under review. We shall therefore merely present the available information in a classified form, dividing it into four main headings, namely: (1) agriculture, (2) industry, (3) trade and professions, (4) commerce.

Agriculture

The bulk of the people in India has always been cultivators, and undoubtedly during this period too the bulk of the people was employed in the cultivation of land. About the fertility of the soil of Gujarat we have an excellent testimony left by the Muslim writer 'Abdullāh Wassaf (A.D. 1238) who seems to find no adequate language to describe the beauty of Gujarat. Wassaf writes: "In the course of the four seasons of the year seventy different species of beautiful flowers grow within that province. The purity of the air is so great that if the picture of an animal is drawn with the pen it is lifelike. And it is another matter of wonder that many plants and their herbs are found well grown and cultivated there. You may always see the ground full of tulips even in the winter season. The air is healthy and the earth picturesque, neither too warm nor too cool, but in perpetual spring. The strength of the soil is so great that the cotton plant spread their branches like willows and plane trees, and yield produce for several years. Had the author full leisure to express fully the circumstances of that country (Gujarat), and to ascertain them from trustworthy men and historians and to devote a long period of his life to explain them, still he would not be able to record even a portion of the marvels and excellences of that country."¹

Of the methods employed in agriculture little is known, though from the fact that indigo was cultivated it may be presumed that expert knowledge of agriculture was not wanting. From a verse in the *Dvāyś-ṛaya* we learn that iron shod ploughs were in use;² and from the *Deśinā-mamālā* (DN) it is learnt that grains were crushed under foot—a process known as 'pāmaddā'.³ Probably hired labourers were used in agriculture for Hemachandra gives the meaning of the word *paḍiantao* as *kar-makara*, that is a hired labourer.⁴ Though it is not stated that *paḍiantao* was an agricultural labourer, we may tentatively accept him as such.

Of the rotation of crops the only information, meagre though it is,

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is supplied by Wassaf according to whom the winter cultivation was brought about only through the moistness of the dew, called 'barasi'. "When the harvest is over they (Gujaratis) begin summer cultivation, which is dependent upon the influence of the rain. The vineyards in this country (Gujarat) bring forth blue grapes twice a year".⁵ But the main harvest particularly of paddy was collected during autumn. (DV, III, v. 3).

To save crops from thieves the fields were guarded by dogs and scarecrows made of straw were used to prevent their destruction by the birds. But during the time of autumn harvest the fields were guarded by the farmers' wives.⁶

Crops

The principal crop was probably rice which seems to have formed the staple food of the people. In the DN Hemachandra has included several *deśi* words all meaning paddy; these are (a) *Aṇuo* (b) *Joṇṇaliā*,⁷ which according to Hemachandra means *jovārī* or *dhānya* though in the same verse he mentions *jovārī* as another *deśi* word; (c) Hemachandra has also mentioned *śālidhānya* which was harvested during the autumn and was probably of two kinds, one called *talapphalo* and the other *tālahalo*.⁸ It is difficult to say whether all the *deśi* words mentioned above meant different varieties of rice or were merely synonyms. For the present, one may accept that the terms denoted different kinds of rice.

Wheat

We learn from the Periplus that in the 1st century B.C. wheat was grown in Saurāshtra and probably also near Broach.⁹ Al-Idrisi (A.D. 1154) also states that wheat was grown in the region of Cambay,¹⁰ and a document in the LP (p. 21) mentions the harvesting of wheat in the month of Jyeshtha. Thus it appears that wheat was cultivated in Gujarat and was harvested during the summer.

Gram

Gram or *chanaka* seems to have been grown for which we have the *deśi* word *aṇuo*.¹¹

Pulses

Hemachandra in the DN mentions *uḍido* for which he gives as Sanskrit equivalent the word *māsha-dhānyam* (DN, I, 98). *Māsha* means a bean, *māsha-dhānyam*, therefore probably means some kind of leguminous plant such as 'black-gram' suggested by Pischell. Pischell also suggested that the word *uḍido* was derived from Tamil *uluda* and Canarese *uddu*, so that the plant was probably borrowed by Gujarat from her neighbouring provinces, though the process might have been exactly the reverse.

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We also come across the *deśi* word *ghusirasūram* which Hemachandra explains as '*masūr-ādīnām pishṭam*'.¹² Evidently some pulses other than *masūr* was intended by the word *ādī*, but Hemachandra does not mention them in the DN.

Hemachandra however in a quotation in his commentary to *Abhi-dhānachintāmaṇi* (IV, 233) mentions seventeen kinds of grains. As usual he used *dhānya* in its widest sense, and not only included pulses and grams but also hemp and sesamum. The seventeen enumerated are:

1. *Vṛhi*: rice that ripens during the rains
2. *Yava*: barley
3. *Masūra*: lentil
4. *Godhūma*: wheat
5. *Mudga*: Kidney-bean, Hindi *mung*
6. *Māsha*: black-gram
7. *Tila*: sesamum
8. *Chaṇaka*: chick-pea
9. *Aṇava*: great-millet (c. f. *Aṇua*, DN, I, 52)
10. *Priyaṅgu*: Italian millet
11. *Kodrava*: Kodo-millet
12. *Mayushṭhaka*: *Phaseolus aconitifolius*
13. *Śālī*: Rice harvested during autumn
14. *Āḍhakī*: pigeon-pea
15. *Kulattha*: horse-gram
16. *Kalāya*: pea
17. *Śaṇa*: hemp

This list by Hemachandra probably represents a fairly accurate roll of the principal crops grown in Gujarat during his time.

Sugarcane

Sugarcane was a very important agricultural product of the period, for as we shall see later *gur* or sugar industry played an important role in the economic life of Gujarat. Hemachandra gives three different words for sugarcane, namely: *īṅgālī*, *aṅgāliam*, and *gaṇḍīrī*.¹³ Again it is not possible to say whether these three words denoted three types of sugarcane, or were merely dialectical variations of the same name. A sugarcane garden was called '*uchchhuraṇam*'.¹⁴ In the *Trishashtiśālākā-purushacharita*, (Tr. IV, 14), Hemachandra mentions purple sugarcane plantation guarded by singing milk-maids.

Indigo

Cultivation of indigo was known in western India from 'very early days. In the *Periplus* it is said to have been cultivated in Barbaricum,¹⁵ and Marco Polo states that there was an 'abundance of indigo' in Gujarat,¹⁶ from which it may be concluded that indigo in large quantities

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was grown in Gujarat. In the *Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita* (Tr. III, 30, 156) Hemachandra mentions indigo colour.

Cotton

The author of the *Periplus*, Marco Polo, and many Muslim travellers and geographers have testified to the growth of cotton in Gujarat, and some of them have praised the excellence of the textile products of the country. According to Marco Polo (c. 1294 A.D.) Gujarat produced plenty of cotton in very big trees which reached six paces in height when twenty years old. But cotton produced from trees twenty years old was used for quilting and stuffing and not for spinning; only cotton gathered from trees less than twelve years old was used for spinning. Marco Polo does not state how the cotton grown on trees more than twelve years and less than twenty years was used.¹⁷

Pepper and Ginger

Marco Polo mentions that quantities of pepper and ginger were exported from Gujarat,¹⁸ but it is not clear whether these were local products or imported from neighbouring countries.

Castor-oil plant

According to Hemachandra, the *deśi* word *ummalto* meant *eranda* that is castor-oil plant.¹⁹ Probably it was cultivated in Gujarat.

Sesamum

In the *Periplus* sesame oil is mentioned as one of the products of Gujarat.²⁰ Its cultivation was most probably continued in that country.

Vegetables and fruits

Various fruits and vegetables must have grown in Gujarat during this period and Hemachandra in the DV mentions many vegetables.²¹ Regarding fruits Abul Fazl mentions that in the country between Surat and Baglana, that is in the modern Nosari district, pine-apples, pomegranates and oranges used to grow.²² It is not known whether all these fruits were cultivated in Gujarat in an earlier period or some were introduced in the country by her Muslim conquerors. From the DN we get names of the following fruits: *āmbiraṃ* (mango), *asārā* (plantain), *chak-kaṇabhayaṃ* (oranges) and *pinḍiraṃ* (pomegranate).²³

(II) INDUSTRY

Textile

Cloth was manufactured in Gujarat from very early times though from the *Periplus* we learn that in the 1st century A.D., the cloth pro-

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duced was 'of coarser sorts'.²⁴ Great improvement in the manufacture of textiles was effected in the succeeding centuries, for we learn that the cloth of Gujarat had reached a high degree of excellence by the end of the 13th century A.D. when Marco Polo visited India. According to the Venetian traveller large quantities of buckram was produced at Cambay, and various textile goods at Cambay and Broach which were distributed over many kingdoms and provinces.²⁵ According to the Egyptian geographer Abu'l Abbas al-Nuwayri, who died in A.D. 1332, the textile products of Broach was famous under the name of *Baroj* or *Baroji* while Cambay lent its name to the equally famous variety known as *Kambayati*.²⁶ *Baroji* and *Kambayati* were apparently two distinct types of products, so named because first produced in those two cities.

Sugar

There are several references in the literature of our period to the products of sugarcane, such as its juice and *gur*.²⁷ In the DN, Hemachandra mentions a special kind of labourer for the manufacture of sugarcane products, who was called *tūo* and is explained by Hemachandra as '*ikshu-karmakara*'.²⁸ We get a glimpse of the process of manufacture of sugar from the same work which mentions '*ṇandam*' as a stick for squeezing sugarcane (*ikshu-nipīḍana kāṇḍam*²⁹) and *pīḍam* and *kolhuo* as machines for pressing the cane: *ikshu-nipīḍana-yantram*.³⁰ It is interesting to mention in this connection that here in *Deśināmamālā* we probably get the only mention of a sugar-press in ancient Indian literature.³¹ We further learn that these machines were probably made of bamboo, for Hemachandra gives the meaning of the *deśi* word *kuṇḍam* as *veṇumayam jīṇam-ikshu-pīḍana-kāṇḍam*,³² that is an old sugarcane press or part of it made of bamboo.

Tanning and leather industry

According to Marco Polo immense quantities of hides were tanned in Gujarat. The hides were of sheep, buffaloes, wild oxen, incorns (rhinoceros ?) and many other animals. Many ships laden with tanned leather, states Marco Polo, left the ports of Gujarat every year.³³ This statement of Marco Polo shows that the non-slaughter measures adopted by Kumārapāla had very little effect, for hides from animals which have died a natural death can never be processed into the high quality leather described by Marco Polo as produced in Gujarat.

It is interesting to recall in this connection the document in the *Lekhapaddhati* (p. 16) in which the heaviest fine is imposed on the leather thief. It was undoubtedly meant to protect the tanners who during certain processes in tanning had to leave the hide in the open air for several days, just as is done now.

From the tanned leather shoes were manufactured. Cambay was

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famous for the sandals manufactured there from quite early days, for Masudi (A.D. 943) describes Cambay as celebrated for its sandals called 'sandals of Cambay.'³⁴ Hemachandra gives the name of several types of shoes as well as of shoe-makers as will be shown below.

From the tanned leather was also prepared the leather bags for carrying water, which were called '*chirikkā*' and is explained by Hemachandra as '*charma-maya-jala-bhāṇḍam*' and leather bottles for keeping oils called '*tuppo*' explained by Hemachandra as '*kutupa*.'³⁵

But for the purposes of export trade the leather mats were very important. Marco Polo states that "very beautiful mats in red and blue leather, chased with figures of beasts and birds, and most delicately sewn with gold and silver threads," were produced in Gujarat. "These mats were so beautiful," adds Marco Polo, "that it was a wonder to see them, and were used by the Saracens to sleep on." Marco Polo also mentions beautiful cushions all sewn with gold thread, and "worth quite six silver marks apiece." "What more shall I tell you?", records the astonished Venetian, and adds, "You must know in very truth that in this kingdom (Gujarat) are made the best and the finest leather goods in the world and the most costly."³⁶

Perfumeries

Abul Fazl states that in Nosari was manufactured a "perfumed oil found nowhere else."³⁷ This shows that this manufacturing process was indigenous and was probably in existence during the Chaulukya period; this conclusion is supported to some extent by the fact that several synonyms for unguents are given in the DN, which show that perfumed articles of toilet were in use.

House Building

House building must have been a very flourishing industry. All the contemporary accounts agree that Anahilapātaka, Dhavalakka, Cambay, and Broach and many other cities were full of large residential buildings. Besides many large and magnificent temples were erected during this period. These works provided employment to a large number of men, both skilled artisans and unskilled labour. Besides these activities gave rise to and must have helped the growth of such subsidiary industries as manufacture of tools and implements necessary for building and stone carving, bricks, mortars, lime and stone quarrying. The fine workmanship on stone shows that iron instruments of great fineness were used.

Iron and metal industries

The fine instrument used for carving and chiselling the marbles at Abu were undoubtedly manufactured locally, which indicates the high level of technical skill acquired by the metallurgists during this period.

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Besides these instruments, iron was used for manufacturing plough shods and various weapons of war. Other metals were also worked, the most important being brass, and copper with which most of the household utensils were made. The precious metals were used for manufacturing ornaments.

III. Trades and Professions

A large number of men were no doubt engaged in agriculture and industry and a section of the people in government service, but a large section of the people were naturally engaged in various callings, trades, and professions. Below we give a list of the names of the various professions and trades that are known from the literature of the period. The list is also of some value for showing the fields of economic activity of the period.

	Deśī or Sanskrit equivalent	Ref.
1. Assistant to a merchant	(a) <i>Medho</i> (b) <i>Vāḍhī</i>	DN, VI, 138 DN, VII, 53
2. Baker or confectioner	<i>Poio</i>	DN, VI, 63
3. Barber	(a) <i>Chandilo</i> (b) <i>Vachchhūtto</i>	DN, III, 2 DN, VII, 47
4. Betel-seller	<i>Tāmbulaka</i>	BH. Ins., 158
5. Bracelet-maker	<i>Vāṇao</i>	DN, VII, 54
6. Butcher	(a) <i>Polio</i> (b) <i>Khaṭṭikho</i>	DN, VI, 62 DN, II, 70
7. Cowherd	<i>Vachchhīvo</i>	DN, VII, 41
8. Distiller	<i>Gañjio</i>	DN, II, 85
9. Dyer	<i>Uñchhao</i>	DN, I, 98
10. do female	<i>Chhimpikayā</i>	PCJ, 56
11. Garland-maker	<i>Vaḍḍahullī</i>	DN, VII, 42
12. Goldsmith	<i>Diajjho</i>	DN, V, 39
13. Jeweller	<i>Veḍio</i>	DN, VII, 77
14. Jewel-tester	<i>Ratna-parikshaka</i>	PCJ, 69
15. Machine man (<i>yantravāha</i>)	<i>Bhūo</i>	DN, VI, 107
16. Milk-seller (female)	<i>Goalā</i>	DN, II, 98
17. Pewter	<i>Kaṁsyakāra</i>	PCJ, 69; IA, LIX, 20
18. Physician	<i>Vaidya</i>	PCJ, 53
19. Potter	<i>Kulala</i>	PCJ, 77
20. do of the city	<i>Pura-kumbhakāra</i>	PCJ, 111
21. Shoe maker or Currier	(a) <i>Kuṭṭāo</i> (b) <i>Vaḍḍhaio</i>	DN, II, 37 DN, VII, 44

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22. Smith	(a) <i>Ekkāro</i>	DN, I, 144
	(b) <i>Lauhakāra</i>	PCJ, 123
	(c) <i>Phūo</i>	DN, VI, 85
23. Tailor	(a) <i>Sūchika</i>	PCJ, 32
	(b) <i>Veśakāra</i>	PCJ, 73
	(c) <i>Āsīvao</i>	DN, I, 69
24. Washerman	<i>Thoo</i>	DN, V, 32
25. do female	<i>Phukkī</i>	DN, VI, 84
26. Water-carrier	<i>Kāhāro</i>	DN, II, 27
27. Weapon-cleaner	<i>Tomario</i>	DN, V, 18
28. Weaver	<i>Kolio</i>	DN, II, 65
29. Well-digger	<i>Uḍḍo</i>	DN, I, 85
30. Wine-seller	<i>Pālo</i>	DN, VI, 75

From these terms, we can form a rough idea of the various trades and professions in which a man might have engaged himself profitably. Some of these terms, like the smith, the pewter, the shoe maker or currier probably represented the industrialists of the period.

A special feature of trade

The tāmbulaka or betel leaf seller mentioned in several inscriptions probably sold nothing but betels.³⁸ Apart from the smith, curriers etc. we come across the word *peḍaio* in the DN (VI, 59) which meant merchants who sold grains et cetera (*kaṇādi-vikretā-vaṇik*). Merutuṅga mentions an ordinary trader who sold only grams.³⁹ From the *Cintrapraśasti* (v. 50) we learn the existence of a gardener's guild called mālika-śreṇī.⁴⁰ An inscription from Shergadh of V.S. 1084 (EI, XXIII, 138) mentions a tailika-rāja which has been translated as the chief of the guild of oil-men, and most probably this guild too existed in Gujarat. We have already shown that smiths, braziers and ship-owners etc., took part in the deliberations of a city council, and most probably they were members of their respective guilds. It has also been shown that trade guilds existed in Gujarat from early days and that there are reasons to believe that during the Chaulukya period the guilds were looked after by a government department called śreṇī-karaṇa. These isolated evidences taken together show that trade and industry during the Chaulukya rule was divided into guilds.

Hemachandra in the *Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharita* (Tr. III, 316) mentions 18 guilds, but unfortunately we do not get the names of the guilds that flourished during the period from any contemporary author, but in a work called the *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*⁴¹ we get a list of the following 18 guilds which might have existed during this period:

1. *Kumbhakāra* (potter)
2. *Paṭṭaila*

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3. *Suvaṇṇakāra* (goldsmith)
4. *Sūvakāra* (*sūpakāra*: cook)
5. *Gandharva* (*gandharva*: musician)
6. *Kāsavaga* (*Kāśyapa*: barber)
7. *Mālākāra* (gardener, garland-maker)
8. *Kachchhakara* (*kakshakāra*: rope-maker?)
9. *Taṃbolīa* (*Tāmbulika*: betel grower or seller)
10. *Chammayaru* (*Charmakara*; leather-worker)
11. *Jantapilaga*: (*yantrapidaka*: presser (of sugarcane))
12. *Gaṇchia*: according to Hemachandra *varuda* a low caste man (DN, II, 84)
13. *Chimpāya* (Cloth printer, DN, I, 98)
14. *Kaṃsakāra* (brazier)
15. *Sivaga* (*sivaka*, tailor, seamster)
16. *Guāra* (gopala? cow-herd)
17. *Bhilla* (a tribe?)
18. *Dhīvara*: (fisherman)

Monopoly

An inscription from Girnar⁴² records that the exclusive right of engraving inscriptions in all temples including that of *Neminātha* on the sacred hills of Girnar was given to an engraver called Haripāla whose lineal descendants were also to enjoy this right. It is difficult to say whether granting such monopoly was usual in those days for we do not come across any other evidence of a similar nature. According to Kauṭilya (*Arth.* II, 12) the king had an exclusive monopoly on all mines, but could lease out big mines in return for a fixed share of the produce or fixed rent. The lessee of those mines would evidently enjoy the exclusive right of exploiting them. Probably during later period the principle of granting monopoly was extended to other fields of economic activity as well.

Change of profession

That a man could change his profession and better himself financially and rise in the social status is indicated in an anecdote recorded by Merutunga, in which a merchant's son named Ābhaḍa having fallen into indigent circumstances used to earn a pittance of five *viṃśopakas* a day by rubbing bells in the pewter's bazar. But as this sum was barely sufficient to meet his daily needs he studied such works as *Agastyamata* and *Ratnaparikshā* and by frequenting the company of jewel testers became an expert in that trade. By a lucky find of a jewel which he sold to Siddharāja for a fabulous price Ābhaḍa became very rich and later on became the principal man of the town (*sarvanagara-mukhya*).⁴³

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This story shows that chances to better oneself economically and socially were not wanting to a really competent man.

FOREIGN TRADE

Ports

Broach or Bhrīgukachchha, as it was known in those days, had been famous since the 1st century A.D. as the greatest port and international market of Western India. It was older than Cambay and till the rise of the latter served as the principal trade centre for the foreign market of the whole of Western India including Mālava.⁴⁴

Cambay, known as Stambhatīrtha, is first mentioned by Sulaiman⁴⁵ (A.D. 850) and probably came into prominence much later than Broach. It is probable that the Gūjara-Pratīhāras developed Cambay as a rival port to Broach, as the latter was under the control of their deadly enemy the Rāshtrakūṭas.

A third important port was Somanath the great religious centre. Its importance as a port is described by al-Beruni, Abulfida, and Marco Polo.⁴⁶

Since the days of Karna I all the three ports continued to be controlled by the Chaulukyas, though they lost Broach to the Paramāras temporarily during the reign of Bhīma II. The control of these ports was not only a great source of profit to Gujarat, but it undoubtedly gave her merchants an advantage not enjoyed by those of landlocked countries like Mālava. It is therefore not surprising that all the wars of the period particularly those between the Chaulukyas and the Yādavas should have been aimed at the occupation of Lāṭa, which contained both the ports of Broach and Cambay. The port of Broach particularly was very convenient for the subjects of the Paramāras of Mālava, as it is situated where the river Narmadā after passing through Mālava joins the sea, so that goods landed at Broach could be conveniently transported to Mālava by river, which could also be used for bringing down goods from that country to the port. But this means of transport was denied to the people of Mālava as for most of the period under review Broach continued to be under the Chaulukyas who were at war with the Paramāras of Mālava. Control of these outlets to the outside world was probably one of the factors of the material prosperity of Gujarat as their loss may have led to the material downfall of Mālava. It may be remembered that in their days of greatness the Paramāras of Mālava had been at war with all their neighbouring powers so that not a single friendly port was open to them.

Articles of Export

The chief articles of export from Gujarat were buckram, tanned

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leather and leather goods, and textiles. Probably pepper, ginger, and indigo were also exported.⁴⁷ Speaking of Cambay, Marco Polo adds, that the people of Cambay "have many other commodities that I will not mention in this book, for it will make too long a tale".⁴⁸ Probably those commodities which Marco Polo does not mention were also exported but unfortunately we do not know their names. It is clear however, that the exports mainly consisted of manufactured articles, and some spices and dyes.

Articles of Import

In the *Periplus* it is stated that at Broach the following articles were imported: wine, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, inferior pearls, thin clothing, and inferior sorts of all kinds, bright coloured girdles a cubit wide, storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coins and small quantities of cheap ointments.⁴⁹ How many of these articles continued to be imported during our period is not known, but as Gujarat is deficient in almost all the metals probably these were brought from outside as well as the better quality wines which India has throughout her history imported from outside.

Marco Polo's statement regarding the imports to Gujarat is rather vague so that it is necessary to quote him. "When merchants come hither (Cambay) with their wares loaded on many ships, they bring above all gold, silver, copper and *tulia*. They bring the products of their own countries and carry away those of the kingdom".⁵⁰ He again makes a similar statement while speaking of Somanath: "Merchants go there (Somanath) from many lands, bringing with them much merchandise of different kinds. They sell there what they have brought with them, and take away the products of the kingdom".⁵¹ It is clear from these statements of Marco Polo that apart from precious metals and copper and its sulphate, Gujarat imported commodities from the foreign countries, which may have included, as we have already suggested, some of the articles mentioned in the *Periplus*.

Another important article of import was horse. Wassaf states: "It is related by authentic writers, that in the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr, 10,000 horses were annually imported from these places (Kalif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hormuz, and Kulhatu all situated on the Arabian sea and the Persian Gulf) to Ma'bar, Kambayat and other ports in their neighbourhood".⁵² The horses had to be imported probably because the Indian breeds were of inferior quality, and the supply had to be continually replenished for, as we learn from Wassaf, the ignorance of the Indians of the proper management of the imported horses resulted in their death after a short time.⁵³

Indians in the foreign trade

It is well known that Indians were great sailors in the ancient days

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and numbers colonised in the Far Eastern countries. It is however not known as to what portion of the foreign trade we have discussed above passed through Indian hands or were transported on Indian ships. So far as the Muslim countries were concerned it seems that a part of the trade at least was handled by the Indians. Abu Zayd Hasan of Siraf, who completed the *Travels of Sulaiman* in A.D. 916, states that when the Indian merchants of Siraf were invited by one of the principal merchants of the place, the latter out of regard for the susceptibility of the Hindus served them food in separate plates. Abu Zayd states that on those occasions there would be about 100 guests,⁵⁴ and probably they would be all Indians, from which we can form a rough idea of the total number of Indian merchants residing in the coastal towns of Persia.

From the *Jagaducharita* also we learn that Jagadu used to trade regularly with Persia and transport goods in his own ship. His agent at Hormuz was an Indian.

Muhammad Ufi (A.D. 1211) relates the story of one Wasa Abhir, a Hindu merchant of Nahrwala, who had a flourishing trade at Ghazni where at one time the value of his property amounted to ten lacs of rupees. Wasa Abhir carried his trade through his agents at Ghazni. After Mui'zz ud-Din bin Sam's defeat at the hands of the Gujarat army he was advised by one of his councillors to replenish the treasury by confiscating the property of Wasa Abhir. But this Mui'zz ud-Din refused to do, stating that had Nahrwala fallen into his hands the appropriation of Wasa Abhir's property would have been lawful, but so seize his property at Ghazni would be contrary to justice.⁵⁵

This shows that even the Muslims—bigoted as they were in matters of religion—left the Hindu traders at peace even when the latter were enemy subjects. The Indian princes—particularly the Chaulukyas—on their side treated the Muslims extremely well. The Veraval inscription of Arjunadeva shows that there was a colony of Muslims of Hormuz at Somanath. As a matter of fact there were Muslims to be found at every principal port. They practised their religion unhindered and were allowed to build mosques.

This great tolerance shown by the Hindu princes towards the Muslims who may be said to have brought destruction on their country and pitilessly destroyed their most famous temple was prompted by several motives. The first was certainly the habitual tolerance of the Hindus. The second reason is probably that the Hindus during this period knew the difference between the fanatic and ruthless Turks and the more tolerant and peace-loving Arab merchants. Thirdly the Muslims were at this time controlling a great part of the overseas trade of Asia, and the Hindu princes could not afford to alienate them, nor was there any need to do so, for as we have said, most of the Muslim merchants were Arabs who visited India for peaceful purposes only.

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Gujarati shipping

There is unfortunately no record of Gujarat shipping at this period. Marco Polo however bitterly complains of Gujarati pirates, who were, according to him, the worst pirates in the world. This shows that at least there was no dearth of courageous sailors in Gujarat even though they might have been misguided.⁵⁶ About two centuries later the Gujarati sailors were to receive high praise for their seamanship from no less a person than Albuquerque, the great Portuguese sailor. We are told that in A.D. 1511, while Albuquerque was going from Cochin to Malacca with a squadron of eighteen ships they saw a ship near Ceylon, and Albuquerque gave orders to come alongside it and they took it. The Portuguese were greatly rejoiced to find that the overtaken ship was manned by the Gujaratis from which they concluded that they were on the right path, for the Gujaratis were supposed to know that route much better than all other nations, because of the great commerce they had with the eastern countries.⁵⁷

This topic on Gujarati shipping may fittingly be concluded with a translation of a folk song which was current during the last century when Forbes collected it:

It is a saying in Goozerat

Who goes to Java

Never returns.

If by chance he returns,

Then for two generations to live upon,

Money enough he brings back.⁵⁸

The song probably was based on a real tradition, for Idrisi speaking of the people of Broach says that "the inhabitants (of the city) are rich and engaged in trade and they freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for vessels coming from China as it is also for those of Sind." In those days vessels from China came by the way of Java, and it is not unlikely for the Gujarat merchants to have visited those places. Moreover, an examination of the tombstones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pase reveals a close resemblance to those found in Gujarat, and there is hardly any doubt that they were imported from the latter place. We may thus presume a brisk trade activity between Gujarat and Sumatra. This trade with Sumatra was mainly in the hands of the Muslims but the Hindus might have had a share.⁵⁹

Medium of Exchange

Having given a brief outline of some aspects of the economic life in Gujarat during the Chaulukya period, it is now necessary to discuss the problem of the medium of exchange during the period. The task is beset with difficulties because with the exception to two gold and six silver coins recently discovered, and ascribed to Siddharāja, no other coins of

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the Chaulukyas have yet been found. In this respect the history of the Chaulukyas resembles that of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed and the Pālas and Senas of Bengal.

In a society where money in some form does not exist goods may be only obtained in exchange for some other goods. To some extent barter system might have prevailed in the rural areas of the country, but it is difficult to believe on the negative evidence furnished by the absence of coin alone that the system of barter was prevalent in such highly commercialised towns like Broach, Cambay, Dholka, and Anahilapāṭaka. The following facts therefore must be considered in order to arrive at a reasonable conclusion on this point.

1. In the Chaulukya records coins are frequently mentioned. Thus we learn from the Mangrol inscription of Kumārāpāla, Kadi inscription (no. 6) of Bhīma II, and the Aanavada inscription that taxes were paid in *drammas*. Again all the charities from the customs house which are recorded in the inscriptions are always found to have been paid in cash. Not a single reference to barter is found in the literature of the period which contains many instances of payment in cash. From these it seems that the use of money as the medium of exchange was not the exception but the rule.

2. Two gold coins with the legend of Siddharāja have been discovered in the Uttara Pradeśa and these two have been assigned to Jayasīṃha. Since then four silver coins of Jayasīṃha have been found.⁶⁰ Moreover there are epigraphic references to *Bhūmapriya* and *Viśalapriya drammas*. In this connection attention may be drawn to the silver and copper coins of Queen Somaladevī.⁶¹ This Somaladevī has been identified with Somalekhā, the queen of Chāhamāna Ajayapāla, who according to the *Prithvīrājaviṃśaya* (V, v. 90) used to strike new coins (*rupaka*) every day. It is however equally, if not more probable that this Somaladevī was not Somalekhā the queen of Ajayapāla, but Sūmaladevī, the queen of Bhīma II who issued a copper plate jointly with her husband,⁶² and that the coins bearing the legend 'Somaladevī' may be in fact the Bhūmapriya *drammas* mentioned in the inscriptions.

3. It has been stated above that no Rāshtrakūṭa coins has been discovered so far. But two Muslim travellers have testified to the existence of coins issued by the Rāshtrakūṭa kings. According to Sulaiman the coin of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch (Balhara of Sulaiman) was the *dirham* (i.e. a silver coin) called '*tatiri*' and he further adds that the weight of each of these *tatiri dirham* was equal to one and a half Arabian *dirham*.⁶³ Masudi corroborates this statement of Sulaiman and adds that these '*tatiriyya*' *dirhams* were dated in the regnal years of the reigning king.⁶⁴ But not a single of these Rāshtrakūṭa *tatiri* or *tatiriyya* coins have yet been discovered. This shows that simply because

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the coins of a dynasty have not been discovered it cannot be presumed to have issued none.

4. Lastly coins are known to have been in use in Gujarat from very early times. Even in the 1st century A.D. gold and silver coins were imported at Broach, because there was a "profit when exchanged for the the money of the country."⁶⁵ This shows that already in the 1st century an exchange business in coins had developed in Broach.

From the coins hitherto discovered it may be said that the Greeks laid the foundation of the coinage in Gujarat, though a few coins have been discovered which have been ascribed to indigenous rulers of an earlier period. After the Greeks the earliest known coins are those of Bhumaka of the Kshaharata dynasty (c. 100 A.D.).⁶⁶ Coins of the successors of Bhumaka, Kshatrapa coins, Traikūṭaka coins, Gupta coins, Valabhī coins, and even two coins issued by a Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa king have been found in Gujarat. Besides these large number of coins known as Gadahaiyas have been discovered. The existence of these coins goes to show that the people of Gujarat used money as medium of exchange from very early times till the end of the 9th century A.D., as the last known date of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa of the Gujarat branch whose coins have been found is A.D. 888.⁶⁷ Thus it will not be unreasonable to assume that the people of Gujarat, habituated to use money as medium of exchange for seven hundred years did not give up its use with the accession of Mūlarāja; on the contrary in view of the evidence given above we shall have to assume that money in the shape of coins was habitually and extensively used during the Chaulukya period in Gujarat as the normal medium of exchange, and that at least part of the coins in use were issued by the Chaulukya kings.

It has been suggested that unfavourable balance of trade was mainly responsible for the debasement of the currency in mediaeval India and the virtual disappearance of gold and silver coins from Bengal under her Pāla and Sena kings.⁶⁸ Lest an attempt should be made to explain an almost similar situation in Gujarat by the same theory we quote here the views of an eminent economist: " . . . the fact which is often forgotten (is) that an unfavourable balance of trade or payments undoubtedly *corrects itself automatically* in most cases by the steps taken by the individual consumers and producers and this, too, without any serious disturbance of the price or credit structure, or, indeed, any influence on the currency other than, at most, a temporary shipment of the gold reserves."⁶⁹ It is moreover highly debatable whether the economic forces, such as balance of trade, which operates to-day, had had any influence in those days when the mode of trading was entirely different. All available accounts agree that Gujarat was a very rich country, and if her sovereigns did not issue any coins it was certainly not due to the want of precious metals.

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Denominations of Coins

From the *Dvyāśraya* we get the names of the following coins: (a) *Bhāgaka*, which was equal to half of one *rupaka*, (b) *Rupaka*, (c) *Viṃśatika*, which was equal to twenty *rupakas*,⁷⁰ (d) *Kārshāpaṇa*, which was equal to 16 *paṇas*,⁷¹ (e) *Nishka*, which was a gold coin weighing 108 *palas*, (f) *Surpa*, which was a coin of very little value,⁷² (g) *Dramma*.⁷³

Merutuṅga mentions the following coins: (a) *Dināra*,⁷⁴ (b) *Nishka*,⁷⁵ (c) *Dramma*,⁷⁶ (d) *Viṃśopaka*.⁷⁷ Merutuṅga once specifically mentions silver *drammas*, and the only coin which he specifically mentions as gold is the *ṭaṅkā*,⁷⁸ which is also mentioned by Jīna-maṇḍana. But as Merutuṅga mentions the *dināra* in connection with the king Vikramāditya of Ujjain and the *ṭaṅkā* with Paramāra Bhoja, probably these two were not Chaulukya coins at all but were foreign coins purposely introduced in his narrative by Merutuṅga to add versimilitude to his story. Jīna-maṇḍana was a much later writer and we need not take his statements too seriously.

In the Chaulukya inscriptions are mentioned *dramma*, *viṃśopaka*, *rupaka*, and *kārshāpaṇa*.⁷⁹ *Viśalapriya-dramma* and *Bhīmāpriya-viṃśopaka* are also mentioned in inscriptions.⁸⁰

Thus from the three sources we get the names of the following coins:—

<i>Dvyāśrayakāvyā</i>	<i>Parbandhachintāmaṇi</i>	Inscriptions
<i>Nishka</i>	<i>Nishka</i>	
<i>Viṃśatika</i>		
<i>Dramma</i>	<i>Dramma</i>	<i>Dramma</i>
<i>Bhāgaka</i>	<i>Viṃśopaka</i>	<i>Viṃśopaka</i>
<i>Rupaka</i>		<i>Rupaka</i>
<i>Kārshāpaṇa</i>		<i>Kārshāpaṇa</i>
<i>Paṇa</i>		
<i>Surpa</i>	<i>Dināra and Ṭaṅkā</i> (probably foreign coins)	

Recently a manuscript of a work called *Gaṇitasāra* which contains a commentary in Old Gujarati has been discovered, and this work contains some further information regarding the coinage of our period.⁸¹ It is stated that the manuscript was copied in V.S. 1449 in Anahilawad. It is instructing the children of a wealthy Banja family, and according to Prof. B. J. Sandesara, 'from the form of language (of the commentary) it is evident that the work can hardly be earlier than the first half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama-era.' Thus the probable date of the composition, the fact that the commentary is written in Old Gujarati, and the claim of the commentator that he was writing for the enlightenment of the common people, seem to indicate that the coins mentioned in the *Gaṇitasāra* were current during the period under review.

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From the *Gaṇitasāra* we learn that *Varāṭakas* were *cowries* (shells), and twenty such shells made one *Kāgiṇī* or Sanskrit *Kākiṇī*, also called *Boḍī*; 4 *Kākiṇīs* made one *Paṇa* and 16 *Paṇas* one *Purāṇa*. Of these coins *Kākiṇī* is probably the same as *Kākaṇī* of the *Arthaśāstra*⁸² or derived from it, which according to Kauṭilya was a copper coin. Kauṭilya also mentions *Ardha-kākaṇī*. Of the other coins the one called *Boḍī* in the commentary is of some interest, for a coin called *kapardaka-vodī* is mentioned in an inscription from Sergadh in the Kotah state of Rajputana, dated V.S. 1075.⁸³ While editing the inscription Dr. A.S. Altekar, who suggested the reading '*voḍrī*' instead of '*vodī*,' observed: "*Voḍrī* was equal to the fourth part of a copper *paṇa* and since the latter was equal to 80 *cowries*, *kapardaka-voḍī* must have been equal to 20 *cowries*." From the *Gaṇitasāra* we now find that Dr. Altekar's surmise was correct, but the word '*boḍī*' was probably in common use as it has been used by Hemachandra in his Prākṛit grammar.⁸⁴ As for *Purāṇa*, we find from lexicons that it was equal to 80 *cowries*; but, we have seen that according to *Gaṇitasāra* 16 *paṇas* make one *purāṇa*, so that one *paṇa* must have been equal to 5 *cowries* and not 80 *cowries* as stated by Dr. Altekar. Moreover in the *Dvāyāśraya* it has been explained by the commentator Abhayatilaka Gaṇi that 1 *kārshāpaṇa* was equal to 16 *paṇas* so that *kārshāpaṇas* and *purāṇas* must have been of equal value.

Taking all these evidence together, we can reconstruct tentatively the coinage of the period as follows:

1. *Varāṭaka* or *cowri*.
2. *Paṇa* equal to 5 *cowries*.
3. *Kākiṇī* or *Boḍī* equal to 20 *cowries*.
4. *Kārshāpaṇa* or *Purāṇa* equal to 16 *paṇas* or 80 *cowries*.
5. *Vimśopaka*, which means 1/20th of a coin, probably of *dramma*.
6. *Bhāgaka*.
7. *Rupaka* equal to two *Bhāgakas*.
8. *Vimśatika* equal to 20 *Rupakas*.
9. *Dramma*, probably a silver coin, value and relation with other coins unknown.
10. *Nishka*, a gold coin weighing 108 *palas*.

Of the *Surpa* of Hemachandra, and *Dināra* and *Ṭaṅkā* of Merutuṅga nothing more is known than what has already been stated. It may be added that the mention of *cowries* does not necessarily mean that the shells were actually in use as a medium of exchange; probably it was convenient to convert the coins of higher denominations into *cowries* for the purpose of calculation just as to-day all monetary calculations are done in rupees, annas, and pies, though the last mentioned coin has hardly been used in the present century and its minting has long ago been stopped, and now it is completely out of circulation.

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The *Lekhapaddhati* furnishes some additional informations regarding coinage, for in that work '*dramma*' is frequently qualified by the words: ⁸⁵ "*Śrī-Srīmālīya-kharaṭaṅkaśālā-hata-triḥparīkshita-haṭṭa-vyavahāramāṇa-jīrna-Viśvamalla-priya-dramma*."⁸⁵ The phrase means thrice examined coins struck at the mint at Śrīmāla which were current in the market; *jīrna-Viśvamalla-priya* means old coins issued by king Viśaladeva. But here we are faced with a difficulty, for one of the documents of LP which contains a variant of the above-mentioned phrase is dated V.S. 1288⁸⁶ when we know that Bhīma was reigning. As Viśaladeva did not ascend the throne before V.S. 1300, he is most unlikely to have issued any coin in the year V.S. 1288, and even had he done so it would have been impossible for those coins to have become old at that date. Hence it seems the mention of the date V.S. 1288 in that particular document is due to a scribal error, for in another document which also is dated V.S. 1288 the expression is, "*Śrī-Srīmālīya-kharaṭaṅkaśālā-hata-triḥ-parīkshita-haṭṭa-vyavahāra-vikraya-brachalīta-dramma*."⁸⁷ while in another document dated V.S. 1332 "*jīrna-Viśvamalla-priya-dramma*" is again mentioned.

It is however of interest to find that in the legal documents of the *Lekhapaddhati*, from which the above-mentioned phrases have been quoted, it was a part of the contractual obligation to make payments only in specified coins which it is particularly mentioned was current in the market. This probably indicates that there were coins which being of a debased nature were not accepted, but as both were legal tenders the mention of a particular coin was insisted upon as it was the only means open to safeguard the interests of the payee.

Exchange value of coins

From the frequent mention of *dramma* in preference to all other coins in the Chaulukya inscriptions and literature, it seems that *dramma* was the basic coin and the value of all other coins was adjusted in relation to it. The value of *dramma*, that is its purchasing power is however uncertain. It is known that during the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the name *dramma* was applied to both silver and gold coins in the northern provinces of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire,⁸⁸ and probably the same was the case during the Chaulukya period too. From the Timana grant⁸⁹ we learn that a daily grant of one *rupaka* and an annual grant of one *dramma* was made to a temple. From this it is clear that *dramma* in this case was greater in value than a *rupaka*, and most probably was a gold coin; for unless it was a coin of great value, it would have been ridiculous to grant one *dramma* a year. On the other hand we have seen Merutuṅga mention silver *drammas*. It seems also that the *drammas* which the sellers of madder and other herbs had to pay as sales tax were also silver coins as it cannot be

expected that by selling a small amount of madder one would make such profit as to pay his tax in a gold coin.

The value of a silver *dramma*, current during the Rāshtrakūṭa age was, according to Dr. Altekar, about six annas, and the ratio between the prices of silver and gold was about 1 : 14.⁹⁰ Probably the purchasing power of silver remained the same during this period, but due to Muslim loot of gold, its price in relation to silver might have increased.

Of the value of money in terms of commodities during this period we have no knowledge, nor do the records yield any data on which a plausible hypothesis might be built. About living wages in terms of money there are a few stray references. Merutuṅga while relating the rise of a poor man mentions that the man after the death of his father was obliged to accept a job at 5 *viṃśopakas* a day.⁹¹ The way Merutuṅga mentions the sum 5 *viṃśopakas* seems to indicate that he considered the amount to represent the lowest wage given to a man. If therefore we accept 5 *viṃśopakas* as the minimum daily wage of the period, monthly income of a labourer would be 150 *viṃśopakas*, and taking a *viṃśopaka* to be 1/20th of a *dramma* this sum would be 7 1/2 *drammas*. Now, in the *Cintra-praśasti* we find that the monk Tripurāntaka fixed the monthly remuneration of a novitiate at 9 *drammas* a month but it was provided that the novitiate (*vaṭuka*) would appropriate the daily *naivedya* which consisted of one *mānaka* of rice, and two *phallikās* of *Phaseolus munga* (*mudga*) of two *karshas* of clarified butter and other offerings which are not mentioned in detail. Thus the *vaṭuka* or the novitiate was doing rather well as he was getting 9 *drammas* and all his food; probably he could sell a part of his *naivedya* or he might have had to feed other inmates of the temple which is not mentioned in the *praśasti*. However, in comparison with the novitiate, the temple priest Paśupāla was faring ill, for his monthly remuneration was fixed at 15 *drammas* only, without any additional source of income. Probably Paśupāla supplemented his income by working as priest in other temples. It seems thus that the basic wage in those days was considered to be about 10 *drammas* a month which was probably just sufficient to maintain a single man.

Loans, Debts and Contracts

The facility to raise money and a legal machinery to obtain repayment constitutes an important element in the advancement of the economic life of a community, and we shall now examine how a loan could be obtained and how it was discharged, during the period under review. For this purpose we are entirely dependent on several documents found in the *Lekhapaddhati* (LP).

The idea of the liability to pay off one's debts was developed in India since the days of the *Rig-Veda* where once the poet exclaims:

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"Let us drive away the evil effects of bad dreams as we pay off debt".⁹² Then gradually was developed the theory of obligation (*ṛina*) towards this world, the next world (of *pitrīs*) and the third world (the world of gods); two more obligations of a similar nature were added later. From this MM. Kane concludes: "It appears to me that this theory of spiritual debts being already in the air, the same sanctity came gradually to be transferred to one's promises to repay monetary debts and carry out other secular engagements. The word *ṛina* had been applied both to spiritual and secular debts. It is on account of this that the son was not only desired for repaying the spiritual debt owed to one's ancestors, but he was also expected to free his father (if the father himself could not repay the monetary debt) from the liability he incurred to his creditor".⁹³

The sacredness of contractual obligation was not however rigidly observed, so that the *Smyitis* and the *Arthaśāstra* had to evolve an elaborate set of rules to control usury, mortgages and debts. Brihaspati states that the creditor should always take an adequate pledge or a deposit or a reliable surety before advancing a loan and should commit the transactions to writing in the presence of witnesses.⁹⁴ This dictum documents in the *Lekhapaddhati* all dated V.S. 1288, record several of Brihaspati, it seems, was followed in the Chaulukya period, for several model deeds of mortgages and loans in which various provisions of the *Smyitis* have been complied with.

The law of Dandupat

From two documents in LP called *Valitapatravidhi*⁹⁵ we find that a person had borrowed 300 *drammas* from another person. After some time the original sum together with accumulated interest amounted to double the principal (*dviguṇībhutāḥ*) and became 600 *drammas*. It was then that the present deed was drafted whereby the borrower mortgaged his mango garden to the creditor and it was agreed that the mortgagee would realise for the next six years 100 *drammas* annually and enter the amount on the back of the document so that he would ultimately recover 600 *drammas* after which he would return the garden to the mortgagor.

The interesting point in the above agreement is the fact that the creditor entered into an agreement with the debtor after the interest had become equal to the principal. Most probably they were following the rules laid down by Manu, Gautama and Yājñavalkya that "in the money transactions interest paid, at one time shall never exceed the double (of the principal)".⁹⁶ On this MM. Kane has observed: "As a debt was recoverable not only from a man himself but also from his three descendants and as therefore there was no period of limitation for bringing a suit for money lent, creditors had great temptation to allow

interest to go on increasing. Therefore the sages who condemned the profession of usury and particularly waiting long for the increase of interest (*Vivādashandra*, 2) laid down that whatever the length of time during which the principal was at interest and whatever the rate of interest might have been, the creditor could recover by suit in a lump sum only the double of the money lent. This acted as a great check on the creditor's rapacity'.⁹⁷

This limitation of interest to an amount not exceeding the principal is known in modern times as the rule of *dandupal* and has been acted upon by courts in India in modern times, and has been embodied in several acts.

The practice of writing on the reverse of the receipt the acknowledgement of part payments of a loan is also sanctioned by the *Smṛitis*, though it was also provided that the creditor might issue receipts for the part payments.⁹⁸ Nārada further laid down that if the creditor, though requested by the debtor, did not issue a receipt, he was to loose the balance of his debt.⁹⁹ Nārada and Bṛihaspati laid the further provision that if the creditor did not record (either on the deed or in a separate document) the part payments received by him, the debtor himself would be entitled to interest on the amount paid by him.¹⁰⁰

II. Usufructuary Mortgage

As examples of usufructuary mortgages we have two documents in LP called *Vṛiddhiphalabhoga* and *Gṛihādḍāṇakapatravidhi*;¹⁰¹ but in the second document also it is specifically mentioned that the deed is being drawn according to '*vṛiddhiphalabhoga*' which means enjoyment of usufruct.

In both the documents a man mortgages a residential building to induce faith in the mind of the creditor (*vyavahāraḥ kasya viśvāsa-nimittam*) for a sum of money (100 *drammas* in the first document and 400 *drammas* in the second) which was necessary for his use. (The first document has: *sañjāta-prayojanena* and the second: *sūya-samutpanna-prayojanavaśāt*). According to the first document the loan was to be repaid on the *Akshayaṭritīyā* day while in the second the period of mortgage is mentioned as five years. According to both the documents the mortgagee gets the use of the house without rent during the period of mortgage and it is stipulated that the mortgagor shall not have to pay any interest. This is according to the rule laid down by Manu (VIII, 134) and Kātyāyana that a '*bhogyā ādhi*' that is an usufructuary mortgage carried no interest but the profits were to be taken³ in lieu of interest and the debtor would in this case get back the property on paying the principal.¹⁰²

It was further provided in both the deeds that in case the building collapsed or got damaged in any manner, the mortgagee was at liberty

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to get the same repaired at his cost, which sum would be added to the original principal. Both the documents give a detailed description of the mortgaged property and the boundaries of the same. (The second deed actually sets out the boundaries, the first merely has '*grihasy-āghaṭā yathā*'). This was also according to Kātyāyana who laid down that a mortgage became valid only when such particulars as the boundaries of the field or house and the village in which it is situated are specified.¹⁰³

A further condition, only found in the second document, specifically lays down that the mortgagee cannot by transferring the present deed mortgage the property. In the absence of this provision in the first document it has to be presumed that the mortgagee in that case was entitled to sub-mortgage the property. The practice of sub-mortgaging a property was known in ancient India, but it came to be recognised rather late, and *Smṛiti* writers and commentators differed. Medhātithi on Manu VIII, 143, held that a mortgagee having usufructuary rights cannot by virtue of that section of Manu create a sub-mortgage.¹⁰⁴ Kulluka on the other hand held that it was a common practice in all countries for a mortgagee to execute a sub-mortgage and that Manu VIII, 143 did not forbid it.¹⁰⁵ According to Prajāpati, 'if the creditor pledged to another the thing already pledged to him... he should execute a fresh deed of pledge (or mortgage) and should hand over the former deed to his own creditor'.¹⁰⁶ We have already noted that the second document contains a specific clause forbidding the mortgagee to create a sub-mortgage by transferring the original deed of mortgage to a new mortgagee. Thus it seems that the system of creating a sub-mortgage by transferring the original deed to another person was recognised in Gujarat during this period, for it follows from the prohibitory clause in the second document¹⁰⁷ that the house mortgaged under the first document could be sub-mortgaged by the mortgagee.

Another condition of mortgage (only in the second document) provided that if due to any act of god, fire, excessive rain (*daiva-vaśād-agnidāhena ati-jala-pātād-vā*) the (mortgaged) building is burnt, or collapses, or is in any other manner damaged the mortgagor would have to repair it at his own expense. In case he was unable to do so, the mortgagee after informing him (the mortgagor) would do the needful and enter the expenses with details under various heads in the original deed and interest would be charged on this amount too. This condition probably follows from Manu and Yājñavalkya where it is provided that 'a deposit which has been stolen by thieves or washed away by fire, (the mortgagee) shall not make it good, unless he took part of it for himself'.¹⁰⁸

The second document contains a further clause under which the mortgagee was forbidden to turn any portion of the house into a granary or a store house for such articles as gram or salt, which in those days were probably considered to be 'hazardous articles', a phrase common

in a modern lease. If however the house became damaged due to the mortgagee's violating the above provision then he would have to restore such damage at his own expense.

These provisions are absent in the first document probably because the mortgage created under that deed was intended to remain in force for a short period, for the money was to be repaid on the (next) *Akshaya-tritīyā* day while the second document provided for a mortgage of five years.

III. Equitable Mortgage

From another document called *Gṛihaḍūlipatram*,¹⁰⁹ we find that the mortgagee did not enjoy the possession of the property and the mortgagor had to pay him interest at the rate of 2% per month. It is a small document with the further provision that the principal with interest had to be paid on the *Akshaya-tritīyā* day, and in case of failure of payment on the specified day, the house would be permanently (*āchandrārka*) lost to the mortgagor, (even if) he paid double the amount when the stipulated period of mortgage was over. This foreclosure of the mortgaged property after the expiry of the stipulated period of payment is sanctioned by Yājñavalkya according to whom ownership of a property in equitable mortgage (*gopya ādhi*) is lost to the mortgagor if the amount (with interest) has risen to double of the money lent without payment or if the period fixed for payment has passed away without there being any payment irrespective of the amount of the sum that might have fallen due.¹¹⁰ The express mention of the part of this rule of Yājñavalkya in the present document shows that to enforce this provision it had to be specifically mentioned in the deed.

IV. Mortgage of Chattel

From another document in the LP called *Ādhau-kṛta-vastūnām-upari gṛihīta-dravya-patra-vidhi*,¹¹¹ we learn that chattel could be mortgaged, and it was probably one of the means of raising money by the village cultivators. According to this document 8 she-buffaloes, 16 oxen, 50 cows, and 2 *phika* (uncastrated? bulls) were mortgaged for 240 *drammas* at 2% monthly interest probably with monthly rests (*vyājena māsaṁ śataṁ prati 2 chaṭanti*). It may be noted here that the *Smṛitis* recognise 4 kinds of interest, amongst which are *kālikā*, which is interest that accrues every month, and *kāyikā* which accrues every day.¹¹² Bṛihaspati and Vyāsa define *kāyikā* also as the interest received from a cow pledged, or the work put in by a pledged slave or bull.¹¹³ Though not specifically mentioned it seems that taking of both monetary interest as well as *kāyikā* at the same time was intended to be proscribed. We have also seen that in the case of a dwelling house where the mortgagee enjoyed the possession of the mortgaged building the mortgagor

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did not have to pay any interest. This difference in the conditions of mortgage was probably due to the fact that the building was situated in a city where the condition of loans was easier than in the villages where even now money is more difficult to raise than in cities.

The document then adds that the whole amount along with interest was to be paid on the *Dīvālī* day. In case the creditor was not present in the village on that day, it was to be paid to his coparcenary brother or son, the insistence being on certain payment on a certain date. The validity of repayment of debt to the absent or dead creditor's son or agnatic relations is also sanctioned by both Yājñavalkya and Nārada.¹¹⁴

The document, however, continues that if on the *Dīvālī* day the mortgagor failed to pay the principal amount of the loan along with the interest, or (even if he paid) a part thereof, the mortgagee would be at liberty to sell either for the whole or for the part due, the above-mentioned articles that is the chattel. The sale was to be effected according to the *śāka-panikā-nyāya*, that is like vegetables in the market, or in other words the animals would be sold in the open market at the best available price. But the mortgagee would only sell the chattel after informing the guarantors of the loan. (It appears from what follows that besides the securities there were personal guarantors to the loan). If proceeds from such a sale were not sufficient to meet the due claims of the mortgagee, then the guarantors would have to meet such claim (i.e. the balance) even by borrowing from others or by selling their movables. Were a part of the mortgaged chattel damaged or destroyed by an act of God, fire, theft, or too much rain, the guarantors would still be liable for the principal amount of the loan and other expenses and they (the mortgagor's guarantors) should not grumble on account of the loss of the mortgaged property. This provision is according to the *Smṛitis* which lay down that if a pledge is lost without any fault or negligence of the creditor, but through fate (i.e. like accidents like fire or flood) or the action of king, the debtor has to furnish another pledge or to pay the amount due.¹¹⁵ It should be noted that no corresponding clause protected the interests of the mortgagor in case any of the mortgaged animals died due to the negligence of the mortgagee; it is evident also from what follows that all the advantages of the contract were for the creditor for reasons which have already been stated.

As for the guarantors it is provided that for the purpose of fulfilling the terms of the contract the creditor and his guarantors were equally liable, and that the guarantors were to consider themselves as debtors (*pratibhūbhīr-ātmānaṁ dhāraṇikāṁ bhaṇitvā manasi kalpanīyam*). Moreover it is provided that when one of the guarantors is approached all would be supposed to have been approached, and when all are approached (collectively) each (guarantor) would be supposed to have been approached (personally), (*ekena sarve sarvairapi ekaḥ*) and when

any of the guarantors is approached (for the payment) he should not in reply point to the other guarantors. This stringent measure is according to the provisions of Nārada and Yājñavalkya who provide that if there "is a plurality of sureties, they shall pay each (proportionately), according to agreement; if they were bound severally, the payment shall be made (by any of them) as the creditor pleases".¹¹⁶ In the present deed of mortgage apparently the guarantors were collectively and severally responsible for the debt and the mortgagee could at his will obtain his payment from them collectively or severally from any of them.

Regarding the repayment of the loan we have already shown that it was to be repaid on a specified day and in case of the mortgagor's failure to repay on that date, his guarantors would be held liable for payment. It is further provided in that connection that the guarantors of the mortgagor should not (in discharging their obligation in case of mortgagor's failure to pay) quarrel with the mortgagee or have recourse to a court of law; (*dhāraṇikena pratibhūbhiś-cha vyavahāraka-samain vāda-vivādo rājakule na kāryaḥ*). Another clause in the same document provides that if the mortgagee is ever under the necessity of having the money back (before the due time) he, accompanied by the *Bhaṭṭaputra*, will approach the guarantors and obtain from them the principal together with interest; the expenses on account of the process involving the *Bhaṭṭaputra* were to have been borne entirely by the guarantors. It is difficult to understand the actual process from the legal phraseology of the document, but *Bhaṭṭaputra* is mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Ajayapāla, where it is stated that the *Bhaṭṭaputra* was a royal officer (*rāja-purusha*).¹¹⁷ Though the exact function of *Bhaṭṭaputra* was not stated in the epigraph, it appears from the present deed that he was probably a junior judicial officer whose permission was necessary to realise the payment of immature loans. This process was probably rendered necessary by the provision of the *Smṛitis* that a loan became payable only after the expiry of the stipulated period.¹¹⁸

The last part of the present document contains a clause whereby the *Ādhipālakas* are enjoined to effect the payment of the loan with interest to the mortgagee on the strength of the present deed, and for that purpose provisions are made for naming four *Ādhipālas* in the deed itself (*ihārthe amuk-āmuka-grāmīya-amuk-āmuka-jñātīya-amuk-āmuka-nāmāś-chatvāra Ādhipālāḥ*). The contingency under which the matter was to be referred to the *Ādhipālas* is not given in the deed. It seems therefore that the clause in question was to come into operation according to the following dictum of Kauṭilya: "In case there is an apprehension that the mortgaged property may be (depreciated in value or) lost, the mortgagee can with the permission of the *Dharmasthas*, sell the mortgaged property in the presence of the mortgagor. Or the mortgagee can with the permission of the *Ādhipālas* sell the mortgaged pro-

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perty".¹¹⁹ This *Ādhipāla* has been taken to mean a royal officer, but the way in which their appointment is mentioned in the deed, it is apparent that they were private persons acting as arbitrators, their only legal status arising out of their appointment in the deed. This leads us to believe that two courses were open to the mortgagee for realising his money; one was to approach the *Bhaṭṭaputra* who was probably the *Dharmastha* of Kauṭilya, that is a judicial officer, and the other was to refer the matter to the *Ādhipālas*, who were villagers and were intended to act as arbitrators in case the mortgagee wanted to foreclose before maturity alleging that the price of the mortgaged articles had depreciated, or some of the animals were ill and likely to die.

The deed then gives the names of the witnesses and then occurs the phrase which means that whatever is written in this deed, with additional word or words wanting in it, is to be taken as authoritative. It may be mentioned here, that this part of the deed is common to all the deeds that we have been discussing.

But the clause regarding the *Ādhipālas'* power of arbitration is only found in this document, the reason being probably that this deed related to property mortgaged by one villager to another, and like villagers of all times the parties wanted to refer any dispute to arbitration so far as was allowed under the law. But the deeds we had been considering before referred to mortgages of city properties, and the city dwellers being more legal minded did not insert the clause, so that in case of any dispute the matter had to be referred to the court.

V. Hypothecation without possession

From another document called *ṛiddhi-dhāny-āksharāṇi*¹²⁰ we find that a man borrowed 20 measures of wheat on trust or credit. It was not however an instance of simple loan for the debtor agrees to pay the creditor voluntarily 25 measures of wheat on the full moon day of the month of *Jyeshṭha*, after the thrashing season was over. It was also provided that the debtor's wheat was to be of good quality and was to be carried to the creditor's godown (? *pātāgriha*) in the debtor's cart. But this repayment of wheat was to be effected, according to another clause, after the debtor had paid the king's share (*rāja-bhāgād-datt-ānāntaram*), which shows that the payment of king's share of the crops had priority over personal dues. This probably follows from the rule laid down by Kauṭilya that the claims of the crown and a *śrotrīya* take precedence over other debts,¹²¹ and it is interesting to observe that section 56 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code makes government assessment a paramount charge on the land.¹²²

If the above-mentioned wheat was not returned by the debtor on the specified day, the debtor would be liable to pay in cash for the stipulated amount of wheat at the market rate ruling on the day the

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debtor received the borrowed wheat (*varṭamāna-mūlya-drammān*). There were two guarantors and both were equally liable for repayment of the loan. There were five witnesses.

It is evident that the contract under discussion was neither a simple loan nor an hypothecation since the essential element in hypothecation, namely the possession of goods, is absent. But it does not seem that the wheat would have been advanced in the first place unless the creditor was satisfied that the debtor had crops standing in his field with which he would manage to repay him unless there was a failure of crops for which contingency the creditor had himself protected. Thus a definite charge was created on the standing crops of the debtor, and as hypothecation without possession was known to *Smṛiti* writers,¹²³ it seems proper to call the present contract an instance of hypothecation without possession.

VI. Loans on personal security

Unsecured loans were given by the execution of deeds called *Vyavahārapatra* (LP, 33) which was an elaborate document and a smaller document called *Hastāksharāṇi*,¹²⁴ which was probably a forerunner of modern hand-note. But in both the deeds guarantors were necessary, and to that extent the loans were secured. Interest was charged at the rate of 2% per month.

VII. Unsecured Loan

The only instance of unsecured loan seems to be provided by the deed called *Sanmukha-hastāksharāṇi*¹²⁵ in which even the guarantors are not mentioned. The loan would bear interest but the rate is not mentioned.

Another document called *Sva-hastāksharāṇi*, (LP, 56) is more important from the point of view of inheritance than that of contract, but as it enables us to learn a particular aspect of the economic life of the people, it is included here. This receipt for 500 *drammas* is being given by a son to his father. The son states that he has taken this amount from his father in order to start a money-lending business, and that the money has been paid out of his coparcenary share in the ancestral property; hence the son agrees that in the event of division of his father's property at a subsequent date, he would receive 500 *drammas* less. There is provision for a guarantor and a witness.

It is now necessary to discuss whether the documents referred to above were actually in use during the period under review. For though all the documents mentioned above are dated V.S. 1288, that by itself does not constitute a proof of their antiquity. But it does not seem that these documents could have been of much use to anyone during the Muslim period. It is true that some documents in the LP are dated V.S. 1533, the year in which one of the dated MS. (in which the said

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documents are found) was copied, but this fact seems to indicate that the documents dated V.S. 1288 were actually copied in that year. It has also been shown that the documents mostly conform to the provisions of the *Smṛitis*, which is only to be expected in a Hindu administration. Another point in favour of the genuineness of these documents is the terse legal phraseology of the language. It must also be admitted that in a rich business community there must be some way of raising money, and the methods of such operations as revealed by these documents are quite reasonable. Finally it may be added here, that the documents of the LP are not modern forgeries; this is proved by the existence of several manuscripts two of which are dated V.S. 1533 and 1580.

We shall now consider the position of the guarantors, for it may be asked why a man willingly took upon himself the risky burden of the payment of another man's loan. At least that is the position of the guarantors as revealed in the documents of the LP. What then induced the guarantors to endorse the loans? The only explanation that can be offered is that probably the guarantors were relying on that provision of the *Smṛitis* under which a debtor was made to pay after three fortnights double of what the guarantor had to pay to the original creditor. But if the guarantor had paid without being pressed he would only get what he had paid and if the debtor reimbursed the guarantor without loss of time then he had not to pay double.¹²⁶ This applied to monetary loans, but in the case of grain, clothes, and liquids the debtor had to pay the guarantor three, four, and eight times respectively.¹²⁷

It is most likely that the provisions of these documents were enforced by the courts of law as prescribed by the *Śāstras*. These courts might have been under the jurisdiction of the *Dharmādhikaraṇa* which has been discussed under 'administration'. But a detailed discussion of the *Śāstras* alone is beyond the scope of the present work. According to Manu, Bṛihaspati, and Nārada,¹²⁸ there were five means of recovery, namely, *dharma* (persuasion) *vyavahāra*, (legal proceedings), *chhala* or *upadhā* (trick), *charita* (sitting down at the debtor's door) and *bala* (compulsion exercised on the debtor to perform some work or confining the debtor). That self-immolation or *kāya-vrata* was practised during our period is learnt from the Nadole inscription of Rāyapāla of A.D. 1141,¹²⁹ though in that inscription the word *kāya-vrata* was used in a different context than the realisation of a loan. In this connection the following story which al-Idrisi relates as an example of the Indian's love of truth and honesty is worth quoting: "When a man (Indian) has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt."¹³⁰

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But either al-Idrisi had heard a garbled version of the actual application of *bala* or treatment of a very different nature were reserved for the vicious creditors. While explaining the words *ṛinād-baddho nu kachchhapah*, used by Hemachandra in the *Dvyāśraya* (III, v. 40) Abhayatilaka Gaṇi informs us that it was one of the usages of those days that a creditor, unable to obtain payment, would take his debtor to a river bank where he would securely tie the body of the debtor with a chain and leave him exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. Because he was deprived of the use of his limbs temporarily, the debtor could not like the tortoise—the other creature to be found on the bank of the river—enter the water to assuage his thirst; hence the aptness of the simile used by Hemachandra. It appears from this verse of Hemachandra that debts were usually settled before or during the autumn.

The Merchant Community

The brisk commercial activities of the period resulted in some merchants amassing fabulous wealth. It was one of the peculiar customs of the period that a multi-millionaire merchant hoisted a flag on his residence known as *koṭidhvaja*. Highly exaggerated account of the wealth of a merchant is found in the drama *Moharājaparājaya*, but the testimony of the temples left behind by Vastupāla and Tejapāla, the leading merchants of their time, leaves one in no doubt of the vast amount of wealth possessed by some merchants.

Gradually the merchants came to exercise considerable political power. It is related by Merutuṅga that a certain merchant wanted to defray a part of the expenses of the construction of the Sahasraliṅga lake, but was refused that privilege by Siddharāja. Later, the same merchant took the advantage of Siddharāja's absence in Mālava, and accusing his (merchant's) son of the theft of a rich man's daughter-in-law's ear-rings, managed to pay a fine of three lacs, which sum was necessary to complete the work of the great lake brought temporarily to a halt on account of the paucity of funds. As soon as Siddharāja, however, came to know of the stratagem, he returned the money observing, "How could a man who has hoisted the ten million banner be a thief of ear-rings."¹³¹ This story shows that Siddharāja was unwilling to associate with a merchant in a joint undertaking or venture. Merutuṅga gives Siddharāja's desire for appropriating the entire religious merit of digging the tank, as the reason for refusing any help from outside. But the reason might be that the great Emperor wanted to keep a free hand in dealing with all classes of his subjects, and felt that if he took money for his pet project from any one of his subjects, he would not be able to maintain his dignity and impartiality.

A change of this worthy practice was perceptible during the reign of Kumārapāla who had probably come to the throne with the help of

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Udayana and his sons. Udayana was not only a Bania by caste, but was himself a merchant in his early days, and according to Merutuṅga it was due to his fabulous wealth that people came to call Udayana a minister.¹³² It is possible that Udayana was a junior minister with no influence during the reign of Siddharāja just as Vastupāla and Tejahpāla had been junior officials in the administration of Bhīma II before the two brothers' rise to political power. It is a peculiar fact hard to explain that these great captains of commerce and industry should ever come to occupy minor offices in the administration. However, to continue the story of Udayana, soon after Kumārapāla's accession he and his sons rose to fame. Part of their influence might have been due to Hemachandra's ascendancy over the king, for the great monk had been since his childhood associated with the family of Udayana.

But the greatest names in the Bania community are those of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, who came to occupy the position of the chief officers of state during part of the reigns of Bhīma II and Viradhavala. The exact status or designation of these two brothers would be difficult to determine, but of their great power there is no doubt even after making allowances for the exaggeration of the many *charitas* that have been written about them.

It should not be supposed, however, that the merchants in those days were a set of greedy adventurers out to sieze the administrative machinery in order to increase their ill gotten gains by yet more questionable methods. To-day it seems hardly believable that since the days of Megasthenes down to the period under review, the Indian merchants received unstinted praise from foreign travellers for their honesty. Al-Idrisi, while describing Gujarat, digressed in order to express his admiration for the honesty of the Indians in the following terms: "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagement are well known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition is prosperous."¹³³ Marco Polo bestows yet more generous praise on the merchants of Lāta—whom by a curious mistake he called Brahmins, instead of Bania: "I assure you that these Brahmins are among the best and most trustworthy merchants in the world; for nothing on earth would they tell a lie, and all that they say is true. Indeed, you must know that if a foreign trader comes to that province in order to do business, and is ignorant of the customs of the country, he seeks out one of these Brahmin merchants entrusting him with his money and his wares, and begging him, as he does not know the local customs, to look after his business and his merchandise, that he may not be cheated. Then the Brahmin merchant takes in trust the foreign trader's business, and deals with it so honestly, both in buying

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and in selling, and looks after the stranger's interests with such anxious care, that he could not do better were he acting for himself. Nor does he ask for anything in return for what he does, leaving it to the stranger to give him something out of his generosity."¹³⁴

To entrust the government of a country to men imbued with such traditions of honesty and efficiency was highly desirable, and there is hardly any question but that these merchant-princes turned politicians deserved well of their country. We shall, however, see later, that Hemachandra had no faith in the bonafides of the merchants.

CHAPTER XV

Religious Life

An attempt has been made in the following discussion to present an account of the religious activities of the Chaulukya period, including a description of the leading sects, temple building activities of the kings and the individuals—not only what we learn from archaeological discoveries but also from texts and literature of the period—rituals and festivals. It cannot be however claimed that such an account will be complete, for our information is not only limited, but is cursory and incidental. For example, we shall see later that Abhayatilaka Gaṇi—one of our authorities—relied largely upon the *Bhavishyottarapurāṇa* for explaining many Hindu ceremonies of Gujarat. Now, Hemādri in a neighbouring country was also largely depending upon the same Purāṇa for writing his celebrated work which was to become authoritative. It is therefore likely that some other festivals mentioned either in that Purāṇa or in the *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi* might have been followed in Gujarat, but such speculations being beyond the scope of the present work, only those festivals have been taken into account, which are either described or mentioned in a contemporary Gujarati record or literature. Similarly it is certain that Posadhavrata was observed by the Jainas during this period, but as the observance is not actually mentioned in the sources named above, it has been left out of the list of the Jaina festivals. It has also been necessary to consider separately the religious lives of the Jainas and the Hindus, for though the country was mostly populated by the Hindus, Jainas formed a very important and influential community. But as will be shown, the religious lives of the two communities had many common points of contact, and to bring into greater relief such aspects of similarity, they have been treated jointly.

The Brahmanical Religion

Various deities like Śiva, Durgā, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and others were worshipped though Śaivism was perhaps the most popular cult in Gujarat during the period under review. The epigraphs, the chronicles, and the most common *biruda* of the kings, namely, *Umāpati-vara-labdha* and the most common *prasāda*, show that almost all the Chaulukya kings were Śaivas, though whether royal inclination towards a particular sect is a sure index of its popularity may be questioned. But the great popularity and veneration enjoyed by Somanātha during this period show that royal predilection was based on a firmly rooted popular opinion. Śiva's consort Chāṇḍī,

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who is Durgā, was also worshipped during the autumn, but most of the great temples built by the kings were Śiva temples, though there were exceptions made in favour of other gods.

Temple building activities of the kings: Mūlarāja

The chronicles and the inscriptions record great temple building activities on the part of the kings. According to Merutuṅga, Mūlarāja I built the *vasahikā*¹ of Mūlarāja and the temple of Muñjala-devasvāmin in Pattana. Merutuṅga further relates that Mūlarāja used to go to Somanātha every Monday. Later he built the temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍali, which is evidently the Mūlanāthadeva temple to which Mūlarāja assigned the village of Kamboika by his Kadi grant.² Merutuṅga also states that Mūlarāja built the Tripurusha temple at Aṇahilapāṭaka, and relates that the king in search for a fit *tapasvin* for the Tripurusha temple went to a venerable ascetic named Kānthāḍi. Kānthāḍi refusing to accept the post informed the king that certain hell awaits the man who becomes the abbot of a monastery even so much as for three days only. Ultimately, however, one of the irascible ascetic's disciples named Vayajalladeva consented to become the abbot on condition that Mūlarāja supplied him daily with eight *palas* of genuine saffron, four *palas* of musk, and one *pala* of camphor for massaging his body, thirty-two women (*vāraṅganā*), a white umbrella, and a grant of land. Mūlarāja agreed to all these conditions and Vayajalladeva became the abbot (*tapasvi-bhūpati*) of the Tripurusha temple. Merutuṅga assures us that the luxurious abbot not only remained a true *brahmachārin* but once turned Mūlarāja's queen into a leper as a punishment for her venturing to test the monk's chastity one night. Later, however, Vayajalladeva was propitiated and restored the hapless queen to her normal health.³

This characteristic Merutuṅga story, from which the more startling details have been omitted, may yet possess some value as illustrating several curious practices of those days. Luxurious monks are common even now, and so was the institution of *devadāsī* only a few decades ago. What is important is that even a fervent Jaina like Merutuṅga admits that a Hindu priest surrounded by good things of life and women could still remain celibate, an ideal which was expected of him.

In the Kadi grant of Mūlarāja, to which reference has already been made, it is stated that before making the grant, Mūlarāja had worshipped at Rudramahālaya, which has been identified with the famous temple at Sidhpur. But it is difficult to accept this conclusion, which has been discussed below.

Chāmuṇḍarāja

Chāmuṇḍarāja is credited by Merutuṅga with having built the

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temple of Chandanātha and Chāchiṇeśvara. Chanda is a variant of Chandra, so that the first mentioned temple is obviously a Śiva temple. The temple of Chāchiṇeśvara however presents some difficulty. According to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi,—the commentator of the *Dvyāśraya*—Chāmuṇḍa had a sister called Vāchiṇi, but her name was probably given as Chāchiṇi in the manuscript of the DV used by Forbes. It is possible that the Chāchiṇeśvara temple was built by Chāmuṇḍa after his sister's name, and in the only manuscript of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* in which this temple is mentioned, due to scribal error, Chāchiṇīśvara (or Vāchiṇīśvara) is written as Chāchiṇeśvara.⁴

Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja

The next king Vallabharāja had a very short reign and could not erect any temple, but his brother and successor Durlabharāja built the temple of Madana-Śaṅkara, after the name of his deceased brother, who according to Merutuṅga, had the *biruda* of *Rāja-Madana-Śaṅkara*.⁵

Bhīma I

The reign of the next king Bhīma I is probably of the utmost importance so far as building of temples in Gujarat and Rajputana is concerned, for it was in his reign that the splendid Jaina temple on Mount Abu was built by his officer Vimala. Bhīma himself was not satisfied with less pretentious edifices, but to his eternal credit built the temple of Somanātha in stone after it had been destroyed by Sultan Mahmud.⁶ The other important temple built during his reign was the magnificent Sun temple at Modhera. According to Merutuṅga, Bhīma also built another temple called Tripurushaprāsāda for the welfare of his dead son Mūlarāja, as well as the temples of Bhīmeśvaradeva and Bhaṭṭārikā-Bhīruṇṇī.⁷

Karṇa I

According to Merutuṅga, Bhīma's son and successor Karṇa I, after defeating a Bhilla named Āsā of Āśāpallī, received an omen from Bhairavadevī (*Bhairavadevyāḥ śakune jāte*), and built at Āśāpallī a temple to the goddess Kochharabā.⁸ According to Forbes, this name is still preserved in that of a locality on the bank of the river immediately contiguous to Ahmedabad.⁹ Karṇa is further credited by Merutuṅga with having built the temple of Karṇeśvara, presumably a Śiva temple, at Āśāpallī, where he also erected another temple dedicated to goddess Jayantī. The same authority tells us that in Pattana, Karṇa caused to be built the temple of Karṇameru.¹⁰

Jayasimha Siddharāja

The next king Siddharāja built the temple of Rudramahālaya,

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which is said to have been one of the largest temples ever built in India.¹¹ Merutuṅga relates that after this temple was completed, "the king caused to be made figures of distinguished kings, lords of horses, lords of elephants, and lords of men, and so on, and caused to be placed in front of them his own statue, with its hands joined in an attitude of supplication, and so entreated that, even if the country were laid waste, this temple might not be destroyed."¹² But this pious wish of the great monarch was not respected by the Muslim invaders who demolished the temple, and even to-day a part of the magnificent temple of Siddharāja is being used as a store-house and a mosque by some Muslims.¹³

The next great achievement of Siddharāja was the excavation of the Sahasraliṅga lake which was so named because it contained a thousand Śivaliṅga temples around it. It had however other temples also which are recorded in a late work called the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* which will be noted later in this chapter.

Kumārapāla

Kumārapāla, the next king, is chiefly remembered to-day as a champion of the Jaina faith, but it should be remembered that he is called 'Māheśvara-ṇip-āgrāṇiḥ', that is the leader of the princes who worship Maheśvara, in the Veraval inscription. This epithet was certainly well deserved, for both the inscription mentioned above, the *Dvyāśraya*, and the other chronicles state that Kumārapāla restored the temple of Somanātha.¹⁴ Hemachandra further credits him with having built the temple of Śiva-Kedāranātha and of Kumārapāleśvara, being bidden to do so in a dream by Śiva.¹⁵

The *Dvyāśraya* of Hemachandra, and for all practical purposes, the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga come to a close with the reign of Kumārapāla, so that very little is known of the building activities of the successors of Kumārapāla. This does not mean that the Chaulukya kings stopped erecting temples; on the contrary the inscriptions of Bhīma II show that he kept up the tradition of his ancestors. From one of his inscriptions we learn that Sumalādevī, the queen had built a temple called Sumaleśvara,¹⁶ and another of his inscriptions reveals that his other queen, Lilādevī, had built the temples of Bhīmeśvara and Līleśvara. At Somanath, Bhīma built the Meghanāda, which according to the inscription of Bhāva Brīhaspati (BH. Ins., 208) was a temple. But Śrīdhara's *praśasti* mentions that Bhīma built the 'Someśvara-maṇḍapa' called 'Meghadhvani', which indicates that he constructed an additional hall to the temple of Somanātha. However, the greatest architectural monument of the reign of Bhīma II is Tejāhpāla's temple on Mt. Abu, where Vimala in the reign of Bhīma I had built his equally celebrated shrine.

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Besides the king, the feudatory princes and even private citizens built temples to increase their spiritual merit or that of their relations. Therefore, all the temples mentioned above, as well as those which follow, are in a way memorial structures erected to commemorate the builder or his ancestor or his near relation. Thus we find Lavaṇa-prasāda built the temples of Ānaleśvara and Salakhaneśvara for the spiritual benefit of his father Ānala or Ānā (Sk. Arjorāja) and his mother Salakhanadevi.¹⁷ Lavaṇaprasāda's son Virama built a temple called Virameśvara and obtained two separate grants from Bhīma II for the maintenance of his temple.¹⁸ In Talaja in Saurāshtra, the Mehr king Jagamalla made certain grants to several Śiva temples. Tripurāntaka, the Śaiva ascetic, also built several Śiva temples out of his own earnings at Somanāth.¹⁹ Tripurāntaka claims to have visited many temples from Kedāranātha in the Garhwal hills in the north to Rāmeśvaram in the south. Later he came and settled at Devapattana where the chief temple priest Gaṇḍa Bṛihaspati made him *Ārya* and *Mahattara*. The exact meaning of the terms *Ārya* and *Mahattara* in the present context is not clear. We know that Bhāva Bṛihaspati received the same titles from Siddharāja about a century earlier, and in an inscription of G. E. 61, the Śaiva ascetic Uditāchārya is called an *Ārya*.²⁰ D. R. Bhandarkar following the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* translated *Ārya* as 'owner', and was of the opinion that *Mahattara* denoted an office. But the *Cintra-praśasti* definitely states that "the illustrious Gaṇḍa Bṛihaspati visibly the husband of Umā, having made him (Tripurāntaka) an *Ārya*, appointed him sixth *Mahattara*". (v. 34) D. R. Bhandarkar thought that, as Tripurāntaka was the owner of five temples, *Ārya* of this verse could be appropriately rendered as 'owner', but it is difficult to see how Gaṇḍa Bṛihaspati could have 'appointed' Tripurāntaka as an 'owner'. It cannot be said that Bṛihaspati had paid the cost of the temples, for the inscription records that all expenses were met by Tripurāntaka out of his own earnings. Moreover, in the *Somanātha-pattana-praśasti* of Bhāva Bṛihaspati, (WZKM, III, 1) it is stated that, Bṛihaspati was appointed a *mahattara* by the king, and that "when he (Bṛihaspati) settled his boundary in order, in order to renovate the (sacred) place he made the number of five hundred and five *Āryas* (*pañchottaram pañchaśatīm Āryānām*) full." Bühler suggested that the verse refers to a settlement of new inhabitants, but, it seems obvious that Bṛihaspati was appointing a class of temple officials, and that he was the first or the chief *mahattara* while Tripurāntaka was the sixth. Hence it seems that *Ārya* like *Mahattara* and *Gaṇḍa* were ranks in the hierarchy of the Śaiva priests.

Tripurāntaka had erected five temples: the first was for the benefit of his mother and called after her Malhaneśvara; the second dedicated to Umāpati was in memory of Tripurāntaka's benefactor Gaṇḍa Bṛihaspati, whose wife was named Umā; this lady too was not ignored since the third

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temple was built for her spiritual welfare and called Umeśvara; the remaining two temples, namely Tripurāntakeśvara and Rameśvara were built after the names of the founder and his wife for the increase of their spiritual merits.

From the Kantela inscription of Arjunadeva's reign we learn that one Sāmantasimha erected an image of Viṣṇu called Salaksha-Nārāyaṇa to increase the merit of his dead brother named Salaksha.²¹ Thus we see that memorial temples were not only built by the Śaivas, but by the Vaiṣṇavas as well.

Besides these temples there were Śaiva monasteries, of which two are known from inscriptions. One of these monasteries was at Mandali and was in charge of one Vedagarbharāśi, who is called '*Sthānapati*'. One of the inscriptions mentions Vedagarbharāśi's son called Someśvara,²² which shows that superiors of monasteries in those days did not have to observe celibacy. The other monastery was at Arbuda under a Śaiva ascetic called Kedārarāśi.²³ The most remarkable fact about this monastery was that a woman could be its spiritual head, for one of the spiritual ancestors of Kedārarāśi, mentioned in the inscription, is a female ascetic named Yāgeśvarī (*tapasvinī vijayinī Yageśvarī*) or Yogeśvarī. The sister of Kedārarāśi, Moksheśvarī, an ascetic, (*brahmacharya-parāyanā*) herself had constructed a temple of Śiva.

*Śaiva Sects*1. *Lakulīśa*

The worship of Lakulīśa-Pāśupata was the most popular among the Śaiva cults of the period. In the Somanātha-*pattana-praśasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla, the temple priest Bhāva Brīhaspati is praised for possessing a body like that of Nakulīśa, that is Lakulīśa.²⁴ The same Brīhaspati also claims to have been a preacher of Pāśupata vows which at this period were indistinguishable from those of Lakulīśa. To the same sect belonged Tripurāntaka of the Cintra-*praśasti* which records some traditions about the origin of the sect. According to the Cintra-*praśasti* Lakulīśa, who was an incarnation of Śiva, first appeared in Lāṭa,²⁵ and four sons of one Uluka became his disciples: they were Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha, and Maitreya, and these four disciples gave their names to the four branches founded by them. Tripurāntaka belonged to the Gārgya branch. Tripurāntaka's claim that Karohana in Lāṭa was the birth place of Lakulīśa is supported by the *Karvan Mahātmyā*.²⁶ According to the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa*, Siddharāja built a temple of Lakulīśa.²⁷

The origin of the Lakulīśa

The origin of the Lakulīśa sect had been, till the discovery of the Mathura Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II, a matter of some controversy. But from that inscription it is now definitely learnt that in G.E. 61

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(A.D. 380-81) there was a Māheśvara teacher called Uditāchārya, who was tenth in descent from one Kuśika and fourth from one Parāśara. This Kuśika has been identified by D. R. Bhandarkar with the Kuśika of the Cintra-*prastiti*. As Uditāchārya was tenth in descent from Kuśika, the direct disciple of Lakulīśa, D. R. Bhandarkar concluded that Lakuli the founder of the sect flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D.

Who were the Lakulīśas?

According to R. G. Bhandarkar,²⁸ Lakula was the general name by which the Śaiva sects were called. This general name had for its basis the historical fact, noticed above, that a person of the name of Lakulin or Lakulīśa founded a Śaiva system corresponding to the Pāñcharātra system, which the *Vāyu-* and the *Liṅga-purāṇas* consider to be contemporaneous with it. The other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Paśupati whose incarnation he was believed to be. But Lakulin or Lakulīśa was the founder of the main Śaiva system which was the same as that explained by Mādhava as Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, and three other systems arose out of it in later times. These three were the Śaiva, Kālāmukha, and Kāpālīka.²⁹

Lakulīśa rites

The philosophy and the rites practised by the Lakulīśas are given in some detail in the *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* of Mādhavāchārya.³⁰ It is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss the philosophy of the sect, but as the rites practised by the Lakulīśas were somewhat peculiar, their description would afford an insight into a common religious practice of the period. *Vidhi*, rules of conduct of the Lakulīśas, was one of the most important part of their religion. Bathing their bodies thrice a day in sand, lying down on ashes, making noises like *aha aha*, singing loudly the praises of their god, dancing either according to the science of dancing or any manner, curling the tongue and roaring like bulls,—which noise was called *huḍukkara* or noise like *huḍuṅg huḍuṅg*,—making prostrations and circumbulations, repeating the name of Śiva, all these constituted their *vrata* or daily observances. But these strange acts were strictly forbidden to be practised in the presence of other persons. Moreover, the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas were advised to behave like mad men: pretend to be asleep while lying awake, begging for food, shaking the limbs as if attacked by paralysis, walking like a person with rheumatic pains in his legs, or like a lame man, exhibiting signs of lust at the sight of a woman, and doing other acts such as making meaningless noises like mad men. To get rid of fastidiousness they were enjoined to beg for food and eat the remnants of the dishes of others.³¹

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Chapaliya

The Śaiva sect mentioned in an Abu inscription of Bhīma II³² claims to have belonged to the Chapala *gotra*. As the region round Abu was a principal centre of Lakuliśa activities, it is quite likely to have been a branch of that sect. We have already seen that Lakuliśa followers were divided into *gotras*, and it is quite likely that Chapala was one such *gotra*. Moreover most of the names of the leaders of the Chapala *gotra* end in *rāśi*, which is known to have been a common custom of the Lakuliśa followers. The name *Chapaliya* is however peculiar and might have been related to the *Vātulatantra* mentioned by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*. This *tantra*, according to Utpala, contained the description of the rites according to which Śiva ought to be worshipped. The *Vātulatantra* evidently was the *Pāśupataśāstra*, from which it seems that a sect of the Śaivas were known as the *Vātulas*.³³

Other Śaiva Sects

We learn from the drama *Moharājaparājaya* (p 100) that when Kumārapāla was about to prohibit the slaughter of animals he was approached by individual members of four sects who requested the king not to enforce his measures. The four sects were: (1) Kaula, who advocated unrestricted use of meat and wine; (2) Kāpālīka, who ate human flesh from the skull of a noble man; (3) Rahamāna, who quoted Dhanika saying that there is no sin in eating meat; and (4) Ghaṭachāṭaka, who said that as there is no *jīva*, violence cannot be a sin, and quoted Bṛhaspati (Suraguru) to prove that there was no merit so that consequently there could be no sin.

Of these four sects, Kaula and Kāpālīka are well known branches of the Śaivas. According to some Śaiva *āgamas*, the Kaulas worshipped the *adhara-chakra*, the Kshapanakas worshipped the actual *yoni* and the *trikonas*, and the Kāpālīkas and the Digambaras worshipped all the objects worshipped by the first two sects. Both the Kaulas and the Kāpālīkas belonged to the Vāmāchāri group. According to Kṛishṇa Miśra, the Digambaras and the Kāpālīkas quitted all other countries and gradually settled in Mālava and the Ābhira countries which were inhabited by sectaries holding extreme views (*pāmara*).³⁴ By Ābhira country probably Saurāshtra is meant.

The Ghaṭachāṭakas, from the tenets which they are made to express in the drama, appear to be agnostics, and as they quote Suraguru, that is Bṛhaspati, it is evident that they represent a branch of the Chārvāka-*nāstīkas*.

The Rahamānas are difficult to be identified. They are made to quote Dhanika, but the identity of this Dhanika is not known. According to Abul Faraj (A.D. 988) there was a sect of Hindus in India whom he calls Rahmar(n)iyya. The Rahmar(n)iyya were supporters of the

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kings, their cult being rendering assistance to kings. According to Faraj members of this sect used to say, "God, exalted be He, made them kings. If we are slain in the service of kings, we reach paradise." Nainar suggests that Rahmar(n)iyya may be a corrupt form of *Rājānuma-raniya*, that is those who follow their king to death.³⁵ The similarity between the names suggests that Rahamānas might have been corrupted by the Muslim writer into Rahmar(n)iyya. It is also possible that the writer of the drama had corrupted the name of some foreign sect into Rahamāna. We know that during this period large number of Muslims and Parsis had settled in Gujarat. Did Yasahpāla mean the follower of one of those religions when he wrote Rahamāna?

Vaishṇavism

According to the Purāṇas, Dvārakā was the capital of *Śrī-Kṛishṇa* so that Gujarat may claim to be the home land of Vaishṇavism, but that cult had never taken deep roots in that country. None of the Chaulukya kings, with the single exception of Siddharāja, are known to have erected any temple to Vishṇu. Both the *Dvyaśraya* and the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* mention the temple of Daśavatāra or ten incarnations of Vishṇu erected by Siddharāja; according to *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* it stood on the south-west (*naiṇil*) corner of the Sahasraliṅga lake.³⁶ But thereafter the Vaishṇavas seem to have fallen from grace either in the closing period of Siddharāja's reign or in the early part of the next reign, for we learn from an inscription that Bhāva Brihaspati caused the grants of subsistence (*vrutti*) for the worship of Vishṇu to be restored.³⁷ But the worship of Kṛishṇa probably received a fillip during the reign of Sāraṅgadeva whose name indicate a Vaishṇavite leaning. The Anavada inscription of Sāraṅgadeva's reign shows that the Vaishṇava cult had become popular, and the quotation from the *Gīta-Govinda* at the beginning of the inscription probably is an index of the popularity of that work.³⁸

Besides the king, some royal officers are also known to have built Vaishṇava temples. The Dohad inscription shows that a minister of Jayasimha built a temple of Goga-Nārāyaṇa at Dadhipadra. In the next reign some further grants to the same temple was made.³⁹ In the reign of Bhīma II one of his officers built a temple of Keśava.⁴⁰ Some of these temples received grants from the customs-houses.

Worship of Vishṇu appears to have been popular but unfortunately monumental survey has, hitherto, failed to reveal but a few Vishṇu shrines, though images of Vishṇu and Kṛishṇa have been found. From the available images of Kṛishṇa it appears that the form of Trailokya-moḥana was popular. From the episodes depicted in the ceilings of Abu, Manod, Somanath, and Mangrol it appears that the popular episodes in Kṛishṇa's life during this period were *Kāliyadamana* and *Govardhana-dhārana*.⁴¹ Hemachandra in his *Dvyaśraya* mentions several incarnations

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of Viṣṇu and from the commentary of Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, it appears that the popular Kṛishṇa legends in addition to those mentioned above were the following: (1) the killing of Keśi by Kṛishṇa in Vṛindāvana, (2) Killing of Kāṁśa by Kṛishṇa at Mathurā, (3) the legend of the fish incarnation and the rescue of the Vedas, (4) the legend of Viṣṇu and Bālī, (5) the sport of Kṛishṇa with the cowherds on the banks of the Jumna where Kṛishṇa once killed a snake; Abhayatilaka Gaṇi further adds that during his childhood out of fear of Kāṁśa, Kṛishṇa used to live with Nanda at Gokula.⁴² These are all common stories from the Kṛishṇa legend, but their mention by Hemachandra and his commentator shows that the Kṛishṇa cult was popular in Gujarat during this period, a point which will appear later to be of some importance.

Images of Viṣṇu and his *avatāras*, sometimes the *Daśāvatāra mūrti* including Buddha have been found.⁴³ According to Hemachandra, Siddharāja installed images of Daśāvatāra (DV, XV, v. 119). The veneration for *Daśāvatāra* might have been due to the influence of the *Gīta-Govinda* which enjoyed great popularity during this period. A verse from the *Daśāvatāra-stotra* is inscribed as a *maṅgala śloka* at the beginning of the Anavada inscription of A.D. 1291. But it seems that the famous work of Jayadeva was well known to the commentator Abhayatilaka Gaṇi who wrote his commentary in A. D. 1255. For, commenting on a verse of the *Dvyāśraya* he explains *chhanda* as *Jayādevāḍi Vedo vā*.⁴⁴ There can hardly be any doubt that Abhayatilaka Gaṇi in mentioning Jayadeva in the context of metre was referring to the celebrated author of *Gīta-Govinda*, which had been written about half a century before the commentary of the *Dvyāśraya*. By comparing Jayadeva's work with the Vedas, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi was following the practice of the orthodox Vaishṇavas who describe the *Gīta-Govinda* as the Vaishṇava Veda, though we may assume that to a learned man like Abhayatilaka, it was the metre of the *Gīta-Govinda* which was really appealing.

The popularity of the *Gīta-Govinda* brings us to the question whether the erotico-mysticism made popular by Jayadeva had its followers in Gujarat during this period. We have already seen that the *Vṛindāvana-tīlā* of Kṛishṇa was popular which might have been due to the teachings of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, which also describes the dalliance of Kṛishṇa with the milk maids on the banks of the Jumna. Whether the *Bhāgavata* was responsible or not, later a form of worship of Kṛishṇa developed in which the devotee, even when he was a man, assumed the role of a female lover of Kṛishṇa,—in fact one of the milk maids of Vṛindāvana.

Apart from the popularity of the *Gīta-Govinda* there is evidence to show that there were followers of the *sakhī-bhāva* in Gujarat during this period. It is first indicated in a verse of the *Dvyāśraya* in commenting on which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explained *chhanda* as stated above; the verse is as follows:

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adhīyānair-dīnam api chhando nāgrāhi māṇavaiḥ

Gopīgītyā hṛid-odbhrāntaiḥ samena vishameṇa cha (DV, III, v. 7)

(Though the young students studied the metres (Veda or the works of Jayadeva et cetera), they failed to understand both the easy and the difficult verses as their heart was bewildered by the song of the milk maids).⁴⁵ It has already been explained that Abhayatilaka Gaṇi has equated *chhanda* of this verse with the work of Jayadeva, and it seems at first sight that his explanation of *gopī-gīta* is also uncommon; for first he states that the *gopī-gīta* was the song sung by the *gopīs*, and next states that the *gopīs* were the women who watched over the *śālī* paddy.⁴⁶ The only explanation that can be offered for this peculiar explanation is that probably any woman who sang a *gopī-gīta* assumed for the time being the role of a milk maid, in order to bring into full play the devotional aspect of the song which she was singing. It is however clear that we have Hemachandra's statement that during his days the heart of a young student was peculiarly susceptible to the *gopī-gīta*, which was during his time popular enough to be sung by the women folk of the farmers as they watched over the ripening paddy of autumn. This *gopī-gīta*, it is hardly necessary to point out, must have been the songs depicting Kṛishṇa's dalliance with the milk maids of Vṛindāvana, and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's interpretation of the word *chhanda* as the 'works of Jayadeva et cetera' occurring in the same verse does not seem to be entirely unintentional. This *gopī-gīta*, bears most probably an allusion to the celebrated song of the Gopīs in the *Rāsapañchādhyāya* of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* (X, 31).

But of greater importance for our present purpose is another statement of Hemachandra relating to this cult of *sakhī-bhāva* which occurs in the *Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita*, where he makes Vāsupūjya denounce the sect in the form of a question while delivering a sermon: "What dharma is there... of those who teach dharma by vows consisting of imitation of women?"⁴⁷ As almost in the sentence following the one quoted here Hemachandra makes Vāsupūjya denounce exactly in the same language the practices of another sect which can be easily identified with the Lakulīśas, who were quite prominent during his time, there is hardly any doubt that the sect which preached the imitation of women as a part of their religion was also flourishing during Hemachandra's time.

Evidently therefore, the cult of Krishna and the gopīs, which later found expression in the illustrated manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata*, the *Gīta-Govinda*, and the *Bāla-Gopāla-stuti* found in Gujarat,⁴⁸ were already popular to such an extent during the period under review as to receive a veiled censure from Hemachandra, which however, as later developments were to show, failed to have any effect in a country where was

situated the traditional capital of Kṛishṇa, visited as a holy place by all Vaishṇavas of repute.

It is however difficult to say whether the *sakhī-bhāva* form of worship of Kṛishṇa also included the recognition of Rādhā in Gujarat during this period. The popularity of Jayadeva's work, of which the main theme is a description of the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, would induce one to believe that Rādhā was already included in the Vaishṇava pantheon. It has also to be remembered that the Anavada inscription, which opens with a verse from the *Gīta-Govinda*, states that there was a stage (*prekshanikā*) in the temple for the benefit of which certain taxes were imposed. As *Gīta-Govinda* is a work which lends itself easily to be adopted for the stage, it is possible that it was actually performed in the auditorium of the temple. It is however not possible to conclude on this slender evidence that Rādhā was worshipped along with Kṛishṇa, even if we suppose that a play in which she figures prominently was actually staged inside a Kṛishṇa temple. But we like to point out that the exaltation of Rādhā is a distinctive feature not only of Jayadeva's work, but of *Brahmaivaivarta-purāṇa* and of the Nimbārka sect as well, and it has been suggested that the Rādhā legend which supplied inspiration to Jayadeva, Nimbārka, and the writer of the *Brahmaivaivarta-purāṇa*, must be traced to a source different and earlier than *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*.⁴⁹ It was probably during the 12th century A.D. that the Nimbārka doctrine of the worship of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa was becoming prominent in the south, and it is possible that the currents of Rādhā-Kṛishṇa worship set into motion by Jayadeva and Nimbārka met at Dvārakā, which formed then, as later, a great meeting place for the Vaishṇavas who flocked there from all over India. Hence though it cannot be definitely said that Rādhā was worshipped in Gujarat during this period, the possibility can neither be entirely ruled out.

It is however strange that though Gujarat included both Somanāth and Dvārakā, not a single great Śaivite or Vaishṇavite teacher was born in that country since Lakulīś's time. The honour of securing for Gujarat a permanent place in the history of mediaeval Indian culture, rests mainly with the Śvetāmbara Jainas, and particularly with Hemachandra.

Sūrya

Sun was worshipped in Gujarat from early times. The Mandasor stone inscription of Kumāragupta I records that a guild of silk weavers from Lāṭa erected at Mandasor in A.D. 437-8 a magnificent temple of Sun.⁵⁰ The same guild had the temple restored to its original splendour when parts of it fell into disrepair about thirty six years after its construction. As the members of the guild hailed from Lāṭa, it may be presumed that the worship of Sūrya was popular in that country.

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Burgess in his *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*⁵¹ mentions the discovery of many old Sun temples from the Gupta to the late mediaeval period, from Multan down to Cutch. Widespread prevalence of the Sun-cult all over Gujarat is substantiated by a number of inscriptions and the distribution of monumental remains of the cult at Modhera (11th century A.D.), Thana and Prabhāsa (14th century A.D.), as well as by the discovery of numerous stone sculptures of the pantheon.⁵²

The most important Sun temple of the period was the one at Modhera built during the reign of Bhīma I. Hemachandra does not refer to any Sun temple built by Siddharāja, but the *Sarasvatī-Purāṇa* states that by the side of the Sahasraliṅga lake Siddharāja had erected a Sun temple called the temple of Bhayalasvāmī. This peculiar name, it appears from the Purāṇa, was given to the temple because Siddharāja had pleased the Sun god by going to Vidiśā on the Vetravati river. Bhayalasvāmī may be reminiscent of Bhaillāsvami-*mahā-dvādaśaka*, the administrative unit mentioned in an inscription, but it is difficult to agree with the view that the temple must have had some connection with that district because of the phonetic resemblance between the two names. It is of course possible that Siddharāja had forcibly carried away a Sun image for his temple from Mālava. It should be noted that Bhāillāsvamī means Sun.^{52a}

From an inscription we learn that the famous Jaina minister Vastupāla had installed two images of Ratnadevī and Rājadevī, consorts of Sūrya.⁵³ In Kheralu, the chief town of the Taluka of that name, has been found an image of the solar deity with his consorts. According to the inscription on the pedestal of the central image, these sculptures were set up in V.S. 1293.⁵⁴ Several such images are to be seen at Pattan and other places.

The existence of a Sun temple in V.S. 1354 is shown by the Muralidhar inscription of that year, in which the *maṅgala* verses are in praise of Sun and two verses (vv. 20-1) refer to the attainment of Sūryaloka by a warrior, so that it is evident that the *braśasti* was composed in connection with the erection of a Sun temple.⁵⁵

Composite figures of Sun and Viṣṇu are known to exist to-day in such temples as that of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa.⁵⁶ It has also been held that Bāla-Nārāyaṇa and Rūpa-Narayana mentioned in an inscription might have represented the composite aspect of Viṣṇu and Śiva. While it is difficult to accept this view, it seems that Dharmāditya, for whom a swing was erected by an officer of Kumārapāla, was a composite figure of Sun and Viṣṇu, since Dharma is known to be one of the minor incarnations of Viṣṇu.⁵⁷

The prevalence of the large number of composite figures of Sun—both Chaulukyan and non-Chaulukyan—found in Gujarat, leads us to

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suggest that the deity in the Tripurusha temples erected by Mūlarāja I and Bhīma I were composite images of Sūrya, who is invoked in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (CIX, v. 71) in the following verse:

*Brāhmī Māheśvarī chaiva Vaishṇavī chaiva te tanuḥ
tridhā yasya svarūpantu Bhānor-bhāsvān prasīdatu*

(Brahmā's Śiva's, and Vishnu's bodies are the same as the body of the resplendent Sun whose special nature is threefold indeed. May the Sun be gracious!) A characteristic image of this nature is the three-faced and eight-armed seated composition which is found in a shrine dedicated to Sūrya inside the compound of the Limboji Mata's temple at Delmal, northern Gujarat. Of the three faces, that on the proper right is probably of Brahmā, on the proper left of Śiva, and the one in the centre of Sūrya (Vishṇu- or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa⁵⁸). Burgess remarks on this curious sculpture: "In one figure the four divinities, Vishṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā, or the Trimurti—with Sūrya, appear blended; or shall we rather say it represents a Vaishṇava Trimurti, with Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa as the central figure, seated on his *vāhana* Garuḍa?"⁵⁹

The worship of *Revanta*, who is described as the son of Sūrya in the *Purāṇas*, was also prevalent in Gujarat. This we learn from the Vanthali inscription of Sāraṅgadeva's reign which opens with an invocation to god Revanta. (PO, III, 26)

Ganeśa

Ganeśa was worshipped, but he was generally associated with some other god or goddess. In the Gala inscription of Siddharāja mention is made of a temple of Bhaṭṭārikādevī and a Vināyaka. Vināyaka is a name of Ganeśa, while Bhaṭṭārikā means a family deity, and Devī is a name of Durgā. Hence Bhaṭṭārikā-Devī seems to mean that the family deity was Durgā, along with whom Ganeśa was worshipped. The Talwara image inscription of Siddharāja is incised on the pedestal of Gaṇapati. (RMR, 1915, 2) Reference to Ganeśa is also found in the Muralidhar inscription referred to above, which begins with an invocation to Vighraharāja, i.e. Ganeśa. The inscription of Vastupāla mentioned above in connection with the installation of solar images, also records the erection of a *maṇḍapa* to the Ganeśa temple at Ghumli.

Śitalā

Śitalā, the goddess of small-pox, seems also to have been known. The disease from which Vallabharāja died is called by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as 'Śitalā' and from the description of the disease it is apparent that the commentator was referring to the small-pox.⁶⁰ This identification is confirmed by the statement of Merutuṅga who states that Vallabha died of *śīlī-roga* that is small-pox.⁶¹ There are also archaeological evidence in the shape of temples and images which prove the existence of this cult since at least the 12th century A.D. Thus at

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Modhera has been found a figure which is riding naked on an animal which is either an ass or a buffalo; the goddess has ten hands, the lowest two holds *akshamālā* (?) and *kamaṇḍulu*, while two others hold up a winnowing basket over her head; other hands are indistinct. Another figure apparently of the same goddess was found at Sejakpur where too the goddess is seated on an ass holding a winnowing basket over her head.⁶² These images correspond roughly with the following description of the goddess which Forbes found in a book current in his time: "She is naked, seated on a donkey, wearing a broken winnowing basket on her head with the pad of a water vessel in one hand and a besom in the other."⁶³ The association of the winnowing basket with Śītalā is probably responsible for the taboo still current in Gujarat of not holding a winnowing basket over anyone lest that person should be attacked with Śītalā, that is small-pox.⁶⁴

Saindhavi & other goddesses

Another goddess mentioned in the *Dvyāśraya* is Saindhavi, who was worshipped on a grand scale on Mount Abu. But it is not possible to identify her nor the goddesses Śrī-Mātādevī, Śrī-Vaḥuṣṣinadevī and Gharghari.⁶⁵

*Religious Festivals**1. Durgā Pūjā*

The worship of mother goddess Durgā is quite old and so far as Gujarat is concerned there is iconographic evidence to show that she was worshipped as Sarvamaṅgalā in A.D. 1150.⁶⁶ It has already been pointed out above in connection with the worship of Ganeśa, that the goddess Bhaṭṭārikā-Devī mentioned in an inscription represented Durgā a family deity. Bhaṭṭārikā is also mentioned in another inscription found in the same place. We also learn from the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* that Durgā was worshipped as a family deity during this period, and to Her the devotee went for omens.⁶⁷

The popularity of Durgā is also shown in the work of the court poet of the Vāghelās, Someśvara, who wrote a long poetical work called *Surathotsava*. The work is divided into fifteen cantos and the plot is the same as that of the *Saptasati* or *Devīmahātmyā* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*. At the beginning Someśvara addresses various deities devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavānī or Durgā. The story is then related in thirteen cantos and describes how a powerful king called Suratha lost his kingdom due to the treachery of his minister; thereafter Suratha was advised to propitiate Bhavānī in order to regain his kingdom and several stories of the restoration of fallen fortunes through the grace of the goddess is related, during the course of which is described the destruction of Dhumralochana and Śambhu, which indeed forms the principal action described in the work. Suratha then propitiated

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Bhavānī by means of his austerities and regained his kingdom where he ruled for a thousand years.

The *Surathotsava* and the other evidences cited above undoubtedly show that Durgā was worshipped at this time in Gujarat; fortunately we are in possession of better and more detailed description of Her worship during this period from which it appears that Durgā worship was not only popular but was the first of a series of religious festivities which started from the first day of the bright half of Āśvina and ended with the Divālī and the following day which was the first day of the new year. Most of this information is given by Hemachandra and his commentator, but other Chroniclers like Rājaśekhara, Jayasinha Sūri, and Jina-maṇḍana also supply useful details.

We shall first take up the story related by Rājaśekhara, Jayasinha Sūri, and Jina-maṇḍana.⁶⁸ All the three authors write the same anecdote, namely, that Kumārapāla, after he had prohibited the slaughter of animals, was approached by the priests of the temple of Kaṇṭheśvarī, the tutelary deity of his dynasty, who requested the king to allow them to celebrate Her worship in the normal manner, that is by sacrificing 700 he-goats and 7 buffaloes on the 7th of the bright half of Āśvina, 800 he-goats and 8 buffaloes on the 8th and 900 he-goats and 9 buffaloes on the 9th day of the bright half of Āśvina. Kumārapāla in a quandry asked Hemachandra for advice whereupon the monk told him to shut the animals in the room where the deity was, for one night. It was done and when the next morning the doors of the temple were opened the animals were found to be as alive as ever and Hemachandra satisfied the king, if not the priests, that the goddess was not really after the blood of the animals or she would have eaten them during the night. The story does not end here but for our purpose it has no further interest, for we learn that on the 7th, 8th, and 9th day of the bright half of Āśvina mother goddess was worshipped, one of the rituals being the sacrifice of animals. Al-Beruni has quoted a passage from Varāhamihira which indicates that during this time the image of Durgā was composed along with her two sons, Kshetrapāla and Vināyaka.⁶⁹

Kaṇṭheśvarī was most probably the goddess installed by Vanarāja in the immediate neighbourhood of his palace, presumably in Anahilapāṭaka. The worship of Kaṇṭheśvarī seems to have been popular with the Chāpotkaṭas for king Āgadeva of the same dynasty is also said to have built another temple of Kaṇṭheśvarī in Karkarā.⁷⁰ The Kaṇṭheśvarī mentioned by the three Chroniclers seem to have been the one at the capital.

The story of Kaṇṭheśvarī and the suspension of animal slaughter during her worship seem to be confirmed by Hemachandra himself, for we find in the *Dvyāśraya*—in the verse praising the non-slaughter mea-

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tures of Kumārapāla⁷¹—the statement, ‘*balimāpa na devatāpi*’, that is even the gods did not receive any *bali* or animal sacrifice. This is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as follows: *Chañḍik-ādi-devy-āpi nāpa na lebhe*, from which it is clear that the prohibition applied to goddess Chaṇḍikā. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that Kaṇṭheśvarī, the goddess mentioned by the three Chroniclers, was a form of Chaṇḍikā, and Hemachandra at the time of composing the verse had in mind the stopping of sacrifices at Her temple. Probably Hemachandra had a share in putting a stop to the slaughter of animals during the worship, which made him pass over in silence the whole incident. It may be noted here that three temples dedicated to Chaṇḍikā, and situated at Somanath, is mentioned in Bhāva Bṛihaspati’s *praśasti*. (WZKM, III, 1)

Hemachandra, or rather his commentator Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, has left a very good description of the Durgā-*pūjā* in which no animal was sacrificed.⁷² Moreover, Hemachandra has made it abundantly clear that the autumn (*Śarat*) was the main festive season of the year when the natural beauty of the country was at its best and the harvest was gathered.⁷³ Indeed the description of the autumnal festival in Gujarat during this period as depicted in the *Dvyāśraya* reminds one at once of the present day autumnal Durgā-*pūjā* and other religious festivals in Bengal, and it will be clear as we proceed that the two differed only in some non-essential details..

Hemachandra does not use the word Durgā-*pūjā*, but the word ‘*navāha*’, and in the course of his explanation of the word *navāha*, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi informs us that this *navāha* consisted of a worship which began from the first day of the bright half of Āśvina and lasted for nine days and was called ‘*navarātra*’. During this time Veda was chanted by the Brahmachārins, who used to lie on the bare ground and fasted till the Mahānavamī, on which day they completed the reading of the *pārāyaṇa*; then they read the verses in praise of Chaṇḍikā, evidently from the *Devī-Māhātmyā* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* from which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi quotes a verse to show that the worship of Chaṇḍī during the autumn was highly beneficial.⁷⁴ Abhayatilaka Gaṇi further informs us that a pitcher full of rich incenses like *kuṁkuma* et cetera and water was placed in front of a Brahma (Brahmā) image made of one hundred *darbha* grasses. (This worship of mother goddess where the image is replaced by a pitcher is still practised in Bengal and is called a *gṇaṭa-pūjā*.) On the Vijayādaśamī day this pitcher was discarded and the Brahmins or the Brahmachārins went to the houses of their rich *yajamānas*, that is persons who had paid for the worship; the *yajamānas* waited in their houses dressed in their best finery with fruits in their folded hands, and the Brāhmaṇas after chanting peace hymns

(*śānti-mantra*) sprinkled the *yajamānas* with blessed water (*śāntaye 'bhishiñchanti*).⁷⁵

In another verse,⁷⁶ Hemachandra uses the word '*mahā-navamī*', which is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as the 9th day of the bright half of Āśvina. Hemachandra states that on the day after the *mahā-navamī*—which his commentator informs us was the *vijayādaśamī*—it was considered auspicious to start for the eastern direction, it being considered auspicious to start for the western regions on all other days. This ceremony of starting for the east was known as the *śimalaṅghanam*.

It should be explained here that Hemachandra introduces this verse to describe the beginning of Mūlarāja's campaign against Grāharipu. It is known that during a later period the Hindu princes such as the Marathas started their campaign on the Dussera day which coincided with the *Vijayādaśamī* and represented practically the same festival. It is possible that the Chaulukyas too followed this custom, though they are not known to start on an annual campaign like the Marathas.

Indrapūjā

The *Indra-pūjā* coincided with the *Durgā-pūjā*. It is mentioned by Hemachandra in his *Dvyāśraya*,⁷⁷ where it is described at some length by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, but both of them state that the festival was held to get a good harvest of paddy. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says that a banner at the end of a long post was set up on the occasion which lasted from the 8th day of the bright half to the full moon day of Āśvina. To prove the ancient sanction of the *Indra-pūjā* Abhayatilaka Gaṇi then quotes from the *Bhavishyottara-purāṇa* and the *Varāhamihira-saṁhita*. But Hemachandra himself gave a description of the mythical origin of the *Indra-pūjā* in his *Trishashīśālākāpurushacharita*, where he states as follows: "Bhārata set up a śakra-finger made of jewels and made an eight day festival Beginning then and even now (that is during Hemachandra's time) there is an Indra festival celebrated by the people after erecting an Indra pillar."⁷⁸

Dīvālī

According to Hemachandra the fortnight which followed the Āśvina *pūrṇimā*, was known as *Dīpotsava paksha*, that is 'the fortnight of the illumination festival'. This *dīpotsava* is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as '*dīpālikā*'.⁷⁹ In his *Deśināmamālā* Hemachandra uses the words *dīvālī* and *dīpālikā* as the Sanskrit equivalents of the *Deśī* word *jakkharattī*, from which it appears that all the three terms were in use during his time. It may be noted here that *jakkharattī* evidently was derived from *yaksharātri* mentioned by Vatsyāyana.⁸⁰

Merutuṅga also mentions the *dīvālī* festival in course of an absurd story⁸¹ which relates how Siddharāja flew on the back of Barbarā

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to Kollapura in order to give convincing proof of his skill as a magician to the king of that place. From the rest of this incredible story we learn that in Kollapura the goddess Mahālakshmī was worshipped a few days before *dīvālī*, which is probably true as one of the *birudās* of the Śilāhāras who at that time ruled at Kolhapura was '*Śrī-Mahālakshmī-devī-labdha-vara-prasāda*'.⁸² It is learnt from the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* that Siddharāja had installed an image of Mahālakshmī on the bank of the Sahasraliṅga lake called Kollapīṭha or Kolla Tīrtha.⁸³ It is difficult to trace the origin of the name Kollapīṭha, but it may indicate some connection with Kollapura, where according to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja worshipped Mahālakshmī. But Kollapīṭha might also have been named after Kolladevī whose temple according to the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa*, stood on the same bank. However it is possible that before the *dīvālī*, Mahālakshmī was worshipped.⁸⁴

Al-Beruni has left a graphic account of the *dīvālī*. "The 1st Kārttika, or new moon's day," states the Muslim traveller, "when the sun marches in Libra, is called *dīvālī*. Then people bathe, dress festively, make presents to each other of betel leaves and areca nuts; they ride to the temples to give alms and play merrily with each other till noon. In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air is perfectly clear. The cause of this festival is that Lakshmī, the wife of Vāsudeva, once a year liberates Bali, the son of Virochana Therefore the festival is called Valirājya."⁸⁵

In this passage al-Beruni has committed the facile error of confusing the three festivals of which the last two namely *dīvālī* and *Bali-pūjā* succeeded without any interval; regarding *Lakshmī-pūjā* it has been already stated that probably Mahālakshmī was worshipped immediately before *dīvālī*.

Bali-pūjā

In the *Dvayāśraya* Hemachandra mentions the *Bali-maha* and we learn that the festivities in connection with *Bali-maha*—which is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as *Balirājyadīna*—was held on the 1st day of the bright half of Kārttika, that is the day following the *dīvālī*, which was also the last day of the year. However from the descriptions added by the Gaṇi based on the *Bhavishya-purāṇa*, from which he quotes freely, it is evident that the ceremony of the *Balimaha* started on the *dīvālī* night, though the real celebrations of the festival were held on the next day, which was also the New Year's Day. On the *Bali-maha* day (probably on the New Year's Day) the people put on their best garments and made obeisance to (elder) sisters (and mothers), and daughters-in-law made obeisance to their mothers-in-law, who blessed them with a mark of sandal paste and wished them prosperity and long life untrammelled by any danger.⁸⁶

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Summer and the Spring festival

Hemachandra in a verse of the *Dvyāśraya*⁸⁷ mentions two festivals which he calls 'summer (festival)' and 'dola' (*grīshmadolayohi*) and these two festivals according to him were held in the months of Phālguna and Chaitra respectively.

Grīshma-parva

In commenting on the verse mentioned above, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that the Summer festival or *grīshma-parva* was held on the full moon day of Phālguna, to drive away the demoness Ḍhunḍhā. The commentator then quotes from the *Bhavishyottara-purāṇa* to show that the festival originated when Ḍhunḍhā, during the reign of Raghu, was creating havoc (*upadrava*) amongst the children. Since then the custom originated according to which on the full moon night of Phālguna, the children were securely placed inside a room where they were provided with good food (*guḍa* and *pakkāṇna*) while their elders kept vigil outside the room. On the occasion of this Summer festival, adds Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, Somanātha was particularly worshipped by all sections of the people.

Dola

The *dola* or *dolā* festival was held, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra. On that day, he adds, Śambhu with Gaurī was placed on a swing with great eclat (*yatotra Śambhur-Gaurī-sahito mahotsavena dolāmāruroha*). Abhayatilaka Gaṇi then quotes from the *Bhavishyottara-purāṇa* again to show the origin and the result of observing the festival, and adds that on this occasion too, the *dola* festival of Somanātha was observed by all the sections of the people (*asmimś-cha parvaṇi Somanāthasya chaṭur-varṇair-mahā-vistareṇa dolā-mahotsavaḥ kriyate*).⁸⁸

From an inscription of the reign of Paramāra Udayāditya (EI, XXIII, 134) we learn that a festival (*parva*) called *Damanaka* was held on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra, and was undoubtedly the counterpart of the *dola-parva* of Gujarat. According to Hemādri, *Damanaka* was a spring festival when a branch of the *damana* tree was offered to Śiva or Viṣṇu with a prayer to either of them and to Madana for the happiness and the felicity of the whole household. (*Smṛiti-kaustabha*, 19).

The celebration of the *dola-parva* is also known from the prologue of the shadow play *Dūtāṅgada*, which was composed by the order of the court of Mahārājādhirāja Tribhuvanapāladeva on the occasion of the spring festival when the procession of the divine and glorious Kumārapāleśvara was celebrated on the occasion of the *dola-parva* at Devapatana, that is Somanath. Kumārapāleśvara was evidently the Śiva image

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to which a temple was dedicated by Kumārapāla, and this statement of *Dūtāṅgada* shows that not only was the festival observed in the famous temple of Śomanātha, as related by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, but it was probably a custom to observe the festival in all the Śiva temples, though the presence of the king and the court on that day at Somanath on that occasion would indicate that people used to gather at Somanath to spend the *dola* day at that holy place.

Regarding the performance of dramas during the spring festival, it may be mentioned here that we learn from the *Dhar-~~pra~~astī* of Arjunavarman that the drama *Pārijātamañjari* was acted for the first time during the Chaitra-*parva*, which is also called *Vasantotsava*.⁸⁹

Āmalaka Ekādaśī

The 11th day of the bright half of Phālguna was called the *Āmalaka ekādaśī*, and worship of Viṣṇu on that day was considered to be highly meritorious. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi then quotes the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* to prove the ancient sanction of this worship, but in that *Purāṇa* it is stated that the worship of Viṣṇu should be held on the 12th day of Phālguna; this anomaly the commentator explains by asserting that the *dvādaśī* mentioned in the *Purāṇa* really means that the *vrata* is to be performed on the 11th.⁹⁰

Minor Festivals

Hemachandra mentions the name of some festivals in his *Deśinām-amālā* (DN) but except generally for his cryptic rendering of the Deśī words into its Sānskrit equivalent, he does not give any further details about such festivals. From their nature they seem to be of minor importance in comparison to those festivals described already. Below we give the names of the festivals with the explanations as given by Hemachandra.

1. *Avayāro* (DN, I, 32). This was a festival held in the month of Māgha when one rubbed his teeth with sugarcane (*ikshu-danta-dhāvan-ādy-āchāraḥ*). This may be related to the festival of Ikshubhañjana mentioned by Vātsyāyana. Al-Beruni however says that, "On the 8th Asvayuja (Āśvina), when the moon stands in the 19th station, Mūla, begins the sucking of sugarcane. It is a festival holy to the Mahānavamī, the sister (sic) of Mahādeva when they offer the first fruit of sugar and all other things to her image which is called Bhagavatī".⁹¹ Al-Beruni probably saw the festival, but later got his details mixed up.

2. *Clhappantī* (DN, III, 25). This was a religious observance (*niyama-viśeṣha*) in which the picture of a lotus was drawn.

3. *Neḍḍariā* (DN, IV, 45). This was a festival held annually on the 10th day of the bright half of Bhādra.

4. *Polao* (DN, VI, 81). This was a festival held in the month of

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Āśvina in which the husband ate a cake received from the hands of his wife.

5. *Phaggu* (DN, VI, 82). Hemachandra says that *Phaggu* was the *Vasantotsava*. Most probably it was the same as *dola-parva*, which is described as *Vasantotsava* in the prologue of *Dūtāṅgada*.

6. *Bhāuam* (DN, VI, 103). This was a festival in honour of Gaurī held in the month of Āshāḍha.⁹²

7. *Bhūaṇṇo* (DN, VI, 107). This was a sacrifice in a ploughed land.

8. *Vorallī* (DN, VII, 81). This was a festival held on the 14th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.⁹³ According to al-Beruni the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa was observed as a holy day held in honour of Somanātha and the people used to feed the Brahmins on that occasion.⁹⁴ It seems that the two observances were related.

9. *Sugimhao* (Sk. *Sugrīshmaka*, DN, VIII, 39). This was a festival held in Phālguna and was probably the Summer festival held to drive away the demoness Dhundhā already described.

10. Three other festivals are mentioned in the *Cintra-praśasti*.⁹⁵ They are:—

1. A festival held on the full moon day of Chaitra.
2. A festival held on the full moon day of Bhādrapada.
3. Śivarātri.

The first festival is obviously the Dolaparva, and Śivarātri is of course the famous festival held in honour of Śiva even now. Al-Beruni states: "On the following night, i.e. that of the 16th (of Phālguna) called Śivarātri, they worship Mahādeva during the whole night; they remain awake, and do not lie down to sleep, and offer to him perfumes and flowers".⁹⁶

Besides these festivals some days were considered auspicious or particularly suitable for certain objects. They were the following:—

1. *Mahālavakkho* (Sk. *Mahālayā-paksha*, DN, VI, 127). This was the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada in which *śrāddhas* for dead relatives were performed. Al-Beruni calls the same period *pitṛipaksha*, and states that during this fortnight people distributed alms in the name of their fathers.⁹⁷ This was probably the *śrāddha-paksha* of autumn mentioned by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, who states that during this period a man was expected to live as a *brahmachārin*, and had to abstain from betels, tooth-brush (*danta-kāṣṭha*), oils for anointing the body or in cooking, woman, *osadhi*, and food offered by others. Here Abhayatilaka Gaṇi quotes a verse to the effect that if a man offered *pinḍas*, that is funeral oblations in Māgha his eldest son was sure to die.⁹⁸

2. *Akshayatritīyā* was also an occasion when funeral oblations were offered to dead relatives. In his *Trishashṭīśalākāpuruṣa-charita*, Hemachandra gives his version of the origin of the custom which he states

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continued to be observed during his time on the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.⁹⁹

3. The *ekādaśī* of Kārttika, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, was marked as the day in which Viṣṇu woke up.¹⁰⁰ Al-Beruni gives a more detailed description of the festival which is as follows: "When in the month of Kārttika the moon stands in the Revatī, the last of her stations, it is a feast day in commemoration of the waking of Vāsudeva. It is called *deotthini*, i.e. the rising of the *deva*. Others add, besides, the condition that it must be the eleventh of the white half. On that day they soil themselves with the dung of the cows, and break fasting by feeding upon a mixture of cow's milk, urine and dung. This day is the first of the five days which are called *Bhūṣma-pañcharātri*. They fast during them in honour of Vāsudeva. On the second of them the Brahmanas break fasting, after them the others".¹⁰¹

4. The Chāturmasī festivals are mentioned by Hemachandra and explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi. It may be mentioned here that it is a very old religious observance and is found mentioned in a pillar edict of Aśoka.¹⁰² With reference to Pāṇini's aphorism (V.I, 94) Pātañjali defines the term thus: *chaturshu māseshu bhavā Chāturmasī paurṇamāsī*, that is the full moon which falls after a period of four months is called a Chaturmāsī. The Kāśikā states: *Chāturmasī pūrṇimāyāḥ nāma Āshāḍhī Kārttikī Phālgunī*, that is the Chāturmāsī was observed on the full moon days of Āshāḍha (the initial month of the rainy season), Kārttika (the initial month of the cold season), and Phālguna (the initial month of summer). Abhayatilaka Gaṇi also explains Chāturmāsī as: *Chāturmasī nu yathā chaturshu māseshu bhavā Chāturmasy-Āshāḍhī Kārttikī Phālgunī vā pūrṇimā parvadinām bhavati*.¹⁰³ It is clear therefore that Chāturmāsī continued to be a festival held on the days mentioned above by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi.

4. While commenting on a verse of the *Dvayāśraya*, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi particularly mentioned four *saṅkrāntis* or last days of the month; they are Karka(ṭa), Dhanu, Makara, and Mithuna *saṅkrāntis*. But Abhayatilaka Gaṇi does not say whether festivals if any were held on those days. (DV, V, v. 56).

5. *Yātrā* or procession

From the *Cintra-praśasti* (v. 68) we learn that the image of Somanātha was taken out three times every year in a procession. The language used in this connection is *Śrī-Somanātha-prabhu-rāja-pāṭikā-traye*, which has been correctly translated by Bühler as the 'three royal processions'. The shadow play *Dūtāṅgada* also refers to the procession of the divine and glorious Kumārapālesvara held at Devapattana on the occasion of the *dolaparva*. The Kumārapālesvara was evidently the presiding deity of the Śiva temple built by Kumārapāla at Somanath mentioned by Hemachandra. The taking out of a Śiva image in a procession is a very

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old custom as we learn from an inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta that the custom was prevalent in northern India in G.E. 117 (A.D. 436-7).¹⁰¹

Jainism

The Jains received the support of the Chaulukya kings almost from the very inception of the dynasty. We learn from the Varunasarmaka grant of V.S. 1033, that during the reign of Mūlarāja I, Yuvarāja Chamundarāja granted one field of land for the benefit of a Jaina temple at Varunasarmaka which has been identified with the modern Vadsama in the Mehsana district. The inscription specifically mentions *Jina-bhavana*, *Jina-bimbam*, and *Jina-pūjā*, that is Jaina temple, an image of Jina, and his worship.¹⁰⁵

The next Chaulukya king who is known to have come into close contact with the Jains was Durlabharāja, the son of Chāmuṇḍa. According to a tradition current in the Kharatara-*gachchha*, a debate held in the court of Durlabha established this sect. This we learn from Jñānavimala, who, while giving the spiritual lineage of the Kharatara sect to which he belonged, states that the great Jaina monk Vardhamāna Sūri and his disciple Jineśvara defeated in A.D. 1024 the Chaityavāsins at a debate held in the court of Durlabha. After their defeat the Chaityavāsins in conformity with the conditions fixed before the debate took place, left the capital, and Durlabha pleased with the acumen of Jineśvara conferred on him the title of *Kharatara*, that is 'the very keen (one)'. When Jineśvara Sūri came to succeed Vardhamāna, the sect came to be known by the epithet conferred on its brilliant head by the king.¹⁰⁶

It seems that we have a reference to the same incident in a verse of the *Dvyāśraya* which may be translated as follows with Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's necessary explanations in parenthesis: "Being conversant (with) the categories of (Jaina metaphysics) he (Durlabha) paid homage to the learned saints; he repudiated the *ekāntavāda* (of the Buddhists) and thereby obtained purity himself".¹⁰⁷ Commenting on this verse Abhayatilaka Gaṇi—who belonged to the Kharatara sect—specifically mentions that Durlabha learnt the tenets of Jainism from Jineśvara Sūri, and though he does not mention the debate, it may not be too far fetched to assume that Durlabha repudiated the Buddhist doctrines after Jineśvara had exposed their weakness in a debate. If this assumption is accepted, and Chaityavāsins are taken to be Buddhists, then it may be said that the lingering influence of Buddhism came to an end in Gujarat by A.D. 1024.

It should be noted that R. G. Bhandarkar was of the opinion that the Chaityavāsins defeated by Jineśvara were members of a Jaina sect which advocated the propriety of residing in the temples. There might

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or might not have been such a Jaina sect at that time, but by Chaitya-vāsins, Buddhists might also be indicated. Though excepting for the commentary of Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, there is no proof of the existence of Buddhism as a living religion during this period, we learn from two inscriptions of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭa branch that Buddhism flourished in their realm upto the end of the 9th Century A.D. The first of these two inscriptions records a grant by Dantivarman, son of Akāla-varsha, to a Buddhist *vihāra* in Kampilya in Śaka 789;¹⁰⁸ while the second inscription records a grant by Dhruva, another son of Akāla-varsha, to the same *vihāra* in Śaka 806 (A.D. 884).¹⁰⁹ It is therefore not unlikely that Buddhism which was so powerful in Gujarat under the Maitrakas during the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D., should have continued to exist—a shadow of its former glory—for nearly another century and a half after the grant of Dhruva was issued, before its flickering flame was finally extinguished.

Of Vardhamāna Sūri, the preceptor of Jineśvara, it is known that during the reign of Durlabha's successor Bhīma, he (Vardhamāna Sūri) consecrated in A.D. 1031 the famous temple of Neminātha built on Mt. Abu by Vimala, the *daṇḍanāyaka* of Bhīma. It is further stated that shortly after the consecration of Vimala's temple, Vardhamāna Sūri died after having practised the vow of starvation.¹¹⁰ The erection of the magnificent temple of Vimala is a living testimony to the vigour and popularity of the Jaina faith in Gujarat in the 11th century.

Of the next king, the commentator Rājaśekhara (A.D. 1424) in his *pañjikā* on Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandaṭī* mentions that King Karṇa of Gujarat perceiving the holy dislike of cleanliness of the celebrated Jaina monk Abhayatilaka Sūri (a spiritual ancestor of Rājaśekhara) conferred on him the *biruda* of *maladhāri*. Peterson mentions a tradition according to which Karṇa became a disciple of Vardhamāna Sūri whose disciple Jineśvara won the debate in the court of Durlabha. But this tradition must be wrong as Vardhamāna died during the early part of the reign of Bhīma I.¹¹¹

The next landmark in the history of Jainism in Gujarat was the reign of Siddharāja when the Śvetāmbara doctrine became, so to say, the legal Jaina doctrine of Gujarat as the result of a debate held in the court of Siddharāja where the Digambaras had to acknowledge defeat. The incident is described in the contemporary drama *Mudrita Kumudachandra*, and is also narrated both in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Prabhāvākacharita*.¹¹² It appears that the Śvetāmbaras were actually much more powerful in Gujarat than the Digambaras, when a great Digambara scholar named Kumudachandra came from Karṇāṭa and challenged Devachandra Sūri to a debate. This Devachandra Sūri (A.D. 1086-1169) was the preceptor of Hemachandra and was the author of the famous work on logic, the *Pramāṇanyayaśattvālokāṃkara*, on which he

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wrote his own commentary called *Syadvādaratnākara*. Kumudachandra is stated to have vanquished in debate his opponents in many countries from Gauda and Vaṅga to Sapādalaksha and Karṇāṭa. Karṇāṭa was the home of the Digambara's of the south as well as the home of Siddharāja's mother Mayañallādevī. It is therefore not surprising that Kumudachandra should be warmly received by Siddharāja, who, according to Merutuṅga, walked some distance to receive the celebrated Digambara monk.

The popularity of Kumudachandra with the queen-mother was, however, short-lived, and if we are to believe Merutuṅga, it was Hemachandra who turned her against the Digambara monk, by having it explained to Mayañallādevī that the Digambaras would deny the validity of the good deeds performed by women, whereas the Śvetāmbaras would uphold it. We shall have to consider later whether Hemachandra was at all present during the occasion, but both the *Mudrīta-Kumudachandra* and the *Prabhāvākcharita* indicate that the position of women in the two sects was considered by the disputants, though the final defeat of Kumudachandra was due to entirely other considerations. It seems that the position of Kumudachandra became doomed as soon as his views—that is the accepted Digambara views—on the position of women became known, and even had he won the debate his sect would have had little chance in Gujarat.

The actual debate is said to have taken place on the full moon day of Vaiśākha of V.S. 1181 in presence of Siddharāja.¹¹³ The main antagonists were Devachandra Sūri and Kumudachandra between whom it was decided that if the Śvetāmbaras were vanquished they would adopt the views and practices of the Digambaras, but if the Digambaras were beaten they should leave the country. Requested by Devachandra to present his thesis first, the unlucky Digambara monk began with an invocatory verse which he is said to have ended unwittingly with the words: *Vāchaś-tato mudrītaḥ* (henceforth (my) words are sealed up).¹¹⁴ The debate lasted for several days and at last Kumudachandra unable to explain a point of Sanskrit grammar¹¹⁵ acknowledged defeat and was shown out by the back door or the door of ill-omen (*apadvārena*). It should be noted that all the accounts of the debate now available are from the pens of the Śvetāmbaras, and all these present an one-sided picture of the actual course of the debate. But of Kumudachandra's defeat there is no doubt. Henceforth the doctrine of the Śvetāmbaras became the paramount Jaina doctrine in Gujarat, though all the Digambaras certainly did not leave the country, as some of them are stated to have accompanied Vastupāla on a pilgrimage at a later date.

It is now necessary to discuss whether Hemachandra was present at this meeting and if so what part did he play. Of the three sources mentioned above, only in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* we find mention of

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Hemachandra in connection with this debate. Indeed Merutuṅga states that it was on the advice of Hemachandra that Siddharāja sent for Devachandra who was at that time living at Karṇavatī. But here Merutuṅga seems to have contradicted himself, as just before making that statement he narrates that Kumudachandra first went to Karṇavatī to meet Devachandra, and at the latter's hermitage insulted his sister Śīlasundarī who also was an ascetic. Devachandra thereupon asked Kumudachandra to go to Aṇahilapāṭaka and promised that he would face the Digambara in a debate before the king. Hence it appears that Hemachandra had nothing to do with arranging the debate between his preceptor and Kumudachandra.

Next Merutuṅga states that through the instrumentality of Hemachandra, Maṇallādevī was won over for the Śvetāmbara cause. It appears from the *Prabhāvakacharita* also that, Maṇallādevī had some influence over the final outcome of the debate, but the *Prabhāvakacharita*, which contains among others the biographies of both Devachandra and Hemachandra, does not speak of the latter as having influenced the queen-mother. Indeed from the *Prabhāvakacharita* it does not appear that Hemachandra had anything to do with the debate, for in the detailed account of the debate in that work the famous monk is not even once mentioned.

Next Merutuṅga relates how Hemachandra pestered Kumudachandra in a not too dignified manner till the exasperated Kumudachandra who was very old at the time, practically refused to hold further discussions with Hemachandra. But here again Merutuṅga makes the mistake of describing the age of Hemachandra as 'somewhat above the age of boyhood' (*kiñchid-atikrānta-śaiṣava*). But from all the available sources it is learnt that Hemachandra was born in V.S. 1145, and if the debate took place in V.S. 1181, as stated in the *Prabhāvakacharita*, then Hemachandra must have been a man of thirty-six years at the time. Merutuṅga does not give the date of the debate, but describes it after relating the conquest of Mālava by Siddharāja, which would place the debate to have taken place at a even later date than V.S. 1181. The reasons for these shortcomings in Merutuṅga's narrative is that his knowledge of Hemachandra's early life was very faulty. He did not even know that Chaṅgadeva after his preliminary initiation was given the name of Somachandra, and it was after he became an Āchārya that the name Hemachandra was conferred upon him. In view therefore of his conflicting statements, the fact that his statements regarding Hemachandra's action on this occasion is not confirmed by the drama *Mudritachandra*, which seems to have been a *piece d'occasion* nor by *Kumudachandra*, which seems to have been a *piece d'occasion* nor by the *Prabhāvakacharita* which contained the standard biographies of both Devachandra and Hemachandra during Merutuṅga's time, and in view of the fact that Merutuṅga's knowledge about Hemachandra's youth is

extremely faulty, his version of the debate, so far as it relates to the part played by Hemachandra, must be rejected. This does not mean that Hemachandra must be presumed to have kept himself aloof from such an important event, particularly when his preceptor was the chief Śvetāmbara disputant. He was probably present but took no part in the debate; the credit for winning the Śvetāmbara cause must go to Devachandra Sūri, which is acknowledged by Merutuṅga also.

Siddharāja also extended his patronage to Jainism by building a Jaina temple, and it is stated by Hemachandra that the great king went and worshipped at the temple of Neminātha at Ujjayanta where he prayed for a son.¹¹⁶ All the later chroniclers state that on this occasion Hemachandra had actually accompanied Siddharāja which is quite likely. We shall describe later the rituals performed by the king during this worship.

Hemachandra and Kumārapāla

The next king Kumārapāla was, according to all accounts, the greatest supporter of Jainism in Gujarat, and it may be said that it was due mainly to his support that Gujarat became forever a stronghold of the Jinas. But for this the main credit should lie with Hemachandra, and his brothers-in-faith; for it should be remembered that during this period the Jinas dominated the intellectual and the academic life of Gujarat, and had already thoroughly prepared the ground before its fullest advantage was taken by Hemachandra. The great success of Hemachandra was partly due to the reputation he enjoyed deservedly as the most learned man of his time, but his influence on Kumārapāla must have been to great extent due to his nobility of character which was free from any narrow bigotry that so often mars the nature of a sectarian preacher. The following verse which he is said to have composed while offering his prayers to Somanātha shows the catholicity of his views:

Bhava-vijāṅkura-janānā rāgādyāḥ kshayam-upāgatā yasya

*Brahmā vā Viṣṇur-vā Maheśvaro vā namas-tasmai*¹¹⁷

Lest this verse which is quoted by all his biographers should be considered as apocryphal we quote from another about whose authorship no doubt can be entertained since it is found in the *Dvyasraya: Tvam-Īśo bhavīnām Arhan, bhavān Viṣṇur-bhavān-Ajah*.¹¹⁸ The sentiments expressed in the two verses are so alike that it does not seem that the biographers of Hemachandra were wrong in ascribing the first verse to him. Hence the superb catholic sermons which Jīna-maṇḍana makes Hemachandra preach before Kumārapāla in which occur such noble sentiments as, "*Jīvo yatra śivas-tatra na bhedo śiva-jīvayoh*,"¹¹⁹ may be considered to be imaginary only in the sense that the speeches recorded by Thucydides are imaginary. For referring to the speeches in his work 'the father of history' remarks that, it was his habit "to make the

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speakers say what in my (Thucydides's) opinion was demanded of them by the various occasions."¹²⁰ The position of the Gujarat Chroniclers were, it seems, in this respect at least, more secure, for they did not have to invent speeches suiting an occasion, but knew not only from the living traditions but also from his writings as to what Hemachandra was most likely to have said on a particular occasion, and without any exception all of them have shown the 'Great Jaina Monk' to have been absolutely without any sectarian prejudice. This calm detachment, which came to him naturally in his fervent search for the absolute, raised him far above the level of his contemporaries—and indeed above the level of most of the preachers of any time,—and was, we believe, the determining factor in not only winning over Kumārapāla but in contributing to the faith he professed, a dynamic force which has left its indelible stamp in his country till now.

As for Kumārapāla, we have already discussed above his religious inclinations and tendencies, and have shown that most probably like Harshavardhana, while not ceasing to be a Hindu, Kumārapāla favoured and actively promoted the spread of another religion, in his case Jainism. Of all the extra-ordinary measures which Kumārapāla is said to have enforced, only the one prohibiting slaughter can be called peculiarly Jaina; the rest, such as prohibition of gambling, drinking, and certain other vices have been proscribed on ethical grounds by all religions of all times. However, if Kumārapāla issued any edict to enforce the prohibition of slaughter and the other vices in his realm, none has yet been discovered: the two known inscriptions of his reign which forbid the killing of animals on certain days were issued by his feudatories. One of these inscriptions records an order by Girijādevī, the *Mahārājñī* of Pūnapākshadeva, prohibiting slaughter of animals on the 11th, 14th, and the 15th days of both the fortnights that is the Jaina holy days; on the sacred day of the new moon even the potters of the city were forbidden to burn their pots. The violation of this order was to be punished with fines.¹²¹ The other inscription forbade slaughter on the 8th, 11th, and the 14th day of both the fortnights and was issued by the feudatory Alhaṇadeva in V.S. 1209; the punishment for violation of this order was 5 *drammas* for an ordinary offender and 1 *dramma* only if the offender belonged to the royal family.¹²² From this it would seem that prohibition of slaughter was a partial measure so far as the feudatories were concerned. But in the *Dvyāśraya*, Hemachandra positively states that even the (Hindu) gods could not be offered any animal sacrifice.¹²³ We have already seen that this statement of Hemachandra is corroborated by the later Chroniclers, and if their description of the number of animals sacrificed on the occasion of the *Durgā-pūjā* bears any relation to truth, it was just as well that Hemachandra had this barbarous orgy of slaughter stopped. However, Hemachandra further

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adds that even hunters and fowlers were forbidden their professions, so that in the reign of Kumārapāla 'acts of cruelty were no more', and the butchers received as compensations for the loss of their trade enough grains to last them for three years.¹²⁴ These statements of the *Dvyāśraya* Hemachandra reiterates with even greater emphasis in his *Mahāvīracharita*, the only work in which he has recorded a few facts about himself. In the *Mahāvīracharita* Hemachandra writes the following prophecy: "He (Kumārapāla) himself will give up hunting, which even the Pāṇḍus and others (pious kings of ancient times) did not give up; and all other people will give it up at his command. As he (Kumārapāla) has prohibited the harming of living creatures, there can be no thought of injury and other things like that; even a man of the lowest birth will not kill even bugs, lice, and the like (insects) Even the creatures which eat meat from their birth will, as a result of his (Kumārapāla's) command, forget the very mention of meat like an evil dream. Spirituous drinks will be prohibited everywhere The drunkards, who are impoverished because of their passion for intoxicants, will prosper again, after they have given up drink at his (Kumārapāla's) command. He will destroy the very name of the game of dice, which Nala and other princes had not given up, like the name of a personal foe. So long as his (Kumārapāla's) reign lasts, there will be no pigeon race and no cock fights."¹²⁵ In view of these positive statements of Hemachandra which are corroborated by the later Chroniclers, hardly any doubt can be entertained about the prohibitory measures enforced by Kumārapāla. However, the measure relating to the prohibition of the slaughter of animals could not have had any permanent effect, or Gujarat would not have been the famous leather and hide producing country that it was during Marco Polo's time.

Improvements in Jaina Church

We learn from both the *Prabhāvākacharita* and the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* that one day the royal *purodhā* Āliga in the presence of Hemachandra censured the Jaina monks for enjoying meals, which, according to the priest, were too rich for a man wanting to observe the vows of *brahmacharya* or continence. In reply to this accusation, Hemachandra is said to have silenced the priest by composing a verse on the spot pointing out the moderation of the flesh-eating lions in contrast to the erotic tendencies of the dove that lives on only feeble grains, implying that the type of diet is insignificant.¹²⁶ By comparing with doves the Hindu sages whose examples Āliga had cited, Hemachandra, or rather the Chroniclers, intended to silence the priest with a witty retort, but Āliga's main charge of the luxurious habits of the Jaina monks, which he said led to other immoral habits, was not denied by that clever pun. Actually there might have been some basis

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for Āliga's accusation, for in a late *Paṭṭāvali* of the Upakeśa-*gachchha*, it is stated that on the advice of Hemachandra and Kumārapāla the then head of the *gachchha* expelled those monks (*munis*) who neglected their religious duties (*kriyā-hīna*).¹²⁷ Possibly some laxity had entered the Jaina church and was suppressed by Hemachandra.

Building of Jaina temples by Kumārapāla

Kumārapāla, as we shall see, probably built many Jaina temples, but unfortunately none of them have yet been discovered, and we have epigraphic record for only one small temple. The Jalor inscription, which records that Kumārapāla was enlightened by *Prabhu* Hema Sūri, also record that upon the fort of Kāñchanagiri belonging to Jāvālipura, Kumārapāla built a Jaina temple containing an image of Pārśvanātha, and consigned the same in V.S. 1221 to the care of one Devāchārya for the dissemination of Jaina faith (*sad-vidhi*).¹²⁸

From the *Dvyāśraya* however we learn of two other temples built by Kumārapāla; one, which was called Kumāravihāra was erected at Anāhilapāṭaka, while the other stood at Devapattana. The Kumāravihāra was surmounted with gold encrusted with the gem Indranīla (saphire), and inside an image of Pārśvanātha made of crystal (*sphaṭika*) was set up.¹²⁹ In a passage in the *Mahāvīracharita* mention is made of a big Jaina temple erected by Kumārapāla near his palace,¹³⁰ which was probably identical with the Kumāravihāra mentioned in the *Dvyāśraya*. In another verse of the *Mahāvīracharita*, however, Hemachandra makes Mahāvīra prophesy thus: "In almost every village, he (Kumārapāla) whose wealth is immeasurable, will adorn the earth with a temple of Jina."¹³¹ As regards this statement of the *Mahāvīracharita* that 'every village would maintain a Jaina-chaitya', Bühler's criticism that Hemachandra was probably exaggerating as befitted the prophetic style seems to be correct.¹³² The statement of the *Mahāvīracharita* probably means that Kumārapāla had a large number of small public edifices erected, which apparently were not important enough to be given separate names, and besides these built the great temple at the capital—the Kumāravihāra—which Hemachandra describes in detail in the *Dvyāśraya*. Interpreted thus, the temples mentioned in the *Mahāvīracharita*, may still be reconciled with those mentioned in the *Dvyāśraya*, if we accept that in the latter,—which was certainly the earlier work of the two,—Hemachandra wanted to mention only the most noteworthy of the temples. The Kuvaravihāra mentioned in the Jalor inscription may be one of the small edifices erected by Kumārapāla all over his kingdom; for there is no doubt that Kuvaravihāra was a small temple, since the same inscription records subsequent extensions to the same temple by others.

Of the other chronicles, the *Prabhāvākacharita*, speaks, first of all,

of the Kumāravihāra at Anahilapāṭaka, whose foundation it ascribes to the minister Vāgbhaṭa; afterwards, it is stated the king ordered to be erected thirty-two small temples (*vihāras*) as penance for the sins of his teeth; he also erected an image of Neminātha in the temple of his father Tihunapāla (Tribhuvanapāla); he then had a temple built on the Śatruñjaya mountain; and finally it is stated that Kumārapāla adorned all *deśa-sthānas*, that is, the main places in each province, with Jaina-*chaityas*.¹³³ It will be seen that except ascribing the foundation of the Kumāravihāra to Vāgbhaṭa, the *Frabhāvacharita* agrees mainly with the descriptions left by Hemachandra, and the number of temples it credits Kumārapāla with having erected is quite reasonable and seems to have been in keeping with facts.

The next Chronicler, Merutuṅga, credits Kumārapāla with the erection of 1440 temples distributed all over the country. Merutuṅga then states that the king built the Mūshakavihāra out of repentance for having robbed a mouse during his flight from Siddharāja; again, during that part of his life Kumārapāla had received *Śālī karamba* (rice mixed with curds) from a merchant's daughter-in-law when he was famished, and out of gratitude to that benefactress built the Karambavihāra. Last of all Merutuṅga relates the story of the unlucky merchant who killed a louse that fell from his spouse's hair while that lady was occupied in the daily task of dressing her hair. The *pañchakula* whose business it was to see that no harm was done to living beings (*amāri-pañchakula*) luckily happened to be near, and having put the wretch under arrest, they immediately repaired to the capital where he was judged upon by Hemachandra for his commission of the atrocious deed. In accordance with Hemachandra's decision the merchant's property was confiscated and where the poor louse was killed arose the stately edifice of the Yūkā-vihāra, built with the confiscated property of the louse-killer.¹³⁴ As regards this story which Merutuṅga certainly thought to be highly edifying, it can only be pointed out that he is least reliable when he seems to be in possession of the most detailed information. This story which is also repeated by other Chroniclers who came after Merutuṅga,¹³⁵ seems to have been a favourite one amongst the repertoire of their favourite anecdotes about the great monk and his royal disciple; but it is so absurd that there is hardly any doubt that the statement in the *Mahāvīracharita*, that during the reign of Kumārapāla 'even a man of the lowest birth will not kill even bugs, lice et cetera', was taken too seriously by Merutuṅga, around which he wove a fanciful story to regale his listeners with a description of his country when it was really ruled by a Jaina king who in every respect followed the dictates of a Jaina monk. To the same authority we suspect can be traced the source of Merutuṅga's information about the number of temples Kumārapāla built. For the *Mahā-*

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viracharita states that Kumārapāla built temples in every village, from which it was not difficult for Merutuṅga to have arrived at the figure of 1440. However, it has to be remembered that Merutuṅga must have seen many of the temples erected by Kumārapāla. Hence though his description may be exaggerated, and his theory of their origin rather mythical, still his evidence is of value for it shows that Kumārapāla had built a large number of Jaina temples. Two other temples built by Kumārapāla are mentioned by Merutuṅga: they are the Sāligavasahikā, which was really a restoration of the said building, for, it was there that Hemachandra received his initiation; the other temple was the Jholikā-vihāra, or the cradle temple, which was built by Kumārapāla on the site of the house in which Hemachandra was born.¹³⁶

Of all these buildings which Kumārapāla is said to have erected none have survived, and only on the Śatruñjaya and the Girnar are there still exhibited Kumāravihāras, which however are much restored and contain no inscription. "In Cambay and Dhandhuka," Bühler stated, "they believe they know at least the sites where Kumārapāla's edifices once stood."¹³⁷ Even in the absence of any surviving monument, the literary evidence cannot be brushed aside. For of the three authors quoted above, Hemachandra was a contemporary, and the other two, namely Prabhāchandra and Merutuṅga might have indulged in certain exaggerations, when describing the number of temples built by Kumārapāla, but we believe that both were fundamentally right in recording that the king had built a very large number of temples. These might have been like the Sahasraliṅga temples of Siddharāja, small edifices, architecturally insignificant compared to Siddharāja's Rudramahālaya or the Abu temples of Vimala or Tejahpāla. What Hemachandra and Kumārapāla probably desired above all was not any ostentatious display of architectural skill but like Aśoka a means to propagate the faith, which is clearly emphasised in the Jalor inscription. Hence instead of concentrating their attention on a few grand temples, they probably built a large number of small temples or congregation halls all over the country, just as Hemachandra and Prabhāchandra state.

Ajayapāla

After Kumārapāla Jainism ceased to receive any state patronage. His successor, Ajayapāla, is accused by Merutuṅga, as being a rabid anti-Jaina who persecuted the Jains and broke their temples till he was brought to his senses by a joke dropped by a jester.¹³⁸ In dealing with the history of Ajayapāla's reign it has been shown that these uncorroborated allegations of Merutuṅga are most probably baseless *odium theologicum* aimed at the revival of worship by Ajayapāla of the Brahmanical deities.

Vastupāla and Tejahpāla

But the great days of Jainism were not yet over. If Jainism had lost the patronage of the kings, the support that religion received from the merchant princes like Vastupāla, Tejahpāla, and Jagadu was compensation enough for that loss. In a sense the withdrawal of royal favour proved beneficial to the Jainas, for it brought the rivalry between them and the Brahmins from the political to the spiritual and intellectual plane, and they were fully equipped to hold their own against the Brahmins. The great charitable works of relief undertaken by Jagadu during the famine which lasted for three years during the reign of Viśaladeva, must have also contributed to increase the popularity of Jainism during this period.

To-day the names of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla stand pre-eminent amongst the lay members of the Jaina church by the monuments of faith they erected on the heights of Abu and Girnar, and by the large number of biographies of the two brothers written by their contemporaries, mostly pious Jaina monks, and their eulogy by the Brahmin sycophant Someśvara.

Again in the case of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla we find that the literature of the period credit them with having built a very large number of temples of which but only a few survive; the rest were probably broken by the Muslims. But we have epigraphic evidence which prove that they built a large number of temples and shrines. Several temples built by Vastupāla and Tejahpāla are still standing. Of these those which can be definitely ascribed to Vastupāla and Tejahpāla now are the temples at Girnar and Abu. The present temple of Vastupāla at Girnar consists of three shrines; Mallinātha the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara is enshrined in the central, while in the shrines on the sides are Sumeru and Sameta Śikhara. There are six inscriptions embedded over so many doors of this temple which give an idea of the religious activities of the two brothers. The temple at Girnar is said to have been built by Vastupāla to increase his own merit and that of his wife Lalitādevī. The inscriptions then claim that Vastupāla and his younger brother Tejahpāla had by the year (V).S.(12)76 erected one crore of temples and renovated many old ones (*koṭirabhi nava-dharmasthānāni prabhūta-jīrna-oddhāraś-cha kārītah*) at great and renowned places of pilgrimage such as Śatruñjaya, Arbudāchala, and in prosperous cities such as Anahilapura, Bhṛīgupura, Stambhanakapura, Stambhatīrtha, Darbhavatī, Dhavalakka and many other places. Of these only at Abu the temple of Tejahpāla can be definitely identified.¹³⁹ The temple is dedicated to Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, and was built by Tejahpāla for increasing the religious merit of his wife Anupamādevī and their son Lūṇasīmha (Sk. Lāvanya-sīmha). There are thirty-two inscriptions in this temple of which three

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relate to the erection of the main temple and contain historical information of importance while the rest are small ones recording that Tejahpāla in the years following the erection of the temple (V.S. 1287) did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. These small inscriptions are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of Jinas and Tīrthaṅkaras, by Tejahpāla for the religious merit of the various members of his family, amongst whom was also included Tejahpāla's second wife, Śrī-Suhaḍādevī.¹⁴⁰

These are the two temples—one at Girnar and the other at Abu—which we know to have been definitely built by the two brothers. There are other temples notably at Śatruñjaya which are said to have been built by Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, but these have been renovated to such an extent that in the absence of any epigraphic record, it is not possible to identify them with any certainty.¹⁴¹

It has already been told that the literary sources ascribe to Vastupāla and Tejahpāla a large number of temples and other public buildings. It is said in the *Tīrthakalpa* that their public works extend to Śrī Śaila in the south, Prabhāsa in the west, Kedāra in the north, and Banaras in the east. It is further claimed that the two brothers spent eighteen crores and ninety lacs on Śatruñjaya, twelve crores and eighty lacs on Girnar, and twelve crores and fifty-three lacs on Abu, and that the total sum spent by them in public works amounted in all to three hundred crores and fourteen lacs.¹⁴²

In his *Nayanārāyaṇānanda*, Vastupāla himself says that he has built innumerable temples for the spiritual merits of his parents, sons, and other relatives.¹⁴³ That this is not an empty boast can be seen by the various structures Tejahpāla raised in honour of their relations at Abu. From the *Vastupāla-Tejahpāla-praśasti*, which seems to have been inscribed on a slab of stone in the Śakunika-vihāra in order to commemorate the gifts of Tejahpāla to the temple, we learn that Vastupāla erected an Indramaṇḍapa before the god Rishabha on Mt. Śatruñjaya with the temples of Pārśvanātha and Neminātha on two sides; and a *torana* on the temple of Śatruñjaya, a lake in Pāḍalīptanagari (Palitana) and Arkapālita-grāma. Vastupāla according to this *praśasti* restored the temple of Nābheya, Neminātha, and Stambhaneśa. He is also said to have built many other temples, wells, tanks, resting houses for *yatis*, gardens, and places for drinking water and supplied golden staffs to many temples. Vastupāla is also said to have consecrated the images of Pārśvanātha and Vīra in the Śakunika-vihāra at Broach and supplied twenty-five golden staffs to the *devakulikās* (small shrines) in the city.¹⁴⁴

According to the *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* written by Udayaprabhā Sūri, the *Guru* of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, it was after listening to the

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lectures of Vijayasena Sūri that the two brothers began to build a series of religious edifices—Indramandapa with temples of Stambhana, Pārsvanātha, and Neminātha on Girnar; images of their ancestors by the sides of the temple of Ādinātha on Śatruñjaya. Behind the image of Ādinātha, Vastupāla erected a *Prishṭhapuṭa* of gold, an image of Mahāvīra at Satyapura, and excavated a tank at Palitana. He built at Dholka a temple on the model of the temple at Śatruñjaya and the Pañchasara temple at Anahilapātaka. He also built the temple of Aśvātāra and consecrated therein the image of Muni Suvrata and excavated another tank in the village of Ankavilaya which was given over by royal order to the temple on Śatruñjaya. He also built many *pausadha-śālās*¹⁴⁵ and restored the temple of Pārsvanātha at Stambhana (Skamna near Umreth) and restored the nineteen golden capitals taken by Subhātavarman, king of Mālava, from the temple of Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi. At Dabhoi he installed images of Viradhavala and his wife Jayataladevī, as well as those of his (Vastupāla's) brothers, Malladeva and Tejahpāla, and also of himself.¹⁴⁶

The *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana* of Arisimha which was composed about V.S. 1285 also gives a long list of temples and other public buildings erected by Vastupāla. With the exception of a few minor details Arisimha's list¹⁴⁷ agrees with those of the *Vastupāla-Tejahpāla praśasti* and *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī*. From all these sources it becomes evident that Vastupāla and Tejahpāla spread their building activities over the following places: Anahilapātaka, Stambhatīrtha, (Cambay), Dhavalakka (Dholka), Śatruñjaya, Pāḍalīptapura (Palitana), Arkapālita-grāma (Ankavaliya), Stambhana (Skamna), Ujjayanta (Girnar), Darbhavatī (Dabhoi), and Arbuda (Abu). We have already stated that the Girnar inscriptions speak of one crore of new temples built by the two brothers and that the *Prabandhas* mention that three hundred crores were spent on constructing these temples and other public buildings. Both the figures seem to be equally fantastic, and might have been recorded due to the predilection for gross flattery on the part of Someśvara who was responsible for drafting three of the six Girnar inscriptions. Regarding the amount spent by the two brothers, it should be noted that none of their contemporaries give the cost of the temples. However, the list of temples and other public works built and undertaken by Vastupāla and Tejahpāla as described in the literary sources mentioned above are quite modest, and taking into consideration the various problems which the builders of the temples on Mt. Abu had to overcome, the number of temples which their contemporary authors credit them with having built or the tanks etc. which they are said to have excavated by them do not seem to be exaggerations. It is later writers like Harsha Gaṇī who give exaggerated figures.

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After the death of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla no great historical names came to be associated with Jainism. One of the reasons is undoubtedly that public works on similar scale were not undertaken by anyone else; the other reason is the paucity of literature. Vastupāla was not only a great builder, he was a great patron of literature and possessed considerable literary gifts. Hence a large number of his biographies were written by his contemporaries, which in their turn provided inspiration for the later writers. However, by the time Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla died, Jainism had taken sufficiently deep roots in Gujarat and southern Rajputana to exist as a strong religious force even up to the present day.

Effect of Jainism

It is necessary to emphasise here that mediaeval Jainism inspite of its intense insistence on *ahiṃsā* did not denude its lay followers of martial spirit. Most illuminating is a sermon of the Jaina teacher Simhanādi Āchārya to two Gaṅga princes, preserved in an inscription of A.D. 1122, where the Jaina Āchārya after giving the princes various counsels on moral and worldly affairs solemnly warned them that "if they fled from the battle fie'd, their race would go to ruin".¹⁴⁸ *Krishṇavarman*, an early Kadamba king, though a Jaina had the title of *raṇa-priya*. Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I and his general Baṅkeya were both Jainas, but both of them were great conquerors.¹⁴⁹ The sentiment of Hemachandra regarding warfare was also unequivocal: in a beautiful Prakrit distich composed by Hemachandra a damsel rejoices that her lover has fallen bravely in the field, hers would have been the shame had he returned dishonoured.¹⁵⁰ Similarly when Vastupāla was once besieged by troops, Rājasekhara made the great Jaina minister declaim a verse which is reminiscent of one of the most fighting verses of *Bhagavad-Gītā*.¹⁵¹ Indeed all the biographers of Vastupāla—most of them Jainas—have stressed his great qualities as a soldier, and we should remember that one of the biographers was Udayaprabhā Sūri, the religious preceptor of Vastupāla. Amarachandra, a pupil of Arisimha, was so much taken by the martial qualities of Vastupāla, that he took the unusual liberty of adding after the first canto of *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana* (Song of Pious Deeds) of his master the following verse: "They call him (Vastupāla) a Jaina; but the illustrious minister Vastupāla is also devoted to Śiva. He washed the master who wears the form of air (i.e. goes naked) with the water of shining fame which he took from Śaṅkha".¹⁵² Amarachandra does not probably mean that Vastupāla had turned a Śaiva,¹⁵³ but the word Śaiva, used to emphasise his patrons warlike qualities, may mean that Vastupāla had regard for Śiva as has been shown below. Amarachandra again adds at the end of the 8th canto: "Thy sword, illustrious Vastupāla, beautiful in rising and brandishing, valiant in

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deed, defeated in the world that Saṅgrāmasiṃha".¹⁵⁴ These quotations from the literature of the period show that so far as the Jaina teachers were concerned they did not deny war as a policy of the state, and the manner in which Hemachandra and other Jaina Chroniclers have described battles—withstanding that many of those were purely imaginary—show that they had no particular abhorrence for armed combat. In human history only religion has seldom determined the destiny of a nation; if Gujarat was ultimately conquered by the Muslims, the activities of the Jaina teachers can in no wise be held responsible for her fall.

Jaina Festivals

An important festival of the Jainas during this period consisted of a procession carrying the image of the Arhat in cars. From the *Mahāvīra-charita* of Hemachandra we learn that Kumārapāla caused the statues of Arhat to be borne in procession in cars, in every village and town.¹⁵⁵ From this Bühler concluded that the king did not himself institute Jaina *ratha-yātrā* in all places, but he gave permission to celebrate these to the small communities throughout the country. "As is well known," observed Bühler, "Indians are never so enthusiastic as when they carry in public processions images of gods placed on high cars. Now the minority sects are, whenever possible, prevented to carry on their *yātrās* by those in majority and particularly the Jainas suffer in this respect from the pressure of other sects. Even in recent years there took place a keen fight in Delhi between the Vaiṣṇavas and the Digambaras on account of the *ratha-yātrā* which the latter wanted to organise. There is no doubt that during the time of the orthodox kings, the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat were not permitted to exhibit their divine images in public and that Kumārapāla was the first king to grant that privilege to them".¹⁵⁶ We have, however, already shown that the Jainas received favourable treatment from the Chaulukya kings from the time of Mūlarāja I, and it will be shown later that close ties of amity cemented the relation between the two communities, so that Bühler's conclusion on the development of *ratha-yātrā* cannot be accepted in full. Kumārapāla might have been the first king of the dynasty to have organised the festival throughout Gujarat and southern Rajputana, but it is difficult to believe that the privilege of taking out a procession was withheld from the Jainas by his predecessors. What is most likely is that the *ratha-yātrā* festival was being observed by the Jainas for a long time, but it was Hemachandra and Kumārapāla who understood its efficacy as a means of popularising Jainism, and organised the procession on a national scale. The *Gujari-jātrā* which was evidently a festival and is found mentioned in connection with the worship of Śāntinātha-deva in a Jaina temple inscription from Marwar of V.S. 1233,¹⁵⁷ might

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have been a procession of Śāntināthadeva, which was called *Gujarī-jārā*, because the ceremony of procession was introduced in Gujarat by Kumārapāla.

Ashṭāhikā

Another important Jaina festival was the *Ashṭāhikā*, so named because it lasted for eight days, and seems to have been a very old religious festival. Details of *Ashṭāhikā* are given in an inscription of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla;¹⁵⁸ this inscription is dated V.S. 1287 and contains the official record of the creation of the temple of Neminātha (Lūṇasiṃha-vasahikā), regulations for the festival of *Ashṭāhikā*, and other details. Lines 9-25 contain the rules for the festivals to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. The festival was to begin on the third day of the dark half of Chaitra, which was holy to the god (*devakiya*), and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping et cetera were to be performed by the layman (*śrāvaka*) of Chandrāvātī, and each day was entrusted to a certain local community, members of which are specifically named in the inscription. Added to the names of the lay members are in each case the names of the father and *jñāti*. About half of the *śrāvakas* belonged to the Prāgvāta *jñāti*, the rest was divided between the Ūsavālas (Oswals), the Śrīmalas, and few Dharkatas. The preponderance of the Prāgvātas amongst the trustees in charge of the festival was evidently due to the fact that both Tejaḥpāla and Anupamādevī, Tejaḥpāla's wife, were Prāgvātas.

Here it should be pointed out that the trustees mentioned above were appointed to supervise the *Ashṭāhikā* ceremony only. The supervision of the daily worship was entrusted to a committee (*goshṭhi*) composed of the brothers Malladeva, Vastupāla, Tejaḥpāla and their descendants, as well as by all the members of the family of Lūṇasiṃha's mother (Anupamādevī) and their descendants. An entirely separate committee composed of local notables, including Hindus, were in charge of the maintenance of the temple.

Pañcha Kalyāṇika

The same inscription informs us of another festival called *pañcha-kalyāṇika*. This consisted of the ceremonies of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment, and final deliverance of the saint. These occasions in the life of Neminātha were to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the lay members residing at Deulvada on the holy mountain of Abu.

It may be pointed out here that the management of temples by *goshṭhis* was not an essentially Jaina feature, for we find that a *goshṭhi*

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of nine men were appointed to look after the two Śiva temples mentioned in the Timana grant of the reign of Bhīma II.¹⁵⁹

Dīvālī and Theatricals

Jaina *dīvālī* is a very old festival and it has not yet been possible to determine whether it was observed before or after the Hindu *dīvālī* was introduced.¹⁶⁰ However, *dīvālī* was observed by the Jains during the period under review, for we learn from the last part of the Jalor inscription dated V.S. 1268 that on the day of the lamp festival (*dīpotsava-dīne*), the ceremony of placing a golden cupola on the central hall intended for dramatic purposes (*abhinava-nishpanna-prekshā-madhyamaṇḍape*) was carried out. At present, next to *pañjūsana*, *dīvālī* is considered to be the greatest of all the sacred seasons by the Jains, and it has been assumed that the Jaina *dīvālī* has derived its importance from the significance of wealth to a mercantile community and is really a Hindu festival in honour of Lakshmī. But according to the Jains, the festival originated when Mahāvīra passed to *moksha* and the eighteen confederate kings and others who were present at his passing instituted an illumination saying: "Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter". The festival at present continues for four days, ending on the 1st day of Kārttika, which is the actual *dīvālī* day on which illuminations are done.¹⁶¹ Hence the *dīpotsava-dīna* of the Jalor inscription was probably the 1st of Kārttika.

As for the theatricals, we have already seen that the Jalor inscription mentioned above records that a cupola was placed on the newly made central hall intended for dramatic purposes, there being hardly any doubt that *prekshā-maṇḍapa* was a theatre auditorium. The mention of a theatre hall in a Jaina temple is very interesting and shows yet another point of resemblance with the Hindu rituals, as we learn from the Anavada inscription the existence of a theatre hall in a Kṛishṇa temple.¹⁶² Jina-harsha in his *Vastupālacharita* speaks of a *raṅga-maṇḍapa* before the temple of Bakulasvāmideva, which we know from the *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana* also as having been erected by Vastupāla.¹⁶³ This *raṅga-maṇḍapa* was translated by Bühler as 'painted vestibule', but in the light of the inscription quoted above, we are inclined to believe that *raṅga-maṇḍapa* was really an auditorium where dramas were enacted. It seems also that *raṅga-bhoga* mentioned in several Rāshtrakūṭa and Chola inscriptions, Hindu as well as Jaina, as a ritual for which provisions were made in the inscriptions was really the performance of some dramatic act.¹⁶⁴

Birth day of Rishabhanātha

On the 8th day of the dark half of Chaitra, the birth day of Śrī-Rishabhanātha was celebrated on Mt. Abu every year.¹⁶⁵

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Chāndrāyaṇa

Chāndrāyaṇa is mentioned by Hemachandra in a verse from which it appears that it was more a religious observance than festival. Explaining the term Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says that Chāndrāyaṇa was of two types; one might be observed during the bright fortnight and the other during the dark. Chāndrāyaṇa was probably observed by both the Jainas and the Hindus, for Abhayatilaka Gaṇi ends by saying that his explanation was acceptable to both the Hindus and the Jainas (*iti Śrī-Jainah Śmṛtaś-cha*).¹⁶⁶

Rituals: Hindu and Jaina

In the preceding sections we have discussed the rituals which were peculiar to the Hindus or to the Jainas, any similarly existing between the two being pointed out. We shall now notice in some detail Hemachandra's description of the manner in which Siddharāja performed worships at a Śiva and a Jaina temple so that the similarity between the rituals observed in both the temples may be clearly brought out by studying them together. It is needless to say that though the main description is by Hemachandra—who most probably accompanied Siddharāja on this occasion—for the details we are indebted to his commentator, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi.

We are told that when Siddharāja went to Somanātha he offered an oblation (*argha*) which is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi to have consisted of the following: *chandana-pushpa-akshata-jalādy-argham-argham-upalakshanatvāt-pady-āchamaniya-madhupark-ādyapi*¹⁶⁷; that is sandal paste, flower, rice, water et cetera, and *madhuparka* which usually consists of honey, *ghī*, water, sweet, and curds; hence it would possibly be called a *pañchopachāra* worship. The Jaina ritual seems to have been slightly more elaborate for their *pūjā* was probably *ashtopachāra*. This *ashtopachāra* or eight fold worship is first mentioned by Hemachandra in his *Trishashṭīśalākāpurushacharita*, where the eight ingredients mentioned are, *jala-chandana-pushpa-dhūpa-dīpa-akshata-naivedya-phala*, that is water, sandal (paste), flowers, incense, lamp (of *ghī*), rice, sweetmeats, and fruits. As none of the Jaina *Āgamas* mention this eightfold worship which is quite commonplace these days, it has been presumed that this eightfold *pūjā* became prevalent shortly before or during the life of Hemachandra.¹⁶⁸ From the *Dvyāśraya* we learn that even after worshipping Somanātha, Siddharāja did not receive the cherished boon of a son whereupon he proceeded to Ujjayanta, that is Girnar, where after his arrival he worshipped at the temple of Neminātha. According to Hemachandra, he sprinkled some liquid from a golden pitcher over the image, and according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, this liquid consisted of *ikshurasa-ghṛita-dugdha-dadhi-surabhivāri*,¹⁶⁹ that is sugarcane juice, clarified butter, milk, curd, honey and water,

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and this mixture with the exception of milk is nothing but *madhuparka*, which Siddharāja offered at the temple of Somanātha. Siddharāja then entered the *garbha-griha* which was besmeared with *kumkuma*, as ordinary rooms were besmeared with cow dung,¹⁷⁰ and beheld the deity to whom he offered *tila*, paste of *yava*, scents consisting of *kumkuma* et cetera, and flowers such as *mallikā*, *champakā*, *śirīṣhā*, and fruits such as *vadari*, *jambu* et cetera, and after having offered his oblations began his worship.

Regarding the daily rituals to be followed in a Jaina temple, the Abu inscription of Neminātha's temple¹⁷¹ mentions that the deity was to be bathed and worshipped (*pūjādi*) every day; unfortunately it is not clear as to what was meant by the word *ūdi*. However from the *Cintrapraśasti*, which records the regulations to be followed in a Śaiva temple we learn that a clever pupil had to be selected for cleaning the temple and to bathe the god daily with four pitchers of water. The ingredients of worship as mentioned in the said *praśasti* are sandal (paste) and 200 *śatapatra*, which has been translated by Bühler as 'rose'. However *śatapatra* also means lotus, and as rose is hardly ever used in a Hindu worship these days, it is probable that lotus was the flower meant.¹⁷² The only other flower to be used were 2000 sweet scented oleander blossoms. The daily *naivedya* consisted of one *mānaka* of husked rice, two *palikās* of *Phaseolus Mungo* (*mudga*), and two *karshas* of clarified butter, and these were to be cooked by the clever *vaṭuka* (pupil) mentioned above. To this had to be added fifty betel leaves and five betel nuts, which were to be offered daily prepared into *biḷakas*. Four *karshas* of oil was allowed daily for burning the lamp and 2 *maṇas* of fragrant gum (*guggula*) had to be provided every month as incense.¹⁷³

Religious Toleration and Harmony

The two main religious communities during this period were the Hindus and the Jains, and it appears that the relation between the two communities was very amicable. A few exceptions to this laudable attitude are mentioned by some writers, which are noted below.

Merutuṅga states that on the occasion of the setting up of the flag on the temple of Rudramahālaya (Merutuṅga calls it Rudramahākāla), Siddharāja "had the flags of all the Jaina temples lowered, as in the country of Mālava when the banner of Mahākāla is displayed, no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple". However, Merutuṅga continues, during the end of the same year in which he passed this law, Siddharāja found himself in a town called Śrīnagara where he saw flags flying on Jaina temples. Siddharāja then reminded the Brahmins of his order prohibiting the hosting of flags on Jaina temples, but they, according to Merutuṅga, quoted from their scriptures and convinced the king that his order was contrary to religious practice. "Then the king's mind,"

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says Merutuṅga, "was full of regret, and at the end of the year he gave orders to have the flags hoisted on the Jaina temples".¹⁷⁴ But as noted above, later Siddharāja built a Jaina temple and worshipped Neminātha in the Jaina temple at Girnar, so that whatever his past conduct might have been, by the closing years of his reign he certainly entertained no anti-Jaina feelings. But special note must be taken of the catholic spirit of the Brahmins who can claim to have induced Siddharāja to shed his partisan spirit.

Kumārapāla's patronage of the Jainas was probably disliked by the Hindus of a much later period, for while no contemporary record accuses Kumārapāla as being hostile to the Hindus, such accusation is not only levelled against him, but his calumniators glibly assume that Kumārapāla was reconverted. In this connection Hemachandra also receives due attention. Thus we read in the *Skanda-purāṇa* a fantastic story of the anti-Brahmin activities of Kumārapāla after he became a Jaina, so that the Brahmins in desperation went to and obtained succour from the mythical hero Hanumāna of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who presented the Brahmins with a talisman which was enough to destroy Aṇahilapātaka. Naturally Kumārapāla after this disaster was thoroughly chastened and returned to the orthodox fold.¹⁷⁵

A slightly different story is found in a Vaishṇava work called *Sampradāya-pradīpa*, written by one Gadādhara in A.D. 1554. It begins with the following verses from *Padma-purāṇa* (Uttara Khaṇḍa, vv. 50-51)

utpannā Drāvide bhakti vridhīm Kaṇṭake gatā

kachit kachit Mahārāṣṭre Gūrjjare pralayaṁ gatā

The story is then recorded as to how Hemachandra was defeated in a debate by Devaprabodha Bhaṭṭāchārya and condemned to death. Kumārapāla thereafter was reconverted to the Hindu fold.¹⁷⁶ These stories are obviously the outpourings of diseased minds of a decadent period, and the vituperations embellished with absurd anecdotes are not worthy of any further consideration.

The only other Chaulukya king who is accused of religious bigotry is Ajayapāla. Merutuṅga states that he demolished many Jaina temples and tortured several highly placed Jaina officers. But we have already shown that these accusations of Merutuṅga are probably baseless. One Jaina author goes so far as to say that one Vardhamāna, a Jaina monk, was the ornament of the courts of Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, and brightened both these courts by his disquisitions on Jaina doctrines.¹⁷⁷

These are the only known allegations of intolerance against the Chaulukya monarchs. But the spread of Jainism during this period is an eloquent testimony of the general spirit of toleration of the age. It has been shown that the Jainas received royal patronage and gifts from the kings as early as the days of Mūlarāja I; they also depend-

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ed upon the Hindu kings to settle matters of theological dispute amongst them, at least twice during the Chaulukya period. With Kumārapāla Jainism became the dominating creed of the realm but under the wise and catholic direction of Hemachandra, the spread of Jainism was not attended with any unhealthy rivalry between the Hindus and the Jains. The only restriction the Hindus had to suffer during this period was that they were not allowed to offer animal sacrifices during some festivals. Modern conscience would not probably support such a measure on the grounds of individual's right of liberty of action in matters of religion, though the great Maurya Emperor is still famous for having enacted practically similar legislations. As for Hemachandra and Kumārapāla's introduction of 'prohibition' of drinking, one is glad to find the country of Hemachandra has again introduced prohibition in the teeth of public opposition. Thus it cannot be said that the Hindus of Gujarat had too much to complain of during the reign of Kumārapāla. A typical attitude of mind in respect of religious matters during this period, is we believe shown by the Chitorgadh inscription of Kumārapāla, which records the king's visit to a Śaiva temple on which occasion he made some donations to the temple. The inscription which practically opens with several appropriate verses in praise of Śiva, under the names of Sarva, Mṛḍa, and Samidheśvara, was composed by one Rāmākīrtti, who was the chief of the Digambaras.¹⁷⁸

The Brahmin Someśvara, on the other hand, was loud in the praise of his Jaina patron Vastupāla who employed the poet to compose several Girnar inscriptions and an inscription in the temple of Neminātha on Abu. Vastupāla himself was a man singularly free from any communal prejudice. His donations as well as that of his brother Tejahpāla's to Hindu temples were many and generous, as have been noted already, and regarding Vastupāla, Someśvara states that at Devapattana Vastupāla worshipped Somanātha.¹⁷⁹ This worship of Śiva, hardly in conformity with the orthodox Jaina doctrines, is, we have already seen, ascribed to Hemachandra. However Someśvara is not the only author to make this statement which is also admitted by Jinaharsha, and practically by Amarachandra, who, we have seen, has called Vastupāla a Śaiva, while praising the great minister's martial qualities.¹⁸⁰ Evidently therefore Vastupāla held eclectic views on religion and in trying to seek salvation did not confine his devotions to the circle prescribed by any religious dogma. Still his conduct was not condemned by any Jaina teacher during his life or after his death. Another rich Jaina merchant of the period, namely Jagadu, is also known to have prayed to a Hindu god for the boon of a son, and this fact is also recorded by his Jaina biographer without any comment.¹⁸¹ It is evident therefore that such practices were neither infrequent nor censured during this period,

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Relation between the Indians and the Muslims

For the purpose of the present discussion the word Indian has been used so as to include both the Hindus and the Jains under the same term; and, as all the Muslims during this period were foreigners who came from various Islamic countries, the term Muslim would be the most appropriate to indicate the various Islamic nationalities as a community. The phrase 'Hindu-Muslim relation' has a peculiar connotation in modern India, which renders it absolutely unapplicable to this period, because the problem as it is understood to-day did not exist at that time.

We have seen that during this period several times the Muslims came with hostile intentions and wrought havoc in the country till it was finally conquered by them. But also during the same period many Muslims came and lived in Gujarat for varying periods and followed peaceful avocations such as trade. It is to the great credit of the Indians that they never confused between the two types of Muslims, and while trying their utmost to drive away the invaders, they offered the Muslim traders warm hospitality and every facility to prosecute their religion. Whenever there was an exception to this civilised custom the kings came out in support of the oppressed foreigners of alien faith. Thus Muhammad 'Ufi, the celebrated Muslim historian relates an anecdote which shows that incited by some Parsis, some Hindus at Cambay destroyed a mosque in that port and killed eighty Muslims. A Muslim survivor thereupon went to the capital where he managed to place his petition in the just hands of Siddharāja. To judge for himself, the king immediately started for Cambay where he arrived in disguise, and after making the necessary enquiries returned to the capital within the shortest possible time. On his return Siddharāja appraised his ministers of the whole fact in the case and declared that he had to go himself personally as a difference in religion was involved. He then affirmed that it was his duty to see that all his subjects were afforded such protection as would enable them to live in peace and practice their religion. Siddharāja then punished the offenders, and gave the Muslims one lac of Balotras to rebuild their mosque. He also gave the Khatib four articles of dress which were preserved in the mosque when 'Ufi visited it. Commenting on this episode, 'Ufi sincerely declares that he had "never heard a story to be compared with this."¹⁸² As 'Ufi states that he had once come to Cambay, most probably he picked up the anecdote in that city, where it was unlikely to be forgotten between Siddharāja's reign and 'Ufi's visit in the next century.

Such acts of graceful toleration are not recorded of kings alone, for we learn from the *Jagaducharita* that, that rich merchant had a mosque (*masiti*) built for the use of the Muslims.¹⁸³ The famous Veraval

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inscription of Arjunadeva records that the part of the expenses for a grant to a mosque was paid by an Indian named Rāja (kula) Chāhaḍa. This inscription also shows that the *Pañchakulas* and the chief of the Pāsupata sect, who was probably the chief priest at the temple of Somanātha, readily gave permission to a Muslim from Hormuz to acquire land in Somanātha-pattana to build a mosque (*mijigiti-dharmasthāna*). It is well known that almost all the Chaulukya inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era, but an exception was made in favour of this Muslim merchant from Hormuz undoubtedly out of respect for the religious susceptibility of the latter. As a result we find in the Veraval inscription that the date is first recorded in the Muslim era (*Rasula-Mahamada-samvat* 662) which is followed by the Vikrama era.¹⁸¹

But the greatest proof of the tolerant spirit of the Indians is supplied by an Arabic inscription of 24th Rabi I, 445 A.H. (15th July 1053 A.D.) found in a mosque in Ahmedabad, and the extant part of the inscription records that a mosque was erected on that day.¹⁸⁵ Thus we see that two decades after Sultān Mahmūd had invaded and plundered Gujarat where he committed such outrages against the faith of a people that his conduct will be always censured by all right thinking men, the religion which Sultān Mahmūd professed found peaceful asylum in that very country.

It was practically during this period that al-Beruni was travelling in India and a passage from his justly celebrated work on India is often quoted to prove the narrow mindedness, want of receptivity and other shortcomings of the Indians of the period. The most damaging accusation contained in the above-mentioned passage is the following: "We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid." Al-Beruni then proceeds to record his grievance that the Indians did not easily communicate their knowledge to foreigners, obviously forgetting the source from which he derived his knowledge of Indian metaphysics, science and other branches of learning. Before, however, proceeding to judge the Indians of this period on the testimony of al-Beruni, it is necessary to note what that great Muslim scholar stated in the passage immediately preceeding the one which has been quoted above. "Mahmūd," says al-Beruni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hands cannot reach, to Kashmir

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Benares, and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources."¹⁸⁶

From the passage just quoted only one conclusion is possible, namely that smarting under the relentless vicious raids of Sultān Mahmūd directed against their religion with diabolical ferocity, the Indians sought refuge in an emphatic form of patriotism when confronted with a subject of the same Sultān, as al-Beruni was. Al-Beruni naturally mistook the patriotism of the Indians as bad manners as he was perfectly entitled to do, but it is strange that having with his usual acumen discerned the cause of the Indians' behaviour he failed to establish a link between the two and ascribed the petulance of the Indians to an inborn peevishness. Probably for the time being his keen intellect was obfuscated by a justifiable pride of being a member of the victorious race, which prevented him from realising that any assumption of superiority by him, would, on that one account only, render him more odious to any patriotic Indian. Still al-Beruni was never molested physically, lived in the land for several years, and was helped by the Indian scholars to acquire sufficient knowledge of all branches of learning then in vogue in India, to make his name famous as an erudite scholar ever since.

Here it may be fruitless, but instructive to speculate the possible fate of a man in al-Beruni's position at that period in any other country than in India. There would be small chance, indeed, for such a man's survival, unprotected in a country which so recently and so many times had been so cruelly spoliated by his king, let alone that man's chance of increasing his store of knowledge by a peaceful prolonged stay during which he were to receive opportunities to follow a systematic course of study in all branches of knowledge.

CHAPTER XVI

Social Life

In ancient India, hardly any distinction was made between the social life of the people from their religious life. The procedure of life to be followed by the four castes, prescribed in the *Gṛhyasūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras*, included all the religious and social rites a man was expected to follow during his life. The daily programme a man was expected to follow was also laid down. It is well known, however, that much of the subject matter of the *Dharmaśāstras*, such as marriage, inheritance etc., to-day come under the personal law of the Hindus, and those aspects of the society which governed the private life of a man have been discussed in this chapter. The following discussion also includes descriptions of food, dress, games, and amusements.

Caste

The caste system has always been a peculiar feature of the Hindu society. For our period we learn from the *Kīrtikaumudī* that after Vastupāla was appointed the governor of Cambay he stopped, by constructing platforms, the promiscuous mingling of all castes in shops where the whey of curd was sold.¹ Thus we see that the state was enforcing the rules of the Śāstras relating to the rigours of the caste distinction. The mingling of the castes however probably was confined to the upper three or four of them. For in the DN we come across the words '*khikkhirī*' and '*jhajjharī*' explained by Hemachandra as '*Ḍumbādīnām sparśa-parihārārtha chihmayashṭīḥ*', and '*Chañḍālādīnām sparśa-parihārārtha chihna-yashṭīḥ*'.² Now, Fa-hien describing the condition of the Chaṇḍālas in the 5th century A.D. stated: "When they (Chañḍālas) enter the gate of a city or a market place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men avoid them, and do not come into contact with them".³ Though Hemachandra has not explained what he meant by '*chihna-yashṭī*', it seems that the peculiar names of the sticks were derived from the sounds emitted by striking them so that people might learn of the presence of their bearers, whose touch was to be avoided. Evidently the custom observed by Fa-hien continued to be practised in Gujarat at least upto the 13th century A.D.

Inheritance

Two documents in the *Lekhapaddhati* (LP) called *Vibhaṅgapatradihi*, both dated V.S. 1288, illustrate the mode of division of property after the father's death. From the existence of the documents it is

evident that it was considered necessary to execute a deed to render the division of the property valid. This authentication of a partition by a document (called *vibhāgapatra*) is sanctioned by both Nārada and Brihaspati.⁴

We learn from the first of the two *Vibhāṅgapatravidhis* in the LP that the brothers in order to divide the property and separate themselves had first to pay from the deceased's property his debts, taxes if any due, and dues payable to god (*deva-sambandhi deya*) by which is probably meant the expenses in connection with the *śrāddha* ceremony of the deceased. Any other debts due either to a relation or to a creditor was also to be paid off. This shows that the property was to be made free of all charges before the partition could take place.

Having paid off the debts the remaining property, including all sorts of movables and immovables such as jewels, ornaments, cash, lands, chattel, corns, household utensils, agricultural implements, furniture, and worthy and unworthy objects (*ghaṭitām aghaṭitām*) were to be divided, by four old relatives of the family. In the present case the deceased was survived by four sons and a widow, hence the property was to be divided into five equal parts one part being for the widow. The right of a widow to a share which was equal to that enjoyed by a son was admitted by Yājñavalkya and Mitra Miśra but denied by Vijñāneśvara,⁵ from which it appears that Gujarat was not at that time governed by the *Mitāksharā* school of law.

The *Vibhāṅgapatravidhi* then provides that if at the time of the death of the father one son or daughter remained unmarried, then the inheritors would have to deduct an equal amount from each of the five shares, so that the total might be sufficient to defray the marriage expenses, and this amount was to be kept in deposit with the mother, that is the widow mentioned above. Now, the provisions in the *smṛitis* relating to the expenses of marriage of unmarried sisters is somewhat conflicting. Manu, Kātyayana, and Yājñavalkya⁶ state that the brothers should get their unmarried sisters married by giving them one fourth share of the deceased father's property. Mitra Miśra in the *Viramitrodaya* interpretes Yājñavalkya's verse to mean that not one fourth of the property, but enough to cover the marriage expenses of the sister was to be paid by the brothers, while in the *Mitāksharā* the same verse of Yājñavalkya is explained to mean that the unmarried sister is to get one fourth of what she would have got if she were a male. Hence this provision of the *Vibhāṅgapatravidhi* is also against the *Mitāksharā* and more in conformity with the *Viramitrodaya*.⁷ In one respect however it differs from all the *smṛitis*, namely, it provides that even the mother along with her sons will have to pay an equal share for the marriage expenses of her unmarried daughter. The *smṛitis*, including even that of Yājñavalkya who specifically provides that

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mothers were entitled to share equally with their sons, put the burden of the expenses of the daughter's marriage on the sons alone. But the provision in the *Vibhaṅgapatravidhi* is more logical, for since the mothers were to enjoy equal rights with their sons, it was only natural that they would be under equal obligations.

The *Vibhaṅgapatravidhi* then provides that after partition the mother might elect to live with any of her sons who was directed to treat her as he would a goddess. After her death one of her sons were to perform the various funeral rites mentioned in detail; the son who performed these rites was to receive his mother's share of the property. If an unmarried daughter survived her mother her marriage portion—already deducted—was to be made over to one of the brothers, who according to the four elderly relatives appeared to be the most reliable and honest.

The *Vibhaṅgapatravidhi* then states that each brother, after the partition was complete, could invest his share in business and enjoy the income, or spend the capital, but the brothers are particularly forbidden, on no account, to quarrel amongst themselves, as there was no reason to do so seeing that 'even water was not allowed to one from a pond belonging to other'. This solemn warning leads one to suspect that litigation after partition was not unknown. However, the documents proceed to state that the only relation subsisting after the partition would be that they (the brothers) were to be affected only by the impurity caused by the birth or death in another brother's family.

The concluding part of the *Vibhaṅgapatravidhi* is somewhat obscure but it seems to record that in order to prevent any fraudulent activity by any of the brothers an agreed official referre (*dāvāpīla-rakṣāpāla*) was to be appointed by a separate deed.

Another smaller document in the LP, also dated V.S. 1288, records the provisions for the division of the dead father's property among two sons, when apparently there was no surviving mother or unmarried sister.⁸

Partition of property during father's lifetime

Unfortunately there is no document to illustrate the partition of property between father and the sons during the former's lifetime, a process which is approved by the *smṛitis*. The only pertinent document which shows this aspect of the relation between father and the sons is a receipt (*sva-hastākṣharāṇi*)⁹ dated V.S. 1288 which a son issues in favour of his father for having borrowed from the latter the sum of 500 *drammas*. It is stipulated in the receipt that should there be any division of the property later on, the son who has borrowed—if by the time of partition he fails to return the amount—will receive 500 *drammas* less than other sharers. It appears from the language 'yady-aham *sva-pituh*

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pārśvād-bhāgaṃ grahīsyāmi', that there might be a partition of the property during the life time of the father.

It is interesting to note that even in a receipt issued by a son in respect of money received from his father, provision was made for the signatures of a security and witnesses. This was probably intended to safeguard the interests of the other brothers should the father have died before partition. It may be noted that the son did not have to pay any interest to his father for the sum lent, though he made it clear that he took money from his father for the purpose of setting up a money lending business.

Funeral ceremony

In the *Vibhāṅgapatravidhi*, mentioned above, details are given regarding the funeral ceremonies a dutiful son was expected to perform for the benefit of his dead mother's soul in order to qualify himself as the inheritor of her property. The following funeral ceremonies are mentioned:

1. *Ourdhadehikakriyā*, which was undoubtedly the chief ceremony where oblations of rice and water were offered to the dead soul.

2. *Ekādaśa-dvādaśāha-prabhṛtikā*. These probably included the ceremonies which the son was expected to perform each day up to the twelfth after his mother's death.

3. *Saṃvatsaraṃ yāvat dīpadāna-māsika-shāṇmāsika-saṃvatsaraṃ*. This probably meant that a light was to be placed in memory of the dead soul at the end of every month, but with special ceremony at the end of six months and a year, when special funeral oblations were offered.

4. *Navāha-paksha-māsa-trīpakshādī-kriyā*. It probably means that a certain funeral ceremony was to be performed at the end of every ninth day, fortnight, month and the three fortnights. It is particularly mentioned that these ceremonies were to be performed according to the usages current in one's family.

After reciting the names of the ceremonies given above the document states that the son who desired to get his mother's property must perform these ceremonies with due respect for the departed soul and in a manner so that everyone might know that he has performed the ceremonies. It is evident that it was considered obligatory to feed the relatives on those occasions.

Marriage and the re-marriage of widows.

From what has been stated above it will be evident that it was the duty of the father to give his daughter in marriage. Failing the father the duty devolved on the mother and, failing her, on the brothers.

Regarding the re-marriage of widows it may be said that though it appears that such re-marriage was permissible it cannot be called custo-

mary. A very famous case of the re-marriage of a widow is the marriage of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla's parents. That Kumāradevī, the mother of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla was a child widow whom Āśārāja—the father of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla—married at the request of his preceptor Haribhadra Sūri is now taken to be a historical fact.¹⁰ It is also known from the *Jagaducharita*, that Jagadu desired to re-marry his young widow daughter to a suitable groom, for which he asked the permission of his relatives before arranging a match. All but two widowed relations of Jagadu gave permission; however, two widow ladies, relations of Jagadu, objected to the re-marriage of his daughter, unless Jagadu arranged for their re-marriage also. This remonstrance by the two widowed ladies of the family had the desired result, Jagadu was overtaken with remorse at having been partial to his daughter's distress when he had neglected his other relations in the same plight, and thereafter he gave up all idea of the re-marriage of his widow daughter.¹¹ This example from the *Jagaducharita* seems to indicate that though re-marriage of widows was permissible during the period, in actual practice such re-marriage was rare and not only was the custom gradually dying out but it was being actually condemned. Thus Hemachandra makes Vāsupūjya condemn the re-marriage of women in the following language: "What *dharma* is there of those women who marry again in case of five calamities".¹² The five calamities undoubtedly are the husband's death, impotency, long continued absence from home, adoption of a monastic life, or becoming an outcaste as provided in the *Nārada-smṛiti*; Kautilya also provides dissolution of marriage on the initiative of the wife on practically similar grounds.¹³ As for Hemachandra's statement quoted above, we shall see later that it does not mean that during his time women re-married on all the five contingencies, though it is likely that re-marriage of widows had not become obsolete during his time.

Divorce

In the *Lekhapaddhati* there is a document called *Dhaukanapatra*¹⁴ (permission of divorce) which records that a husband named Mehara Lunaika became disgusted with his wife, so that he caused his father-in-law to get the girl made free from the relationship with him. This was done in an assembly of relatives (*kutumba-samavāya*) who delivered a *Dhaukanapatra* which was received from the court (*rajakulād-grihitam*). It is evident that the divorce was first sanctioned by the court and was thereafter approved by the assembly of relatives. It was a decree absolute for the husband was forbidden to show his face again to his former wife. Both the parties to the divorce were Mers, and it appears that the *Dhaukanapatra* records a very early instance of the custom of divorce which still prevails among lower castes in Gujarat, where disputes concerning the divorce are generally settled by the *panchayets*, or caste

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assemblies, and the ground upon which such divorce is most commonly granted is the mutual consent of the husband and wife, the former granting the latter a *char chitti* or letter of release. The Bombay High Court however does not recognise the authority of the caste assembly to declare a marriage void or to permit a woman to marry another person without the consent of the husband and have convicted of bigamy women re-marrying without the consent of the first husband, but with the permission of the caste.¹⁵

It may be noted here that though the *Dharmaśāstras*, and Manu in particular, have held Hindu marriages to be indissoluble, divorce was sanctioned by Kauṭilya (III, 3), in cases where there was mutual antipathy between husband and wife, (*parashparam dveshān moksha*) who had not been married according to the forms sanctioned by the religion (*amoksho dharma-vivāhānām* ibid). That is Kauṭilya contemplates divorce in the case of the four lower forms of marriage. Probably in the instance we have cited above, the parties being Mers, the marriage which was dissolved had not taken place according to the higher forms of marriage. We however give below two examples, one from the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, and the other from the *Rājatarangiṇī* which show that divorce in the higher societies were probably not absolutely forbidden if both the parties were willing.

Standard of morality

Before considering the standard of morality, it is interesting to note here some observations of Hemachandra regarding some professions and men of certain castes. Of the physicians, a character in his *Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita* says (I, i, v. 533, Tr. 1, 53): "Like a courtesan, you never glance even at a friend even though sick, even though asking, unless you are paid".

*sadā sastutam-apy-ārtam-api prārthakam-apy-aho
veśyā iva vinā dravyam yūam nā kṣhaṇāpi paśyatha.*

But more sweeping is Hemachandra's criticism of the morals and conducts of the Brahmins, merchants, women, and princes:

*Brāhmaṇa-jñātir-advishṭo Vanig-jātir-avañchakah
priyajātir-anūrvyāluḥ śarīrī cha nirāmayah
vidvān dhanī guṇy-agarvah strījanāś-ch-apachāpalah
rājaputraḥ su-charitraḥ prāyeṇa hi na drīṣyate*

(A Brahmin's relatives free from animosity, a merchant who is not deceitful, a lover who is not jealous, a body free from disease, a learned man who is rich, a meritorious person free from pride, a woman who is not fickle, and a prince with good morals—these are seldom seen). (*Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita*, I, i, vv. 743-44). Elsewhere in the same work (I, ii, v. 30, Tr. 88) it is said that, "heroism must not be shown by a merchant, even though he is heroic".

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It is well known that the standard of sexual morality amongst the Hindus has always been very high and the ladies were most jealous of their chastity and reputation. A good example is furnished by a document in the LP which though dated V.S. 802 is undoubtedly valid for the period under review. This document called *Nyāyavāda* is a judgement delivered in a case where a Brahmin lady had been unjustly defamed.¹⁶ It appears that some unnamed rascal (*piśuna*) had spread the lie that a certain Brahmana's wife kept company with a paramour. This news infuriated the virtuous lady who thereupon approached the court and there before all the judges swore on her family honour that she had been always chaste in deed, talks, and mind. The judges thereupon declared that as there was no witness there could be no punishment. It appears that if her guilt could be proved she would have been punished according to the *Smṛiti* laws and on the other hand if she could bring adequate witness her maligner would be punished under the sections of *Vākpauruṣya*.

Merutuṅga however relates two incidents which show that in the highest society the standard of morality was rather loose. Thus we learn that Lavaṇaprasāda's wife, that is Vīradhavalā's mother, named Madanarājñī, after her sister's death went to her brother-in-law's house and becoming his *grihīṇī* started living with the said brother-in-law as man and wife. This lady had also taken with her, her son by Lavaṇaprasāda namely Vīradhavalā, who at that time was a mere child. Lavaṇaprasāda determining to kill the transgressor entered his house one night with open sword in hand, but spying through a hole saw his rival who was named Devapāla, refusing to take food until Vīradhavalā had been fed. This tenderness for his son assuaged the wrath of the great soldier who thereupon announced his presence, and having declared to the guilty pair the mission which had brought him thither also explained his subsequent conduct and returned home after having been entertained by Devapāla. Merutuṅga adds that Vīradhavalā had brothers by his other father (*apara-pitṛikā*) called Sāṅgaṇa, and Chāmuṇḍarāja, who later on became famous soldiers.¹⁷

Merutuṅga relates another story of this nature regarding one king Jayachandra, who is evidently the Gāhaḍavāla monarch, though the story may be entirely apocryphal. According to Merutuṅga an exceedingly beautiful maiden named Sūhava learnt from an astrologer, unfortunately after her marriage,—that she was destined to be the queen of the land. One day the king saw her and enraptured by her beauty took her to wife, though the exact process by which a king could marry a married woman is not mentioned. However, later Sūhava prayed that her son might be made the crown prince but Jayachandra refused, saying that in his dynasty the son of an adulteress could not succeed. Thus disappointed, the infuriated woman summoned the Muslims.¹⁸

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This anecdote of Merutuṅga is partly corroborated by one of a similar nature recorded by Ferishta, according to which the wife of the Raja of Uch partly succumbed to Mui'zz ud-Dīn bin Sam's secret promise to her, and proposed that she would betray her husband if the Muslim general left her the kingdom and married his daughter. Mui'zz ud-Dīn agreed and the queen murdered her husband. But she was soon undeceived for though Mui'zz ud-Dīn married her daughter, instead of entrusting the base woman with the government of the country, sent her to Ghazni.¹⁹

The opinion of scholars regarding Ferishta's story ranges from unqualified acceptance to entire dismissal.²⁰ The unnatural behaviour of the queen can however be explained if we accept Merutuṅga's story that she was an adventuress to whom the lure of a kingdom would be an adequate bait to induce her to perpetrate an act of grossest treachery. As for Merutuṅga's other statement that Jayachandra married a married woman, it may be pointed out that it is not the only known instance of such extraordinary practice in ancient India. We learn from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that Durlabha, the second king of the Karkoṭa dynasty, fell in love with the wife of a very rich merchant at whose request the king overcame his scruples and married that lady who later became the mother of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.²¹ All that the 12th century Brahmin Kalhaṇa could say in deprecating this act is summed up in one verse on Chandrāpīḍa (eldest uterine brother of Muktāpīḍa): 'The blemish on his lineage was cut out by his clean virtues like the flaw of the precious stone, which comes from the mine, by the grinding of the touchstone'.²²

For the purposes of social history it is not necessary to determine whether the particular anecdotes recorded by Kalhaṇa or Merutuṅga is based upon sober history. What is significant is that neither Merutuṅga nor Kalhaṇa,—one a Jaina monk the other a Brahmin scholar,—condemns these acts which they record seemingly without any apparent aversion. It is possible therefore, that such acts in defiance of social laws by men highly placed in society were not as uncommon as we now believe to have been the case. At an even earlier period of Indian history we find a drama in which the great Gupta king Chandragupta II, figures as the hero, and is represented to have killed his brother and usurped his throne and married his wife. Again it may be said that the Gupta Emperor did not kill his brother nor did he marry his brother's widow, but evidently the dramatist was not aware that the fame of his hero would be diminished were he represented as having murdered his brother and married his widow. Undoubtedly the author has created the necessary situation by showing Rāmagupta as an utterly despicable coward, but even so the conduct of Chandragupta II as portrayed in the *Devī-Chandragupta* would have been considered as reprehensible in later Hindu society.

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It seems therefore, that the standard of morality in the higher society at least, was far from being strict. It is true that some of the incidents cited above happened in countries far removed from each other both in time and space. But unfortunately in the absence of written history it has been necessary to consider these isolated incidents. Not the least surprising part about these stories is the fact that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*—the only history and the only good substitute for history written in ancient India—should have recorded such disgraceful stories about the distinguished men of their periods.

In this connection it is necessary to discuss a passage from the *Trishasṭiśalākāpurushacharita*. As Hemachandra in this passage condemns several practices which at a later period may have fallen into disuse, it is necessary to quote the relevant part of this lengthy speech which he puts in the mouth of Vāsūpūjya: "How is there any *dharma* in sacrificers who cause destruction of life, making sacrifice such as the cow sacrifice, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice et cetera? What *dharma* is there in those who created the *Purāṇas*, who relate subject matter incredible, untrue and contradictory? How is there any purity (honesty) in Brāhmaṇas versed in law (*smārtas*) et cetera who wish to get other peoples money by false legal decisions by means of earth and water (ordeals) et cetera? (This is followed by a lengthy diatribe against dishonest Brahmins).

"Truthful speech never emanates from persons whose minds are impure from the faults, love et cetera. Likewise, what *dharma* is there of those who perform sacrificial rites of offerings and oblations of *ghī* et cetera and who build many pious works, such as tanks, wells and pools; of those who seek a wrong path to heavenly and earthly happiness by killing animals, of those wishing to cause contentment of ancestors by gifts of food to Brāhmaṇas; of those who perform penance by making a purification of the womb by *ghī* et cetera; of those women who marry again in case of five calamities, of those who talk of children begotten by other men on their own wives in the absence of children; of women, though guilty, talk of purification through the menses; of those who live by eating the organs of goats killed in the Soma sacrifice with the idea of prosperity; of those who drink wine in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice; of those who eat filth and think themselves purified by touching cows; of those who cleanse themselves from evil merely by bathing in water et cetera; of those who worship the banyan, the pippal, the myrobalan et cetera; of those who think gods are pleased with an oblation burned in fire; of those who teach *dharma* by vows consisting of imitation of women. . . ." To this is added a further denunciation of religious sects one of which, namely the Kaulāchāryas is named and another can be easily identified with the Lakulīśas from the description of their practices.²³

It is evident from the passage quoted above, that Hemachandra was condemning many practices some of which, such as those of Lakulīśas, Kaulas, Aghorapanthis and Sakhībhāvas, certainly existed during his time. We have also seen that widow re-marriage was not unknown. But some of his statement cannot be true for his period. For example Hemachandra condemns cow sacrifice, but we have it on the authority of the Muslim geographers of the period that during this time in Gujarat cow was held in the highest veneration and was in no wise so much as molested. Some other statements however are difficult to reject. Hemachandra's statement regarding drinking during Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice may be true. The performance of Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice during this period is proved by the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice mentioned in the Sevadi inscription of Ratnapāla (EI, XI. 304). Many *smṛitis* prohibited drinking by Brahmins even during the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice; however some *smṛitis* made an exception to *surā* (malted rice) taken during the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice, and it is quite likely that some dishonest Brahmins under the guise of a sacrifice satisfied their thirst for spirituous liquor. Similarly purifying a woman ravished by a Mlechchha is sanctioned by Devala; and Yājñavalkya, Vaśiṣṭha and Parāśara declare that a (unchaste) woman become pure after her monthly period.²⁴ Hemachandra we have seen condemns both these practices. In support of the view that these practices were followed during Hemachandra's time it may be pointed out, that the verses quoted from the *Devalasmṛiti* in the *Smṛitisamuchchaya* dealing with the purification and penances for contact with the Muslims (Mlechchhas) is generally considered to be a late interpolation, made necessary by the frequent Muslim invasions.²⁵ It is remarkable however that al-Beruni who made diligent inquiries regarding this matter was told by the Brahmins that a man who had come into continued contact with the Muslims could under no circumstances be taken back into Hindu society.²⁶ It is quite likely therefore that the text of Devala was being interpolated during the sojourn of al-Beruni in India, when the repeated invasions of Sultān Mahmūd had rendered an easy method of penance for ravished women an absolute necessity. It is possible that during the time of Hemachandra such methods of easy penances were being abused so that he found it necessary to condemn these practices. It is well known that in later Hindu society any person—particularly women—who once came into contact with a Muslim became an outcaste, and it is not known whether the method of purifying women by the methods said to have been prescribed by Devala was ever in use. This passage from Hemachandra's work shows that probably it was once a social custom which later died out as a result of strong opinion against abuses of such easy penances.

It is easy to surmise from this uncompromising attitude of Hemachandra against easy penances that Kumārapāla also would take strong

measures against adultery. And we find in the allegorical drama *Moharājaparājaya* Kumārapāla passing the following order: "Banish from the town, whenever apprehended, the four vices, gambling, flesh eating, drinking and slaughter. Theft and adultery has already been banished. Prostitution, not being a matter of great moment, can be ignored; nor does it matter if it (prostitution) remains or goes".²⁷

It is easy to perceive that a man of the world like Kumārapāla was well aware that he could not fight against all the evils at once and so preferred to tolerate the lesser of the two. However we learn from the *Prākṛit Dvyaśrayakāvya* that Kumārapāla in his court sat surrounded by a few dancing girls.²⁸

Regarding the institution of dancing girls and the *devadāsīs* during this period, the testimony of al-Beruni is quite revealing. Al-Beruni states: "People think with regard to harlotry that it is allowed with them (Indians) In reality, the matter is not as people think, but it is rather this, that the Hindus are not very severe in punishing whoredom. The fault, however, in this lies with the kings, not with the nation. But for this, no Brahman or priest would suffer in their idol temples the women who sing, dance, and play. The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army."²⁹

This statement of al-Beruni is entirely corroborated by the provisions in the *Arthaśāstra* where it was laid down that the prostitutes had to pay as royal share 1/15th part of their monthly gains and besides were liable to be heavily fined in cases of specified offences;³⁰ if some one committed an offence against them, they also had to pay even heavier fines so that the result in both the cases meant an income to the treasury as alleged by al-Beruni. It is possible therefore that when Kumārapāla specifically mentioned that he would tolerate prostitution, he might have had the income from the prostitutes in view. As the drama *Moharājaparājaya* was written by Yaśochandra, a devout Jaina and probably a minister of Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla, the statement of Kumārapāla as given above cannot be dismissed as the figment of imagination on the part of a dramatist.

A great French historian once wrote; "In general, no civilization is destroyed from without unless it has first brought about its own ruin; no empire is conquered by a foreign foe unless it has first committed suicide. And a society or civilisation perishes by its own hand only when it has ceased to understand its own *raison d'être*, when it has, as it were, become a stranger to the dominant idea around which it formerly grew up." Studied from this view point the passage quoted from the *Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharita* take on a new significance. For

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so far as the fighting qualities alone were concerned the Muslims were not so superior to the Hindus as their total subjugation of north India indicates. Hence the cause of the defeat of the Hindus must be sought in their decaying social system. If however we believe Hemachandra we find a society where some meaningless religious rites had taken the place of real religion, some incredible *Purāṇas* were considered to be good substitutes for the ancient religious texts, (we should not forget that Hemachandra was making this accusation in one of the most elaborate mythology ever written in India) greedy Brahmins under the guise of dispensing law were enriching themselves, women were taking advantage of easy penances, and the Brahmins were drinking under the pretence of performing a Vedic sacrifice. If we take this picture of the Indian society as substantially true on the eve of the Muslim invasion, it is not difficult to understand why no resistance could ever be successfully offered against the Muslims once the Indian field army was defeated. The slothful Indian society busy with its worldly gains and physical pleasures relied entirely on its professional soldiers for defence. Once that army was gone the Indian society could no longer defend the country against the Central Asians. We should not however draw too dark a picture of the Indian society of the period, for it is a matter of history that though Muslims subjugated India and converted a large number of Indians the soul of India remained mainly untouched and Hinduism survived centuries of oppression. This shows that though the facade of Hinduism may have become dilapidated and its ruling class become degenerate at this period, her heart was throbbing with unexpected life and vigour.

Slavery

Slavery as a recognised institution existed in India from very early times.³¹ For the period under review we come across four documents in the LP, all dated V.S. 1288 and dealing with the sale of female slaves. The first two documents are called '*Dāsīpatraavidhi*' while the third and the fourth are classified under the head '*Svayam-āgatā-dāsīpatraavidhi*'.³²

The first document—like the rest of them—is the deed of sale of a slave-girl (*dāsī-vikraya-patra*). It is stated in the document that having attacked a foreign state one *Rāṇā-Śrī-Pratāpasimha* had captured and brought a fairlooking sixteen year old girl called Panutī, and after having informed the *Pañchamukhanagara*, she was being offered for sale at the crossing of the four roads with grass on her head. One *Āśādhara* purchased her from *Rāṇā-Śrī-Pratāpasimha* on a payment of 504 *Vīśalapriya drammas*, having proclaimed the fact of purchase throughout the town. The duty of the slave girl in the buyers house is then set forth and consists of the following: cutting (vegetables), pulverizing (the spices), smearing the floor (with cow dung), sweeping, bringing fuel, water et

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cetera, throwing away human excreta (of her master's family) milking the cow, buffalo and the goat, churning the curd and carrying the buttermilk to the field, field works such as bringing grass (i.e. fodder, *chāri-ānayanādikaṁ*), weeding and cutting grass et cetera, and other household works (*grihakarma*), and the slave girl was to perform all her tasks in a candid manner. The purchaser in return was to provide her with food clothings et cetera according to the prevailing custom and his capacity. While the slave girl would be working in her master's house, if her father, brother or husband, by virtue of their wealth interrupted in her duty, the purchaser would (be at liberty) to tie, molest, or strike her cruelly, and re-employ her in her tasks as set forth above. If being tortured the slave girl ever committed suicide by throwing herself into a well et cetera, she would be reborn as a she-ass, bitch or a *chaṇḍālī*, and in that case (i.e. suicide) the buyer would have to perform the penance of bathing in the Ganges. The *Rakshāpāla* and the citizens would see that the above-mentioned clauses were fulfilled, for which purpose *Rāṇā* Pratāpasimha and the four *Rakshāpālas* mentioned below signed this document. (This is followed by the writer's name)

The second *Dāsīpatra* gives us the interesting information that when *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Śrī-Vīradhavaladeva* had attacked *Mahārāshṭra* a man had brought back a fair looking girl as captive. As instead of giving proper names of the seller or buyer this document employs the word 'amuka' it seems that many slave girls were brought on that occasion and this form was drafted to be used as and when required by substituting the proper names in each case. It also appears that either the girl was being sold through an agent or was being sold to the creditor (*Dhanika*) by the borrower (*hastāddharanika*) for the sum of 60 *drammas*. The duty of the slave girl in her master's house would be, cutting, pulverizing, sweeping, cooking, smearing, et cetera, field work and threshing (the grain) et cetera, and all other kinds of work. Even if she were to be sold or given away as a gift to some other person she were to perform her (above mentioned) duties without any mischievous intent. If she committed theft or misbehaved in any other manner in her master's house she was to be severely put to task. The rest of the provisions are practically similar to the previous one except that instead of the *Rakshāpāla*, private persons are named to act as guarantors of the deed. It may also be noted that *Pañchamukhanagaras* are not stated to have been informed in this document probably as the girl was not being sold at a public place.

The third deed, called *Svayam-āgatā-dāsī-patravidhi*, differs materially from the first two. It states that a girl aged ten, named *Samṇūrī*, daughter of one Princess *Jagaḍa*, had arrived from the village *Siranāra* situated in the country of *Mahītaṭa* in the east, which (country) had been visited by a famine consequent to a Muslim invasion and plunder,

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so that the agitated citizens and the cultivators had left the country, and she was left stranded as all her relations on her father's side as well as her husband's had started begging. Though she begged for only a mouthful of rice at every household and at every village (on her way) she had become extremely emaciated due to want of food, and had become dirty with a rag on, being forced to pass her nights in temples and monasteries, (and) with unkempt hairs, frightened, the girl Saṃpūrī looked on all sides and puzzling in her mind over what to do, where to go, where to stay, and who would be her owner approached every house and said, "My lord! I am an orphan. Will you have me as a slave?" Thus, one day she arrived at a certain village, and falling at the feet of one Chāhaḍa said with folded hands: "I have come voluntarily, please engage me as a slave and save me from this terrible famine. I shall, according to your order and as long as I live, work as your slave, and shall perform the duties of cutting, pulverizing, sweeping, fetching the drinking water, smearing (the rooms) with cow dung, throwing away the human excreta, (and) all (other) household duties and outside works such as cultivation, other field works and threshing et cetera, (and shall perform all these tasks) with zest, during all the three seasons of rain, winter and summer, throughout the day and night; untiringly and without talking back I shall carry out your orders. You will have to give me (in return) according to your capacity only food, dress and sandals. What more shall I want?" Having declared this at the crossing of the four roads before men of the four castes she became the slave of Chāhaḍa. Still Chāhaḍa to satisfy himself made her declare as follows: "If I, so long as I live, while employed as a slave in your house or in any other house, commit theft, seeing a vacant room appropriate some article, or finding that begging had become easier go elsewhere, or mix with cheats rascals or your enemies, or in my youth being tempted by some men leave you, then on the strength of this deed you will catch me by my hairs, bind me and again set me to work as a slave. I shall always throughout the night and day carry out the orders of your relatives. If ever, out of wickedness I refuse to perform my duty, when ordered to do so, then you will punish me by kicking and beating with sticks and (may even) torture (me) to death, (for which) you my lord will remain as free from guilt as if you had been absent. I declare to all that should I die under torture (above mentioned) it will have been brought about by my own fault, and you and your family shall be absolved by bathing in the Ganges. If ever I commit suicide by jumping into a well or pond or by taking poison on account of pregnancy (*udarabādha*) you my lord will be guiltless, and will only (have to perform the penance of) bathing in the Ganges." After recording this declaration and recital of woe of the young girl the deed states that for the present purpose of recording a contract of

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perpetual bondage the *Pañchamukhanagara* and some Brahmins were informed. There were five witnesses to this document.

The last of the four documents is an abridged version of the third. It also shows a destitute girl accepting slavery as she could find no other means of subsistence. The only important addition in this document is that the features of the girl are described in some detail, and her duties among others include cooking, cleaning the gutters (*khāla*) and a reservoir of water. It is also particularly mentioned that she could be sold, given away as gift, mortgaged or sent overseas.

It is apparent therefore that a slave could be acquired by capture, purchase, gift, mortgage, and as we learn from the *Vibhaṅgapatravidhi*, by inheritance as well; also slave could be acquired if some one volunteered to become a slave. All these methods are in accordance with the *smṛitis*; for example, Manu speaks of seven kinds of slaves, namely, one captured in battle, one who becomes so for food, one born in the house (i.e. of a female slave), one bought, one given as a gift, one inherited, and one who becomes so for paying off a fine or judicial decree.³³

Among other *smṛitikāras* Yājñavalkya gives the most elaborate treatment on slavery. He quotes Nārada who distinguishes between an ordinary servant (*bhṛitaka*) and a slave (*dāsa*), by pointing out that while the former might only be called upon to do pure work, a *dāsa* will have to do impure work such as cleaning the entrance to the house, filthy pits, the road, dunghill heaps, human excreta and performing personal service to the master if he so desires.³⁴ Hemachandra in the *Trishasṭiśalākāpurushacharita* assigns the following duties to a maid servant: threshing, grinding, carrying water, sweeping the house, smearing the house (with cow dung) et cetera. (Tr. III, 248) Evidently the slaves had to perform more tasks than a maid servant, including the impure works mentioned above which a maid-servant would not perform.

Evidently the contracts regarding slaves were drawn up in accordance with the provisions of the *smṛitis*, and it remains to add that written contracts were probably necessary in the case of female slaves only, because according to Bṛihaspati, a female slave could never be acquired by possession without a written title (*na strīnām-upabhogaḥ syād vinā lekhyam kathañchana*)³⁵. This probably explains the absence in the LP of any document relating to the sale of a male slave; they could probably be sold and possessed without any documentary evidence of their acquisition.

We have given a detailed account of these transactions for they record in a very vivid manner a part of the social life of those days. The household duties of those days, we find, differed very little from what they are in a village even now, as might be expected. But it need not be supposed that the slave girl alone was expected to perform all the enumerated tasks. These were undoubtedly recited to protect her master

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if in future she refused to perform any duty that was not specified in the document. Probably the slaves had their remedies and could go to a court of law to enforce her master's exactions to remain within the stipulated terms, so that the masters had to protect themselves by mentioning every imaginable household duty in the deed itself. Still, it cannot be denied that the picture presented by these documents is a dismal one; first, we find a girl captured from her home in Maharashtra brought to Gujarat and sold to slavery. No less tragic is the fate of the girl who driven out of her hearth and home owing to a Muslim invasion and a famine fails to find any shelter or food except in the temples. That this part of the recital is not entirely imaginary, we shall presently show. Then some unscrupulous person takes advantage of her miserable plight and binds her to terms which apparently she could hardly realise, and even if she realised what could she do? Society did not offer her any other shelter, nor was there any other means of livelihood open to her.

Ostracism

It is known that a person in ancient India might be ostracised for committing grave offences as prescribed in the *śmṛitis*. In the LP we find a man being ostracised by his family as he was a habitual offender, but no specific offence committed by him is mentioned. It seems that as ostracism was a serious matter and affected his inheritance a deed had to be executed such as we find in the LP where it is called "*Kṛishṇākshara-Ujjalākshara-vidhi*" dated V.S. 1288.^{32a} This '*vidhi*' records a declaration made by the relations of the offender and begins by stating that one Pūnāka (presumably absconding) being an (habitual) evil doer, his parents and all his relations declare to all the inhabitants of Śrī-Pattana, *Pañcha-mukha-Brāhmaṇas* and to the *Pañcha-mukha-nagara* that by this present declaration Pūnāka is being 'black-lettered' (*kālāksharita*) so that henceforth for any mischief committed by the said Pūnāka none of his relatives might be held legally responsible, and that they would not be punishable for his mis-deeds. Hence if Pūnāka were to commit any crime, such as stealing from the treasury (*bhāṇḍāgāra*), assaulting, stealing cattle, or perceiving in the city a beautiful lady of Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya or merchant family seduced her through a female messenger by tempting the lady with money, or forcibly dragged her away to another village or country, or cheated a foreign merchant or agent on the highway, or ate forbidden food, drunk prohibited drinks, killed prohibited animals, had improper relations with females of prohibited degree, acted against the usages of honest people, (even if Pūnāka committed any or all these crimes) even then none of his relatives either on his father's or on his mother's side however distant, would be punishable by law. Only Pūnāka would be punishable for the crimes committed by him. The above-mentioned relations of Pūnāka would no longer

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observe the penances of births and deaths for Pūnāka. But, if any of his relatives hereafter, out of affection for Pūnāka secretly or openly provided him with food and shelter, he would be liable to be punished by the king. Any indirect help to Pūnāka would also be met with punishment. If in future, forsaken by his relations and overtaken by hunger and thirst and by good luck, Pūnāka wanted to return to his family, he should not be allowed to do so at his sweet will. In that case, all his people both on his father's and on his mother's side shall have to go to the court where they will have to present some gift according to their capacity, make the necessary declaration to the king and having informed the whole city, drawing up a bright-letter (*ujjalāksharaṇi*) in the court of justice where Pūnāka being warned by the judge will again declare (an assurance for his future) good conduct which information will have to be given to the *Pañcha-mukha-nagara*. Thereafter, Pūnāka would no longer remain subject to taunts or abuse for his former misdeeds, for which the judge with his associates after giving him a warning³⁶ (?) would give him a certificate of good conduct. That (bright) letter with royal seal would be given by persons appointed by the *Dharmādhikaraṇa* to the parents of Pūnāka, to save him from future punishments for past offences, and was to be delivered personally to the parents.

This provision for ex-communicating a man is of some importance, for we know that in the case of those guilty of heinous offences and of those who did not perform the necessary penances, there was a peculiar procedure called *ghaṭasphoṭa* prescribed for excommunicating the offenders, who were thereafter treated as dead. But when the offenders performed the appropriate penances he again became fit to be associated with and would be welcomed by his relatives.³⁷ Evidently the methods of ex-communicating a man from society had undergone some change and in order to have any legal effect it had to be certified by a judge. The reason probably was that ex-communication would involve the affected man in losing his right of inheritance, maintenance, and partition so that it was necessary to have both the act as well as its withdrawal to be recognised by the court.

Charity

We had occasion to remark while narrating the tale of woe of a homeless girl who had to sale herself into slavery as she was refused food and shelter though she begged from door to door, that this was not the only instance of uncharitableness known of ancient India. For, this attitude to beggars on the part of the householders is also graphically described by Dāmodaragupta in his *Kuṭṭanīmatam* written in Kashmir in the early part of the 9th century A.D. This account strikingly corroborates

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the testimony of the slave girl and is so quaint and lifelike that it is worthy of being quoted.

In the *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, one Guṇapālita, while opposing his friend Sundarasena's project of travel tried to dissuade the latter with a description of the discomforts of a wandering life and said: "A man like me is naturally ashamed to press a request overmuch, but listen while I tell what befall the wayfarer.

"Clad in tattered garments, dusty and travel-sore he seeks at fall of day where he may lay his head.

" 'Mother, sister, take pity on me. Do not be so cruel. Have you not brothers and sons whom hard necessity compels to roam from home.

" 'I will not break your house down before I go away in the morning; and do good people call that a house in which wayfarers do not rest as if they were inmates of it.

" 'I will rest here but one night as best as I can, and then go on my way. The sun is set, where else pray can I go'.

"With such piteous words in his mouth the wretch goes from door to door, and is upbraided by the housewives, who answer thus:—

" 'My husband is not at home. Why do you prate thus? Can you not go to the temple? He will not take a telling. How obstinate the man is?'

"And if by good luck some man yields to repeated entreaty and scornfully points out a corner of the house, saying, 'Sleep there', then the wife quarrels all night with her husband and says, 'Why have you given shelter to this stranger?'

"And her neighbour, fearing in her heart that she in her turn may be asked to find food and the like for the stranger, comes and condoles with her.

" 'My dear, it is not your fault, your husband is too good natured, but keep a good look out, for there are rogues about. I speak as your friend'.

"And after presenting himself at a hundred doors, the traveller at last gets a mess of porridge thrown to him by way of alms.

"His food is at another's will; the earth is his bed and the temple is his resting place; such is the lot of the traveller; and for pillow he has a brick".³⁸

This vivid portrayal of a domestic scene is strikingly modern and does little credit to the charitable instincts of the ladies in ancient India. It shows however that the temples were the place where one would get shelter. The slave girl also declared that unable to find shelter in any house she had to take refuge in temples and monasteries. Hence it appears that the temples were not only the places of worship but were charitable institutions as well, and at least provided homeless people with shelter. Probably the food which was offered to the deity every day was also

distributed amongst the poor. In that case when a rich man built a temple he fulfilled a social need.

It need not be supposed however that charity was entirely lacking. It is known that during the reign of Vīśaladeva there was a famine and the rich merchant Jagadu came forward with succour.³⁹ This charitable activity of Jagadu forms the main theme of *Jagaducharita*, which gives an apparently exaggerated account of Jagadu's charitable activities; but on the whole we may assume that Jagadu saved many lives during the famine by distributing food free from several centres. Probably the rich men like Jagadu or Vastupāla and Tejahpāla could afford to be charitable. But Dāmodaragupta and the slave-girl describe the attitude of the ordinary householder who either would not or could not give food and shelter to a beggar.

House

Life in the city was undoubtedly cramped and in a gnomic poem of uncertain date we find the wretched plight of a householder related succinctly with sympathy: "Within the house is the kitchen, there the mortar, there too the crockery, there the children, there his own study. He has put up with all that, but what can we say of the condition of the wretched householder when his wife, who to-day or to-morrow will present him with a new addition to his family, must spend there her time of labour".⁴⁰ And Hemachandra placidly remarks that generally the women of the poor conceive quickly. (*prāyeṇa hi daridrāṇāṃ śighra-garbhahṛitāḥ striyaḥ; Trishashṭīśalākāpurushacharita*, I, i, 533; Tr. I, 53).

These few lines remind one of present day city life of a middle class family. But probably a dwelling house was usually more commodious as we have the description of such houses in several documents of the LP relating either to the sale or mortgage of houses. As the description of all the houses is practically the same it may be taken for granted that the compiler of the LP was describing a common house in Gujarat, during the 13th century A.D. as all these documents are dated V.S. 1288.⁴¹

The house as described in the LP faced east with open space on all sides which was enclosed by a surrounding wall.⁴² There were however drains to carry the water from the house and we have seen that this drain was kept clean by a slave. The house was two storeyed, with good foundation and had a terrace. Probably there was no arrangement for the supply of water inside the house, and it had to be fetched from the common wells. However the wells were probably usually fitted with a 'nelichchhī',⁴³ which was a contrivance for raising water from a well of a type which is yet common. There was probably a water reservoir (*kuṇḍikā*) inside the house which was cleaned every day, from which it would seem that drinking water was stored there.⁴⁴ Some houses were

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provided with a detached *paṭṭaśālā* and a kitchen. The *Paṭṭaśālā* probably housed the household deity.⁴⁵ The houses were tiled (*kavelukā-chchhanna*); there were also eaves to carry away the rain water.

As for the building materials for this period we learn from Idrisi's description of Broach, that bricks and plaster were commonly used.^{45a} Tiled roof seems to have remained usual in Gujarat for a very long time for we learn from the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that even in the 17th century the houses in Gujarat—which were all built of burnt bricks—were roofed with teak wood and tiles.⁴⁶

Utensils and furniture

We get a list of the common household utensils from a document in the LP (mentioned above) which describes the division of the paternal property by the sons. Some of the vessels were made of bell metal while others were of copper, and in the DN we find mention of iron spoons called '*kaḍachchhū*'.⁴⁷ The type of utensils divided amongst the brothers show that for cooking and eating practically the same types of utensils were in use in those days as we find now. Hemachandra however in his list of *Deśī* words has included the word '*ḍundho*', which according to him meant a bucket made out of a cocoanut (*udañchana-viśesho nāli-heramayā*).⁴⁸ It is not possible to follow how a bucket could be made out of a cocoanut; probably by *udañchana* here Hemachandra meant a small bowl which poor men still use and make by breaking a cocoanut into two halves and use each half as a bowl.

As for furniture the above-mentioned document of the LP mentions a '*chukīvaṭa*' and '*shejvaṭa*', which are probably, as suggested by the editor of the LP, a '*chārpai*', and a cot for sleeping. From the DN we learn that a bedstead was called '*uṇḍalam*' which Hemachandra explains was a '*mañcha*'.⁴⁹ Hence the words '*gaḍḍham*', and '*talladām*', which are explained by Hemachandra as '*śayyā*' most probably represented a couch, as suggested by Pischel.⁵⁰ It is interesting to find that the curtain too had its *Deśī* equivalent and was known as '*ṭaṭṭaiā*', which Hemachandra translated as '*tiraskariṇī*',⁵¹ but the existence of a *Deśī* word for it shows that curtains were in general use. Mats of *kuśa* grass were in use for which the *Deśī* word was *sārī*,⁵² and not the least important piece of household article, in a country where chewing the betel was considered to be a sign of good breeding, was the spittoon called '*duk-ḥukkaniā*'.⁵³ Elsewhere Hemachandra mentions '*vetrāsana*' as a piece of furniture, from which it appears that cane seats were in use in his days.⁵⁴

Food and drinks

Various dishes are mentioned by Hemachandra in his works particularly in the DN. Merutuṅga and some foreign geographers have also

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given occasional accounts of the food taken by the people of Gujarat during this period. From all these accounts we learn that food consisted mainly of rice, pulses, wheat, vegetables, sweets and milk preparations, such as curd, whey and coagulated milk. Meat was also eaten and Hemachandra mentions two meat dishes, namely, '*vaualiam*' and '*susaṇṭhiā*' both of which probably stood for the present day '*sik kābāb*' for Hemachandra explains the above mentioned terms as '*śūlaprotam-māmsam*'.⁵⁵ Kumārāpāla at the bidding of Hemachandra is said to have forbidden slaughter and eating of meat throughout the country, but it cannot be said whether it had any permanent result or not. Curiously enough not a single reference to fish as an article of food is found in the literature from Gujarat during this period. Al-Idrisi of course states that the people of Nahrwala ate fish,⁵⁶ but he is an unreliable author who had never visited India, and since he is not corroborated in the present instance, it has to be concluded that the people in Gujarat probably did not eat fish.

Popular belief about the rules of a healthy diet is given in a verse which, according to Merutuṅga, was the answer given by Bhoja's physician, Vāgbhaṭa, when the great Paramāra Emperor asked him, "Who is free from diseases?" The physician replied:

"He who does not eat green herbs, (*śāka*), who eats *ghi* with rice
Who is addicted to milk-fluids, who does not eat with water,
Who does not eat at all, who does not eat harmful hot things,
Who snatches a meal while walking, who eats what he can digest,
who eats in small quantity".⁵⁷

Rice and milk were considered to be very healthy food and we learn from Ibn Masah, that the Indians believed that a diet consisting exclusively of rice and cow's milk not only prolonged life but maintained the physical features of a man and his complexion unaltered.⁵⁸

As for drinks, Muslim travellers since Sulaiman have praised the abstinence of the Indians, but that the drinking of wine was prevalent to some extent is evident from the literature of the period and we find that Hemachandra has included the names of several types of wines, wine glasses and wine-sellers in the DN,⁵⁹ from which it appears that the most common method of obtaining spirit was to distil molasses, which is of course to be expected in a country which manufactured sugar.

It is difficult to say whether popular opinion was really as strong against drinking as the Muslim geographers would have us believe.⁶⁰ The Chāpotkaṭas were remembered during the reign of Kumārāpāla as notorious drunkards, but even more surprising is to find Hemachandra, in describing the delicate condition of Siddharāja's mother, Mayanailādevī, before she gave birth to her famous son, state, that she had to give up drinking due to her advanced stage of pregnancy,⁶¹ as it became

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necessary for her to loosen her girdle. It does not seem possible that Hemachandra should have made such a statement about Mayanallādevī unless he was sure of his facts, for we know that Hemachandra personally abhorred drinking. At least it has to be concluded that Hemachandra was well aware that aristocratic ladies during his time used to drink.

It is only to be expected that drinking revelries were not unknown and Ma'sūdī who had personally visited Cambay (A.D. 943-55) states that Indians some time make girls drink in order to excite them to show their mirth so that the beholders may be inspired with gaiety by their merriment.⁶² Nainar is of the opinion that in this present instance Ma'sūdī was describing a scene which he had witnessed at Cambay, which is quite likely, and it may be stated here that the statement of Ma'sūdī is practically corroborated by Bāṇa who describes similar type of hilarious amusement, during the birth-festival of Harsha: "...There drunken slave women allured the favourites, while the monarch himself looked on with a secret smile. In one place respectable old feudatories were, much to his amusement, claspings the necks of the intoxicated bawds of the capital in a furious dance. Elsewhere wanton water-girls raised a laugh by embracing aged ascetics. In another place chamberlains knowing nothing of dancing were, to the entertainment of the maids, violently forced to dance by the king's women.....Whispering softly, like cuckoos, in low passionate tones, they sang the words of vulgar mimes, ambrosia to their lovers' ears..."⁶³ It is certain that Bāṇa was not present on the occasion which he describes, but it must have been a faithful record of the usual festive scenes during his time, and it seems that little change was perceptible in this aspect of India's social life at least from the days of Bāṇa till when Ma'sūdī visited Cambay. However, Kumārapāla tried to introduce prohibition in Gujarat and if Hemachandra is to be believed even the manufacture of wine jars were prohibited and drunkards, at last forcibly rid of their evil habit, regained their lost prosperity as they could no longer spend money on drinks. It is difficult to say if these prohibitory measures had any permanent result.

Dress and Ornaments

Information regarding the dress of the period is available from the contemporary literature, descriptions of foreign geographers and contemporary illustrated manuscripts and sculptures.

It appears that the kings and rich men wore jackets and tight fitting short trousers made of elaborately embroidered or printed materials. Matichandrā, after considering a statement of ibn Haukal who state that the people of the Gulf of Cambay and Malabar coast wore *izar* and *mizir* after the fashion of the Muhammedans settled there, has come to the conclusion that the men perhaps after the fashion of the Muslims wore shorts and jackets.⁶⁴ But it does not seem that the Indians borrowed

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this dress from the Muslims, for one of the coins of Chandragupta I⁶⁵ shows him wearing a close fitted coat, and short trousers so that we know that the Indians had been using those two articles of dress long before the birth of the Prophet. Trousers and jackets were most probably copied from the Central Asian Śakas or the Kushāṇas.

But for men to wear a trouser or a *dhoti* upto the knee seem to be a peculiar Indian custom. For example in the Ajanta paintings we find the *dhoti* of the men reaching only upto the knee. But the Muslims of the period wore long trousers and long shirts which has been described by Udayaprabhā Sūri—the preceptor of Vastupāla—as long robes that covered the Turushkas from head to foot, (*āpāda-mastakam chakrē dhruvam vāso'vagaṇṭhanam*).⁶⁶ These long robes were the typical dress of the Muslims and the Indians are not known to have used it during this period.

The short trousers of the Indians, we find from illustrated manuscripts from Gujarat, were secured by ornamented broad belts to which were attached *paṭkās*, which, if Merutuṅga is to be believed, were sometimes fabulously costly, for he relates that on one occasion king Paramardin presented Jagaddeva with a pair of extraordinary *paṭkās*, the value of which equalled one lakh (*lakshya-muly-ātuly-odbhaṭa-paṭa-yugam*).⁶⁷

On their shoulders the men wore a *uttarīya*. It is difficult to say whether Gujaratis during this period wore any head-dress or not. For Rājasekhara, admittedly a late author, states that the Gujaratis did not wear any head-dress (*topikā-rahita*)⁶⁸ during the reign of Kumārapāla. On the otherhand Hemachandra includes in the *Deśināmamālā* the word '*aṇarāho*' which according to him meant '*śirasi chitra-paṭṭikā*', that is coloured cloth for the head, presumably a turban.⁶⁹ Probably the people in Gujarat did not wear a head-dress habitually.

Monks used to wear a white *dhoti* and *uttarīya* and we find in a picture Hemachandra dressed in that garb.

Rich ladies used to wear *sāri*, tight fitting half sleeve bodices, and petticoat, all of which were richly ornamented and coloured. Along with the *sāris* they used to wear *paṭkās* whose colour used to match with that of the *sāris*. Sometimes they wore full sleeved jackets, and the contemporary *Mānasollāsa* speaks of Gujarati women as always covering their breasts;⁷⁰ but it seems that the short bodices left the upper part of the abdomen exposed. In the DN we find mentioned two types of garments for the ladies, namely (1) *geṇḍhuan* and *geṇḍam* and (2) *geṇḍhullam* and *govillam*;⁷¹ the first type is explained by Hemachandra as '*stanayorupari vastragranthiḥ*' that is a knot of cloth over the breasts, while he explains the second type as '*kañchukah*' that is a bodice. It appears therefore that either the first type represented a cheap substitute for the more ornate bodice or it might have been a kind of *brassière*

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worn by the ladies under the bodice. Under garments were used by the ladies during this period and the *Deśi* word '*ghaggharam*' is explained by Hemachandra as a kind of under-garment, *jaghanavastrabhedah*.⁷² From the several synonyms of this particular under-garment to be found in the DN, it would appear that this article of dress was fairly in common use.

The evidence of the texts, regarding the dress, is to a great extent corroborated by the sculptured figures of the devotees in the temples of Abu. The dress of a man, when visiting a temple, consisted of a short *dhoti* reaching up to the knees, and an *uttarīya*, which was draped round the shoulders and held in its place by the arms. A large *kumkuma* mark adorned their forehead. While riding a horse or an elephant, a man put on a crown-like head-dress, a long tight-fitting coat and an *uttarīya*, and pointed slippers. They kept beard and moustache, and wore bracelets, armlets, ear-rings and necklace of three strings. Sankalia states that the orthodox Jainas still keep a beard and have a *kumkuma* mark on their forehead, and when they visit a temple they put on the same dress as their ancestors did.

Women wore two garments, besides a bodice to cover their breasts. The upper garment was a big scarf now called *udhani* and used by the Marwari women. The lower garment seems either to be a *sāri* worn like the Southern women or a trouser. The women used a larger quantity of the same type of ornaments as the men used.

One of the wives of Tejahpāla and Tejahpāla himself carry, according to Muni Punyavijayaji quoted by Sankalia, a purse which the Jainas call "*vamsavi*."⁷³ Here it is knitted, but sometimes it is also made of cloth. Evidently it contained money which the pious couple distributed among the poor.

There is a very interesting picture in a manuscript depicting a woman hunting; she is dressed in a short skirt and a bodice like a *choli*.

The usual dress of Jaina nuns, as we learn from illustrated manuscripts, probably consisted of a *sāri*, loose tunic and an *uttarīya*.

In an illustrated manuscript a girl is shown dancing wearing a half sleeve bodice covering her breasts, and tight shorts secured with a belt, the last article of dress probably representing the *nīvīvandha*. This short trouser of a dancing woman was called *chalanaka*, and we find Merutuṅga describing that one day in the court of Paramardin, a low dancing girl was made to dance with nothing but her flowered *chalanaka* on.⁷⁴ According to some lexicographers *chalanaka* was considered to be worn only by low women, who were probably expected to dance in that half nude condition. The *chalanakas* were also richly embroidered or printed with flower designs. The *Deśi* word *chīmṣhulanī*, which Hemachandra explained as '*strīṇām-ardhoruka-vastram*',

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might have been either an equivalent to *chalanaka* or an under-garment. (DN, III, 13)

Other articles of dress, which might have been common to both the sexes, included a muffler, called *kaṇṭhakuñchi*, which according to Hemachandra, was tied round the neck and worn with a knot to hide the Adam's apple.⁷⁵ Handkerchiefs called '*datthari*' were also in use⁷⁶ and elsewhere Hemachandra uses the word *hasta-śāṭaka* for handkerchief. There was also the *paḍiṇiamsanam* which is explained by Hemachandra, as a cloth to be worn at night.⁷⁷ Shoes of course were an indispensable part of the dress and even a slave girl would think it necessary to include a pair of sandals as a part of her minimum requirements.

Various kinds of cosmetics, such as collyrium, *aguru*, sandal, *kumkuma*, and hair oils were probably in use. Though we possess no detailed information for this particular period, several words in the DN indicates that the whole body was perfumed with fragrant unguents.⁷⁸

One of the most important parts of the toilet, for both ladies and gentlemen—were the *tāmbula* or the betels. Indeed, Hemachandra in order to emphasise the boorish manners of Kalachuri Karṇa in contrast to the suavity of the Chaulukya ambassador Dāmodara, pointed out that while the teeth of the Kalachuri king was as sparkingly white as the piece of *dukula* freshly cleaned by a washerman, that of Dāmodara was stained red as he was chewing betel leaves with camphor and areca nuts.⁷⁹ This comparison of Hemachandra led Forbes to make some comments,⁸⁰ but at that time and long afterwards, foreigners used to praise the Indian habit of chewing the betels. For example Idrisi states approvingly that the breath of those that chew betels has an agreeable odour,⁸¹ and writing in the 18th century Careri was to remark: "The betel makes the Lips so Fine, Red, and Beautiful, that if the Italian Ladies could, they would purchase it for the weight in gold."⁸² Thus we see that not only Indians but foreigners too thought very highly of the betel as an aid to beauty.

We learn from the DN that there was a maid-servant called '*ḍoṅgī*' who prepared the *tāmbula*.⁸³ Naturally in the houses of less well-to-do people, the ladies of the house had to prepare it themselves. Betels were prepared by smearing the leaves with a little lime, and adding to it pieces of areca nut, and such sweet scented articles as camphor. In the *Vratakhanda* Hemādri quotes the *Ratnaśoṣa* to the effect that *tāmbula* means betel leaves, areca nuts and lime, while *mukhāvāsa* means these together with cardammon, camphor clove, *hakkola* berries, pieces of copra and *mātuliṅga* fruit.⁸⁴ The prepared betels were carried in boxes or small pouches.⁸⁵

Ornaments of various kinds were worn by both men and women. These ranged from head ornaments or *tilaka* to anklets. In the

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Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharita Hemachandra mentions that *tilaka* is the fourteenth ornament suitable for a woman. He was evidently referring to the conventional list of fourteen ornaments which are as follows: (1) necklace, (2) short or half necklace, (3) ear-ring, (4) gold (bracelet), (5) jewel (necklace or bracelet), (6) string of pearls, (7) armlets, (8) anklets, (9) another kind of bracelet, (10) ring, (11) ear-ring, (12) pearl-necklace, (13) crest-jewel, (14) *tilaka*.⁸⁶ In addition to these there were ornaments worn by ladies round their waists.

Games and amusements

From a verse in the *Dvayāśraya*,⁸⁷ it appears that a game was played in Gujarat which resembled modern game of hockey for all practical purposes, and there are reasons to believe that this game was extremely popular during the period under review. From the verse of Hemachandra and its commentary by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi we learn that this game was played by the young men in villages during the autumn, when the mud had dried, but had not become dry enough to turn into dust. At such time of the year was the game played, in which the participants divided themselves into two parties and each party tried to push a ball across the area of the other.⁸⁸ The ball was pushed, or rather hit very hard by the players by means of a stick which ended in a curved head.⁸⁹ But, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi observes, sometimes (instead of hitting the ball), a player used to hit, slyly, with his stick at the leg of one of the players of the opposite side with equal force, and this led to free fight with fists among the two parties.

It is well known that the game of hockey originated in India, and there can be hardly any doubt that in the description of the game left by the two sedate monks, we have a vivid picture of an early game of hockey. Unfortunately Abhayatilaka Gaṇi does not mention the number of players who could play at a time, nor whether the ball had to be taken across a definite line like a goal line, but from his indications it seems that we cannot be far wrong if we imagine that the game used to be played by a restricted number of players who tried to take the ball not only across the opponent's side of the area, which must have been clearly demarcated, but across its other extremity where now the goal posts are erected. The important points to be noted are that, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi mentions that the game was played at a time and in a kind of ground which are ideal for hockey, and the stick with the curved ends can only be hockey sticks. Not the least important part of the above narrative is however the description of the fist fight which ensued when a player hit another with his stick intentionally. This touch of reality shows that both Hemachandra and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi had either played or witnessed the game. So far as Hemachandra is concerned however, it is known that he was taken away from his parents and village when

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he was five years old and soon afterwards began his studies; probably the Great Monk in his childhood used to witness the game and what must have impressed his young mind was the fist fight in which his village game once ended. Presumably there was no umpire.

This game was so popular that in the *Dvyaśraya* it is said that even Vallabharāja used to play it during his youth.⁹⁰ Again in describing the youth of Śrī-Krishṇa at Vṛndāvana, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi states that young Krishṇa used to play this game with his friends, and Hemachandra states that Vāsūpūjya played this game during his childhood.⁹¹

Pigeon race and Cock fights

In the *Mahāvīracharita* of Hemachandra, Mahāvīra predicts that the games of pigeon race and cock fight were to be prohibited by Kumārapāla.⁹² Thus we learn that both the forms of amusement were popular in Gujarat during the period under review. Cock fight as a popular game was known in India from much earlier times and Daṇḍin has a very good description of it in his *Daśakumāracharita*. It is well known, however, that all forms of gambling were prohibited by Manu,⁹³ but Nārada permitted not only gambling but specifically mentioned betting on birds as permissible.⁹⁴ Brihaspati after reminding one of the injunctions of Manu against gambling, states that other legislators have permitted it, and then proceeds to lay down his rules for the fights between birds, rams, deer and other animals.⁹⁵ As Hemachandra only mentions cock fights, it may be presumed that fight between other animals had become obsolete by this time.

The following graphic description of a cock fight is given by Hemachandra in the *Trishashṭīśālākāpuruṣacharita*:

"One day while king Ghanaratha, surrounded by his wives, sons, and grandsons like the leader of an elephant herd, was occupied with various amusements comfortably in the women's apartments, a courtesan, Susenā, holding a cock, asserted:

"Your Majesty, this cock of mine is a crest-jewel among his own kind. He has never been beaten by any one's cock. If this cock is beaten by any one's cock, I will pay a lac of *dināras* as a wager. If any one else has a cock, let him take up my challenge, lord."

"Queen Manoramā said, 'Let my cock fight here with that cock on that wager, Your Majesty.' The king agreed and Queen Manoramā at once had a servant-girl bring her cock, named Vajratuṇḍa. The two were set down on the ground and attacked each other, dancing with various steps like foot soldiers in exhibition. They flew up and fell down, they advanced and retreated, they gave and took blows mutually. The crests, though red, of these two fine cocks became redder from blood produced by cruel blows with bills and feet. Like armed men in the form of birds, the cocks dug sharp claws in each others body

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frequently. Every moment, someone with the idea of victory said, 'The queen wins!' 'Sūsenā wins!' Neither one won." (Both the cocks died.)⁹⁶

It would be easy to explain Hemachandra's personal aversion to cock fighting which made him recommend its prohibition to Kumārapāla, if it is presumed that the vivid description of the cock fight given above was based on actual experience. His long connection with the court of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla makes it very probable that he witnessed such a game, though it is more likely that he saw the game when at the bidding of Siddharāja he used to visit that monarch at the palace as a young monk before he had attained fame. Hence it is possible that here we have an eye-witness' account of an afternoon of amusement enjoyed by the great Chaulukya king and his queens.

Gambling

Gambling with dice has been known in India since Ṛig-vedic times; Manu condemned gambling but Brihaspati and Nārada, as has been stated above, permitted it. For this period, we find in the DN two *Deśi* words,—*Pāuggo* and *Pāuggio*—both meaning a keeper of a gambling house.⁹⁷ From this it can be inferred that there were definite gambling houses in Gujarat which were probably kept according to the provisions for the maintenance and upkeep of such places as found in the *Smyitis* mentioned above. As may be expected, Hemachandra condemned gambling in strong language and we find him writing in his *Mahāvīracharita*: "He (Kumārapāla) will destroy the very name of the game of dice, which Nala and other princes had not given up, like the name of a personal foe."⁹⁸ Probably Kumārapāla succeeded in closing down the gambling houses, but human nature being what it is, the mediaeval gamblers can be expected to have found out new haunts for their tainted pastime.

Among younger people the game of hide and seek seems to have been quite popular, and was probably played by both boys and girls.⁹⁹ But the game of *karkaraka*, which consisted of throwing the pebbles in the air, was exclusively a girl's game, as Hemachandra states: "Girls play the *karkaraka* game at will with the pearl settings of the *svastika* in the court yard."¹⁰⁰ As Hemachandra was describing the habits of the subjects of Kuvera, he of course could not let those girls play with anything less valuable than pearls, but as a matter of fact, the game is still said to be played with pebbles by little girls in Gujarat, and there can be hardly any doubt that such was the custom in Hemachandra's days.

Another game, probably played by both the girls and the boys, was the *ambelī*, which is explained by Hemachandra as *mushṭi-dyūtam* in the DN.¹⁰¹ Though Hemachandra does not offer any further explanation it is easy to identify it with the game of *mushṭi dyūtam*

mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*. It was a game of 'odd and even' played mostly by girls or young boys or both. A player used to take a few *cowries* or seeds of fruits in her hand and asked her playmates to guess whether it contained odd or even number. If the guess was correct the challenger lost her *cowries*, otherwise she took an amount of *cowries* equal to what she had hidden, from her opponent.

Lastly, there was the pleasant game of *navalayā* which, it will be apparent from the following verse of Hemachandra, was played within the restricted circle of young married ladies:

*dolā-vilāsa-samāe pūchchhantīhiṃ paiṇāmaṃ
laṭṭhihi haṇijjantī vahūā navalayavayam bharaha.*¹⁰²

In the same context Hemachandra explains that it was a sort of religious observance (*niyama-viśeṣa*) in which the woman who did not give out her husband's name was beaten by others with creepers of *Palāśa*.

But that *navalayā* was more a game than a religious observance is seen from Hemachandra's description of the same in the *Trishashṭiśalākā-purushacharita*, where he describes it twice. In one of these descriptions, however, he prefaces the account of the game with the above-quoted verse in which he uses a simile which may be taken to throw some light on the likely fate of a guilty husband during the period, though it is more likely to have been the poetic fancy of a celibate monk, who, for once in his life, was straying beyond the domain of his encyclopaedic knowledge to cast an aspersion on the conjugal habits of the mediaeval Gujaratis: "Gazelle eyed maidens", says Hemachandra, "going to and fro from the motion of the swings kicked the tree-tops as if they were guilty husbands. One bride, seated in a swing, endured blows from creepers from her women friends who asked her husband's name, her mouth sealed from modesty."¹⁰³ It was most probably a game of spring for in the same work we find: "Spring, the friend of sports of young people, the best friend of the victories of Mīnaketu, blooms today with sole dominion, master. Young wives who have recently attained youth, engaged in swinging in swings, are asked their husbands' names by their women friends holding switches."¹⁰⁴

Drama

Drama seems to have been very popular during this period as it always has been in India. Thirty-three dramas are known to have been written in Gujarat during this period and it can be presumed that all these were meant for the stage.¹⁰⁵ Some of these dramas like the *Kaṇhasundarī* of Bilhana and the *Pārtha-Parākramā* or the *Dūtāṅgada*¹⁰⁶ were either played before the king or before high officials of the state, or feudatories. Indeed the author of the *Pārtha-Parākramā* was the feudatory prince Prahlādaṇa, the brother of the redoubtable Abu

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Paramāra prince Dhārāvarsha. Vastupāla also wrote a drama called *Naranārāyaṇānanda*. From these it will be apparent that drama was highly popular among the aristocracy. It is interesting to learn that the female roles were played by women trained by one *raṅgāchārya*. (DV. I, v. 180)

We also learn from inscriptions¹⁰⁷ that there were arrangements for performing dramatic shows both in Hindu and Jaina temples. These were probably the places where the common men enjoyed their show. The Anavada inscription records that from the income granted to the temple by the state and some persons, expenses for worship and the theatricals were met. As, however, there was some deficiency in the funds, and the income of the temple was insufficient to meet the necessary expenses the citizens of Prahlananapura met together to devise ways and means to raise the income of the temple. As a result several new taxes were imposed on several necessities of life, the details of which are recorded in the inscription. It does not seem to be a bold guess to assume that the real deficit in the Vishṇu temple at Pahlampur was due to its theatrical show, so that the state having refused to increase its grants the citizens at last were obliged to tax themselves indirectly. This would indicate a genuine enthusiasm for drama amongst the people.

It appears that even kings along with commoners attended these dramatic shows held at the temples. Merutuṅga narrates an anecdote according to which Siddharāja was one night looking at a play in the temple of Karpameru, when an ordinary merchant placed his hand on the royal shoulder. Though astonished at this sportive familiarity, the great king accepted many times from the merchant the betels which were offered. Next morning, Merutuṅga states, the king had the merchant brought to the court and complained that his neck was aching from the weight of the heavy hand which the merchant had rested there the previous night. But the prompt merchant replied: "If your Majesty's shoulder does not feel pain from bearing the weight of the whole earth . . . what pain can it feel from the weight of me . . .". The merchant, so ends the story, was let off with a present.¹⁰⁸ This story may be of little value for the biography of Siddharāja, but it is possible that in those days the kings used to sit with commoners in temple halls to witness the dramas.

In the *Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita* Hemachandra has given a very long description of a dramatic performance which is more or less conventional except one passage which is as follows: "Sometimes (during the drama) even the sophisticated townsmen were made to laugh, like the villagers, by fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, flatnosed men, men with dishevelled hair, bald men, one eyed men, and other deformed men; by ash-coloured men; by men with buttock bells.

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by musicians of the arm-pit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of the speech of other people¹⁰⁹ It seems that here we have a description of some rustic amusement which were popular during the time; the musicians of the arm-pit were undoubtedly a class of people who could emit a sound by placing a hand under their arm-pits and bringing it down, which simple feat provided merriment to the unsophisticated villagers just as it does today. But more interesting is the mention of men with buttock-bells (*apāna-ghanṭā*), which we do not think is mentioned elsewhere. Only an old Tamil work, in a description of the lower abdomen of a girl, mentions a *megalāi* and 'many stringed waist bands with many bells looking as if swarmed with bees'.¹¹⁰ At present several tribes such as the Maria Gonds of Bastar, Ao Nagas of Assam and another tribe in the Coorg area of the Western Ghats are known to use buttock-bells.¹¹¹ Probably even in the time of Hemachandra it was a tribal dance which provided amusement to the villagers. Whether the comical buttock-bell mentioned by Hemachandra can be traced back to the bells suspended from the waist band of an ancient Tamil girl cannot be definitely determined.

This description of the life in a rural society would remain incomplete if we were not to mention the activities of the *kandito* and the *gāmaroḍo*¹¹² who according to Hemachandra were '*bhedena grāma-bhoktā*' and '*chhalena grāma-bhoktā*' respectively, and the great grammarian explains that these two types of persons earned their livelihood by creating disunion among the villagers. We are ignorant about the actual *modus operandi* of these gentlemen, but at least one can be sure that life in villages, with its amusement, gaiety and even imperfection, was much the same as we find it to-day everywhere in India.

CHAPTER XVII

Art and Architecture

The art and architectural treasures of Gujarat have, like that of the rest of India, suffered from the ravages of time, nature, and man.

Unfortunately, the Gujarat temples were often constructed on poor foundations, which were neither sufficiently deep nor solid, so that the least subsidence of the ground below brought down the walls. Moreover, masonry was little used, and the weight of the stones were considered sufficient to keep them in their places, when piled one upon the other. The result was that when one stone was displaced, the rest tumbled down. The beams, often of inferior stone, were unable to bear the great weight piled upon them, and due to too great a span for the section, cracked, bringing down the whole superstructure like a house of cards.

The *śikhara* or the spire was particularly weak. The thickness of the walls of the cella on which the spire rested was no more than perhaps a fifth of the length of the cella; there were no transverse walls to divide the interior of the spire into several chambers, though wooden beams were often laid diagonally between the different walls to add strength to them, and the cella was covered by a dome like ceiling made of diagonal corbelling elaborately carved. In places other than Gujarat, blocks of stone were usually placed horizontally on top of each other, so that the height gained was small in comparison with the horizontal extent of the courses. In the Chaulukya temples, the stones were laid vertically in the upper part of the spire. To reduce the strain, sometimes the inside of the vertical components of the tower were carved away as far as possible. Further measures of safety was provided by the ambulatory or pradakṣiṇa mārga round the cella. The roof which covered the ambulatory was supported on the outside by a series of pillars and walls of short width on which part of the weight of the *śikhara* was transferred, relieving the burden on the walls of the cella to a certain extent. In spite of these devices, however, the *śikhara*s of the Chaulukya temples remained structurally weak, and it is seen that in many temples it is the *śikhara* which has tumbled down, while the rest of the temple is standing.¹

The Muslim conquerors of Gujarat destroyed a large number of old shrines to procure materials for mosques and other buildings. For example, the pillars and brackets in the Jami *masjid* at Broach, the one hundred pillars supporting the roof of the Jami *masjid* at Cambay and

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its entrance hall and the tomb at the south of the mosque, the sixty pillars and pilasters in Hilal Khan Kazi's *masjid*, and the Tana or Tanka *masjid* at Dholka, and the ceilings of the Jami and the Maipuri *masjids* at Somanath, were evidently reft from Hindu temples,² which once adorned these noble cities of the Chaulukyas.

But the Muslims were not the only despoilers of ancient art treasures; pious Hindus were also at work. Thus in A.D. 1805, one Bahadur Singhji Jaskaran, built a new well to increase his merit, chiefly from the materials carried off from the *Rani-ki-vav*, that is the step-well built by Udayamatī, the Queen of Bhīma I.³ Nothing practically is left of Udayamatī's *vav*, still its ruins were sufficient for Burgess to declare it to be one of the best in Gujarat.

At Vaghel or Vyāghrapallī, the original seat of the Vāghelā kings, Forbes saw a temple similar in design to that of Modhera, but of smaller dimensions. It consisted of a single open one-storeyed *mandapa* with pyramidal roof, three porticoes and a *śikhara*. Remarking on the disappearance of this temple Burgess wrote: "This (temple) no longer exists, not even a vestige of its foundations remains. The villagers say that it was broken down and the materials carried off about A.D. 1865-70, to be used in the construction of a new tank at Radhanpur. Thus do Hindus destroy and obliterate the best remains of their ancient art and the evidences of their past history; they can hardly blame the conquering Muhammedans for wrecking their shrines as their religion bade, when, to save a trifle of extra expense, they allow without protest, an ancient monument to be destroyed by some contractor, and its richly carved material employed for the most vulgar of common-place purposes. Vandalism without a motive is the most pitiable form of ignorant destruction, and the perpetrators do not realise the loss thus caused".⁴

Then there were the British engineers of whom Dr. Gustave le Bon wrote: The English pickaxe is unmerciful and whenever any temple is found situated upon a road under construction, porticoes, columns, statues, fall under the pick of the demolisher to go and help to consolidate some embankment. . . . I had recently made a long journey to Chandrāvātī to visit a temple among several other remains. A lucky chance at the moment of starting made me aware that the temple had recently been reduced to fragments by an engineer to pave a road." From the account left by Mrs. Hunter-Blair, who visited Chandrāvātī with the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay in 1824, it appears that this temple, made entirely of white sculptured marble, was one of the finest in India.⁴ Writing on the marble temples in general, Burgess stated: "Most of what once existed at Chandrāvātī, Bhiladi, Mudetha and many at Anhilapattana, appear to have been constructed of this material (white marble); and the remains of Sarotra and Roho are entirely of white marble. . . . But marble shrines have now almost disappeared, their

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material having been carried off to break up for lime; nor is this vandalism of remote date, but has been continued till the present time".⁴ Here Burgess adds that after their wholesale desecration and destruction by the Muslims, the temples were allowed to decay and fall into ruin after which it was a matter of time before its components were carried off and put to various uses.

Style of Chaulukya Architecture

The *Śilpaśāstras* recognise three main styles of architecture, namely, Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara, and they agree that the Nāgara style prevailed in north India between the Himalayas and the Vindhya.⁵ The *Aparājita-prichchhā*, however, confines the Nāgara style to Madhyadeśa, and states that the Lāṭī style was followed in Lāṭa.⁶

The chief characteristics of the Nāgara style were its ground plan and elevation. The ground plan was always a square with subsidiary lateral projections from the centre of each side resulting in a cruciform shape. But the most distinguishing aspect of the Nāgara style was its elevation, which was characterised by a tall *śikhara* or spire, gradually inclining inwards. This basic style, widely distributed over the whole of north India, developed distinct varieties in different localities, due to local conditions and art traditions; but, the cruciform plan and the *śikhara* are common to every mediaeval temple in north India. The *śikhara* has the same effect as the Church towers and minarets of a mosque; it is a landmark to guide the worshipper to the sacred seat of the deity, and towering high above the unbroken plains it compels one to raise his gaze from the ground towards the celestial abode.

According to the *Hayaśirsha-pañcharātram*, "the Lāṭa (that is, Lāṭī) temples are similar to the Nāgaras, but they differ in the *karma* (construction); their *masūraka* (socle) and *kapotaka* (moulding) are *chaturasra* (square)".⁷ This difference is not sufficient to identify the Lāṭī style, though it shows that the Lāṭī temples were similar to the Nāgara temples and may be classed as a local development of the latter.

The most prominent feature of the Chaulukya temples were the *śikhara*, and according to the Gujarat *śilpaśāstras* there were twenty-four varieties of *śikhara*.⁸ In the earlier temples the line of curve (*rekḥā*) rises almost vertically and sharply curves inwards as it approaches the summit. In later temples, the curves of the *śikhara* are further embellished by adding on the main *śikhara* smaller ones, known as *uruśrīṅga*, *śrīṅga* or *aṅga-śikhara* as found in the Sunak temple of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva, and at the temple at (Sanderā); but the central *śikhara* is always placed just above the sanctum. On the top of the *śikhara* is the large round flat stone with a dented circumference, called *āmalasara*. It is often surmounted by a second *āmalasara*, slightly smaller in dimensions

than the lower. The vase like finial called the *kalasa* stands on the *āmalasara*.

In their general ground plan also, the temples of the Chaulukya period differ very little from the Nāgara temples found in other places in north India. The basical composition of the Chaulukya temples was a shrine and a pillared hall, the latter better known as *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*. Sometimes the two parts are joined together to form a parallelogram and sometimes they are attached diagonally. Generally the smaller temples have only a small *maṇḍapa* while in larger ones such as the temple at Modhera, there is not only a large *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* but also a detached open hall, variously called the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* (assembly hall), the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* (theatre hall) or *nṛitya-śālā* (dancing hall).

The *maṇḍapas* of some of the larger temples probably consisted of more than one storey, but these are at present so damaged that it is not possible to understand their arrangement. But the most striking feature of a Chaulukya temple, as with the other manifestations of a Nāgara temple, has been produced by breaking up the walls of the temples, in vertical lines, that is by alternate projected and recessed chases. This produces an effective contrast of light and shade, and adds dignity and illusive strength to the temples. Occasionally, in the more developed structures, these chases are further developed by rotating squares round a central axis—a process that may be recognised to be a different application of the same idea that was responsible for the introduction of the system of addition of the *ratha* projections on the exterior walls of early Nāgara form. In the Ghumli temple, the vertical chases in the plans of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa*, and in Sejkpur that of the *maṇḍapa*, are formed by *ratha* projections; whereas in the Sejkpur sanctum the vertical chases are obtained on the principle of rotating squares, which is also followed in the shrine of Galteśvara at Sarnal, which belongs to a later date.⁹

The vertical axis of the Chaulukya temples may be broadly divided into *pīṭha* or basement, *maṇḍovara* or walls and finally the spire or *śikhara*. The characteristics of the *śikhara* has already been described.

"In building a temple, a paved platform (*kharasīlā*) is first laid upon a well rammed bedding of concrete, or, in older temples, upon a solid mass of brickwork. On this is raised the *pīṭha*, a solid substructure, the upper surface of which forms the floor of the building. The outer face of this basement is carved with a series of horizontal mouldings which follow the same order, though some of them may be omitted at will.

"The *grasapaṭṭi* is a string course of mouldings sculptured with grinning faces; with horns called also *kīrttimukha* and *kīrttivaktra*—which is a decorative form of great antiquity, being found in cave temples as well as in structural buildings. Elephants are represented in line, with their heads and forelegs projecting from the basement as if supporting

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the building; and where such a member appears, the base is called a *gajapīṭha*. The *āsvathara* or row of horses, occupy a similar position; the *narathara* or band of men forms a sort of frieze on which to represent mythological scenes and incidents".¹⁰

Another characteristic feature of the Chaulukya temples is the richly carved pillars which support the roof. The components of a pillar follow the elevation scheme of the temple and is divided into several well defined parts. The base of the pillar called *kumbhī*, (like that of the shrine) has recessed corners above which are the mouldings called *keval* surmounted by a *paṭṭikā* or fillet carved with a row of faces called *grasapaṭṭi*. The upper mouldings of the shaft, called the *bharaṇī*, are supporting members, upon which rests the *śīras* or capital, usually supported by superimposed brackets, on which and the capital is placed the lintel supporting the roof.

The shaft from the *kumbhī* to the *bharaṇī* is called the *stambha* or pillar proper. On the lower section of the *stambhas*, particularly in highly sculptured temples, are carved niches on each face, often containing standing figures of *dikpālas*, that is guardians of the points of compass, whilst above them are figures of seated *devīs* of the class to which the presiding deity of the temple belongs. The corbels over these are called *hīra-grihas* which hold the lower tenons of bracket figures—usually *gandharvas*—held in position above by the larger projecting brackets of the *śīras* or capital.

Sometimes, when the roof of the central dome is higher than the side bays which reach the level of the brackets, a sur-capital is employed to meet the extra height. The section of the shaft supporting the sur-capital is called *uchchālāka* or *virahakaṇṭha*. Percy Brown has called these pillars "attic pillars."

The most outstanding feature of a Chaulukya temple, however, is the dome, which distinguishes it from other Indian temples. The dome is supported by an octagonal frame of pillars forming a nave and rises in concentric highly sculptured courses terminating at the apex in a most beautiful hanging pendant. The octagonal nave is obtained by geometrical distribution in the main hall of the pillars, which are so arranged as to form aisles on the outside. Thus it will be seen that the architectural style of the interior is definitely peristylar.

Another distinguishing feature of the Chaulukya temples is the interior decoration. Usually it is found elsewhere, that while the exterior of the temples are covered with exuberant decoration the interior is plain. In Orissa temples for example, the walls of some of the assembly halls are bare of any decoration, forming a striking contrast to the richly carved exterior decorations. In Khajuraho, greater freedom is observed in interior decoration, and a considerable amount of carving may be seen in the interior of the Khajuraho temples. But in Gujarat only the

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innermost passages and chambers are devoid of decoration, the remainder of the interior being profusely sculptured. This may have been due to the fact that wood carving was a prominent feature of Gujarat art up to a late age, and the stone cutters attempted to reproduce in stone the intricately carved wooden pillars, brackets and other interior decorations which were usually found in a temple made of wood. The pillars and brackets of the Modhera temple or the world famous ceilings of the Abu temples seem to have their origin in wooden prototypes. Recently Sri N. K. Bose, during an investigation of the Gop temple, acknowledged as the oldest structural temple in Gujarat, found traces of wood which leads Sri S. K. Sarasvati to suggest that there was a wooden ambulatory.

Two other prominent features of the Chaulukya temples are the *torāṇa*, and a large tank in front of a temple. The *torāṇa* is a ceremonial arch placed on two pillars, the whole structure being very richly carved. A swing in which the deity was placed during ceremonial occasions was suspended from the *torāṇa*. As for the big tanks which are found in front of temples, the builders were probably obeying the following injunction of the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* (LVI, v. 3)

*salil-odyāna-yukteshu kriteshu-akritakeshu cha
sthāneshu-eteshu sannidhyaṃ upagachchhanti devatāḥ*

(The gods come near the temples (to which is) attached tanks and gardens made by men or not (ie. natural lakes and gardens).).

Historically the most important temples of Gujarat are the temples of Somanātha, Rudramahālaya and the Sūrya temple at Modhera. The Śatruñjaya group of temples are important because it is a very holy Jaina *ṭīrtha*, and partly for the same reason and partly for their artistic merits, the temples at Abu are famous. Some other temples like that of Sunak, are important to-day, because they have luckily survived the ravages of nature and man, and are found intact.

Temple of Somanātha

Recent excavations have revealed the existence of three water outlets from the cella, each above the other. This indicates that as one temple fell down another was built above its ruins and the cella placed exactly where it had been. It is evident, therefore, that at least three temples were built on the present site, each of which were either destroyed or fell into ruin at different periods.

The earliest epigraphic reference to the temple of Somanātha is contained in the Veraval-*prāśasti* of Bhāva Bṛihaspati, which is as follows:—

“King Soma built a golden temple, then Kṛishṇa... a silver one; the illustrious Bhīmadeva (erected) “the jewel peak” (*Ratnakūṭam*) with most resplendent large stones; the latter which in course of time had become ruinous, this most excellent king (Kumārapāla) converted into (the building) called *Meru* (v.15).

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"This second place had been ruined by many evil disposed *Gaṇḍas*, by numerous bad servants of the king, who had succumbed to the greed of money; but quickly and easily it was restored by the venerable *Gaṇḍa* (*Bṛihaspati*) . . . (v. 18).

"To the south and to the north (of the temple of) the god, he (*Bṛihaspati*) built a fort difficult of access. . . . (v. 24)

"He built a royal hall (*nṛipaśālā*) and the well of a *rasahatī* (*rasavati*) for cleaning the kitchen and for procuring good water for bathing".¹¹ (v. 26).

From this it is evident, that in the 12th century none knew how the temple originated, hence the mythological beginning. Bhīma's temple was, however, historical, and it was according to this inscription made of stone. But according to Merutuṅga, the temple which was repaired by Kumārapāla was made of wood (*Someśvarasya kāshṭhamayam prāsādam*) and had fallen into decay due to ocean spray that fell over it.¹² But in view of Bṛihaspati's emphatic testimony, that Bhīma I built a stone temple, we have to reject Merutuṅga's version, particularly as Bṛihaspati was the man who restored the temple and therefore must have known what the previous temple was made of. Secondly, Merutuṅga says that the wooden temple was destroyed through the action of sea water, but Bṛihaspati ascribes its ruin to the venality of royal officials and bad *Gaṇḍas*, that is predecessors of Bṛihaspati.

It is possible however that Merutuṅga, who had not seen the temple built by Bhīma I, was erroneously referring to the temple which was destroyed by Sultān Mahmūd and on the ruins of which Bhīma I had built his temple. For, Ibn Asir states that the temple of Somanātha was built on fifty-six pillars of teak-wood, covered with lead.¹³ Al-Beruni writes about this temple: "The fortress which contained the idol and its treasures was not ancient, but was built only about a hundred years ago."¹⁴

It appears therefore that a temple was built at Somanātha, about the earlier half of the 10th century. The roof of the *mandapa* of this temple was supported by wooden pillars, for that is the only place where fifty six pillars could be arranged. This, however, does not mean that the whole temple was made of wood. The *pīṭha* and the *mandovara* was most probably made of stone, and the lowest water outlet of the cella is probably of this temple.

As for al-Beruni's statement that the idol was kept inside a fortress, it has been seen that even Bṛihaspati constructed a fort around the temple which indicates that an earlier fort also stood either at the same place or very near it. It may be suggested that Śrīdhara the '*durgadarpa*' was commanding this fort during the reign of Bhīma II.

Thus we find that the first temple on this site was probably constructed in the 10th century; about a century later Bhīma I built the second

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temple on its ruin, and after the second temple had fallen into decay, Kumārapāla built another temple after another hundred years had gone by.

The only other Chaulukya king whose name is associated with the temple of Somanātha, is Bhīma II. He added a *maṇḍapa* to the temple, which is called Meghanāda in the second *prāsaṣṭi* of Bhāva Bṛihaspati, and Meghadhvani in Śrīdhara's Devapattana-*prāsaṣṭi*.¹⁵ Most probably, Meghadhvani was so called because of the tonal quality of the hail which was used as a theatre auditorium.

In the Sundha hill inscription (v. 39, EI IX 77) it is stated that Kalhaṇa after destroying the Turushkas erected a golden *toraṇa* like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa (*Śrī-Someś-āspada-mukula-vaṭ toraṇam kāñchanasya*). The abode of Someśa seems to refer to the temple of Somanātha. The Turushkas referred to here means the army of Muizz 'ud-Dīn. Evidently after the defeat of the Muslim army in which Kalhaṇa took a very prominent part, he erected the *torāṇa* as a thanks-offering to the guardian deity of Gujarat.

From the epigraphic records, therefore, the temple complex would be as follows: the main temple, a *nṛpaśālā*, a kitchen, and a theatre hall and a *torāṇa*; this group of buildings was flanked on its north and south by forts.

Cousens suggested that "the great temple which faces the east consisted when entire of a large central closed hall or *gūḍhamandapa* with three entrances, each protected with a deep lofty porch, and the shrine . . . the *sanctum sanctorum* which stood upon the west side of the hall, having a broad *pradakṣhiṇā* or circumambulatory passage around it. The latter was lighted by a large balconied window in each of its three sides away from the hall, and these formed a very pleasing feature in the general appearance of the building from outside. That at the back, or west side has fallen, and so have the three porches. It is quite possible that like the temple of Sūrya at Modhera, this one may have had a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* or open hall, slightly in advance of the main entrance, from which the beautiful ceiling in the Maipuri mosque may have been taken. The original roof, which had fallen, with the exception of the inner domical ceiling of the shrine, has been entirely rebuilt in a rough and ready fashion by the Muhammadans, who raised the fallen pillars, and finished off the exterior of the roof with a large Musalman dome and two stumpy *minarels*, thus converting it into a mosque."¹⁶

Sankalia, however, does not agree to Cousen's suggestion that there may have been a *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, as no trace of such a building has been found.¹⁷ But two inscriptions state that Bhīma built a *maṇḍapa* of which there is no remnant at present. We are therefore inclined to accept Cousen's suggestion regarding the probable existence of such a detached hall. It may be mentioned here, that Bṛihaspati's inscriptions

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refer to many other temples near the main temple, of which also there is no trace. Similarly, the *Cintra-praśasti*, of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva refers to the building of five temples by Tripurāntaka which were situated to the north of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple of Someśvara close to the *ghaṭikā-griha*. He also erected a *toraṇa* in front of the northern gate;¹⁸ it is apparent that Tripurāntaka's temples were surrounded by a wall, and the *torāṇa* adorned the principal gate to the enclosure, as the fort and the great temple of Somanātha lay to the south and east, and the sea was on the west. No trace, however, of these structures have been discovered. Therefore, it is not possible to conclude, on the basis of negative archaeological evidence alone, that the temple of Somanātha had no *maṇḍapa*. Inscriptions are safer guides where large scale destructions have taken place.

Cousens also suggested that the last temple was built by Kumārāpāla, from which Sankalia has disagreed, because some of the interior decorations and pillars seem to indicate that these were built during the reign of Bhīma I, their motif and design being similar to those found in Vimala's temple. It is entirely possible, however, that while building a new temple on the old site, Kumārāpāla may have used some pillars etc., from the older temple. It is known that the temple was restored by the Chuḍāsama king Mahīpāladeva (A.D. 1308-1325) after it had been damaged by Alp Khan. It was again damaged by Muzaffar Khan in the last decade of the 14th century and also probably by his grandson Ahmad Shāh in A.D. 1413. In A.D. 1663 Aurangzeb ordered its demolition, but possibly the order could not be carried out, so that in A.D. 1706 another order was issued to turn it into a mosque. The mosque seems to have been abandoned after a few years. In A.D. 1838, the temple roof was used by the British gunners who placed on it a battery to protect the neighbouring fort of Veraval. In 1922, the temple was being used as a stable.¹⁹

The pillars of Bhīma's temple—assuming that they belong to that period—survived all these catastrophes; and Sankalia admits that the ruins belong to a period extending from the 11th to the 13th and from the 13th to the 14th centuries. If the later restorers could use the pillars, it is difficult to see why Kumārāpāla should not have used them while building a new temple. Again, it may be pointed out here, that there is no record to indicate that a new temple was built after Kumārāpāla, while inscriptions state that he built a temple there. Secondly, there are reasons to believe that he built a new type of temple.

We have cited above the *Veraval-praśasti* of Bhāva Brihaspati, in which it is stated that Bhīma erected the *Ratnakūṭa* which was converted by Kumārāpāla into (the building called) *Meru*. Bühler translated *Ratnakūṭa* as 'the jewel peak' which is correct, though it is better to translate it as the 'jewel spire'; but the term most probably refers to a

particular type of temple. However, there is no doubt that *Meru* was a technical term used to denote a particular type of building.

The description of *Meru* type of temple is found in many *Purāṇas*, *Silpasāstras* and the *Bṛihatsamhitā*. According to the *Bṛihatsamhitā* (LVI v. 17 and 20) the *Meru* was a hexagonal twelve storeyed temple, with variegated windows and four entrances and was thirty-two cubits wide. According to the *Agni-purāṇa* (XLII, v. 24) and the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* the *Meru* had one hundred *śṛiṅgas* that is *uruśṛiṅgas*. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (CCLXIX v. 31) the *Meru* had one hundred *śṛiṅgas*, sixteen *bhūmikās* and many variegated *śikharaś*. The *Aparājitapṛichchhā*, which was most probably written in western India, contains several descriptions of *Meru* type of buildings of which the following is one:

*Vimānaṁ vṛiddh-oruśṛiṅgaṁ pushpakam prati-bhadrake
bhadre dvi-pushpakam kuryāt pratyāṅge chaiva pushpakam
meruś-ch-āsau samākhyātāḥ kartavya sarva-daivata
merur-merupamo divyaḥ sarvo-ratnamayo'pi cha
etaiś-cha labhyate puṇyam pūjā syāch-Chhiva-modita*

(*Aparājitapṛichchhā* p. 406 vv. 84-86)

From the *Aparājitapṛichchhā* it is apparent that the *śṛiṅgas* mentioned in the *Purāṇas* were the *uruśṛiṅgas* of which Burgess wrote: "Above the sanctum rises the central spire, and over each *bhadra* or separate face are applied *uruśṛiṅgas*, one above another, lying close against the tower; and over the *kona*, *uparatha* and *pratiratha* corners are placed the *śṛiṅgas*." ²⁰ The *kūṭa* and the *nānā vichitra-śikhara* mentioned by the *Suprabhedāgama* and the *Matsya-purāṇa* respectively, probably correspond to the '*śṛiṅgas*' on the *kona*, *uparatha* and *pratiratha* mentioned by Burgess. The *bhūmikā* mentioned in the *Matsya-purāṇa* is usually translated as a storey, and Ramachandra Dikshitar has translated it as a 'flat'. ²¹ It is difficult to believe, however, that the temple contained as many as sixteen storeys, while 'sixteen flats' hardly convey any meaning. We believe, therefore, that *bhūmikā* here refers to the tiers of *uruśṛiṅgas* or *śṛiṅgas* which were arranged totally in sixteen tiers, that is each face contained four tiers. The *bhadraka* mentioned in the *Aparājitapṛichchhā* could not have been the *bhadra* of Burgess; *bhadraka* as is known from other texts refer to the sloping roof of the *maṇḍapa*, while *bhadrā* may refer to any square shaped building (*Garuḍa-purāṇa* XLII, vv. 35, 39) or a *maṇḍapa*. Apparently the *maṇḍapa* was decorated with sculptures with a flower motif. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (CCLXX, v. 7) however *pushpaka* means a hall (*maṇḍapa*) with sixty-four pillars. But this meaning does not seem to be applicable here. However, the most interesting part of the verse quoted above from the *Aparājitapṛichchhā*, is the last line, where it is stated that the *Meru* type of temple was particularly pleasing to *Śiva*. We think, therefore, that Kumārapāla set up a temple of this type.

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Recent excavations have revealed that two structural phases preceded the construction of Kumārapāla's temple. The earlier of these two consisted of two chambers—a *garbhagriha* and a *maṇḍapa*—approached in the east by a porch with stepped entrance. Apparently this was the only entrance to the temple. The *maṇḍapa* was enclosed on three sides by dwarf walls. Some portions of this temple, notably the entrance steps, the *maṇḍapa* floor and the *brahmāsīlā* show signs of deliberate breakages which were probably done by Sultān Mahmūd. "At places one could still notice black spots, obviously charred, indicative of intense firing to which the temple was subjected by Sultān. The interstices of the floor stones in the *maṇḍapa* were found to contain molten lead filling." This corroborates Ibn Asir's statement that the roof was supported by wooden pillars covered with lead.

The first temple was built of a distinctive thin-grained reddish sandstone. The second temple, which followed the plan of the first temple was built of whitish sandstone of comparatively coarser grain. The plinth of the second temple was super-imposed over the earlier plinth and was of identical height. Since this temple was built over the debris of the earlier one, a rise in the height of both the outside and the inside floor level was inevitable. In plan the *garbhagriha* and the *maṇḍapa* of both these temples formed a rectangle.

The third temple, which has been shown above to have been built by Kumārapāla, differs both in design and plan from the two earlier temples. Notable features of this temple are the following:—(1) the basement moulding on the *mahāpīṭha*; (2) *maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagriha* placed diagonally; (3) the enlarged *maṇḍapa* and the *pradakṣiṇa-mārga* with opening on the north and the south, and also in the case of the *pradakṣiṇa-mārga* on the west; (4) introduction of black basalt stone for the flooring both in the *maṇḍapa* and the *garbhagriha*.

Sun Temple of Modhera.

Modhera, once a flourishing city, is now a small village eighteen miles south of Anahilapātaka on the left bank of Pushpavati river. The famous Sun temple is situated to the west of this village with a beautiful oblong tank in front of it. The position of the temple on a mound facing due east is such that the rising sun at the equinoxes would shine straight through the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* down into the shrine which was dedicated to Sūrya; and "even now in its ruin and decay it is still an imposing structure, with a majestic beauty rarely met with in such remains. No finer or more interesting structure remains in northern Gujarat. The Sejakpur temple near Than in Jhalawad, is perhaps the only one in Western India that may fairly be compared with it."²²

The whole temple which stands on a *kharaśīlā* (basement), consists

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of the *garbhagriha* or shrine and *gūḍha-maṇḍana* or hall, and an outer hall called the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* or *raṅga-maṇḍapa*. In front of the temple is the tank or *kuṇḍa*. There were also small subsidiary shrines which have been demolished.

The whole structure including the *maṇḍapa* or shrine is rectangular; its length inside the walls is 51 feet 9 inches and the width is 25 feet 8 inches, that is the length is exactly double the width. This area of about 1275 square feet is divided into two nearly equal halves, the inner one being occupied by the shrine and the front one by the *maṇḍapa*. The *garbhagriha* is 11 feet square inside. Between the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and that of the temple is the circum-ambulatory passage called the *pradakṣhiṇa-mārga* or *bhrama*.

The hall as usual was peristylar with an octagonal nave covered by a splendidly carved dome like the one at Abu; nearly the whole of this dome has fallen down.

The inside walls are bare but broken by niches in each bay containing figures of Sūrya. But the plain walls are more than compensated by the exquisitely carved pillars and the architraves portraying scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The exterior of the temple is also profusely sculptured, but perhaps the most elegant and ornamental feature of this temple is the beautiful *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, which is profusely carved with scenes from the *Mahābhārata*. On its outside walls are some representation of amorous couples similar to those found at Konarak.

Outside this hall are the two pillars of a *torāṇa* from which the arch is missing. From the *torāṇa*, a flight of steps leads down to the tank or *kuṇḍa* in front of it.

The tank or Sūrya-*kuṇḍa*, now known as Rāma-*kuṇḍa*, is beyond the east face of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, from which a broad stair leads down to the water's edge. The tank is rectangular and measures 176 feet from north to south, by 120 feet from east to west. It has many terraces and steps leading to the water level. On its banks and corners are various small shrines in some of which are to be seen Śītālā, Jalaśāyī Viṣṇu and other gods. Two interesting sculptures noticed by Gadre were those of Chandra or the Moon and of Rāvaṇa.²³

"This Sun-temple has lost its tower, so that there is no soaring grandeur, while the roofs of its pillared halls are damaged, and its surroundings generally are decayed, yet even with these disabilities, derelict, and away from the sounding world, it is still a monument of incomparable beauty. In spite of its ruined condition little imagination is required to picture this building as it was when consecrated in the eleventh century. What gave it such a finished appearance was not so much the design of the temple building itself, fine though this structure was, but the appearance of the whole scheme with its architectural setting, including its accessories, which show that as in all good build-

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ings, the needs and the conveniences of the undertaking were counted as essential as its aesthetic treatment....

"In viewing the Modhera temple as a whole, the aesthetic sense at once responds to the elegance of its proportions, the entire composition being lit with the living flame of inspiration. But apart from its material beauty, its designer has succeeded in communicating to it an atmosphere of spiritual grace. The temple faces the east so that the rising sun at the equinoxes filters in a golden cadence through its openings, from doorway to corridor, past columned vestibules finally to fall on the image in its innermost chamber. In its passage the rays of the heavenly body to which the shrine is consecrated, quiver and shimmer on pillars and archway, giving life and movement to their graven forms, the whole structure appearing radiant and clothed in glory. To see this noble monument with its clustered columns not only rising like an exhalation, but mirrored in the still waters below, is to feel that its creator was more than a great artist, but a weaver of dreams".²¹

Rudramahālaya

The temple of Rudramahālaya vulgarised into Rudramal, is situated in the town of Siddhapura on the river Sarasvatī about seventeen miles to the north east of Anahilapāṭaka and sixty-four miles north of Ahmedabad. This town seems to have been of considerable antiquity and is regarded as a very holy place. As the *pīṭiyajña* or the obsequial offering to the paternal manes must be performed at Gayā or Prāyaga so the corresponding offerings to the maternal ancestors have to be performed at Siddhapura, wherefore the place is also known as Mātṛi-Gayā.

The *māṭiyajña* is performed at the hermitage of Kapila or Kapil-āśrama about two miles to the west of the town, where one sacred well and two tanks are situated, namely, the Jñanavāpikā, the Alpasarovara, and the Vindusaras on Vindusarovara. This Vindusaras on the river Sarasvatī is mentioned in the *Bhāgavat-purāṇa* (III, 21, v. 33) as the hermitage of Kardama, which later became the hermitage of Kapila (III, 25, v. 5). In the *Devībhāgavata*, Kapila's hermitage is called Siddhāśrama. Probably this Siddhāśrama is identical with Siddhapura.²⁵ According to popular legend, the original name of the place was Śrīsthala which was changed in the 12th century when Siddharāja completed the temple of Rudramahālaya.

Kapila

The Kadi grant of Mūlarāja, records that before issuing the grant the king worshipped at Rudramahālaya probably situated at Śrīsthala. Merutuṅga²⁶ relates that Siddharāja built the temple of Rudramahākālā at Siddhapura.²⁶ Probably these two statements have led some scholars to believe that the construction of the temple was begun by Mūlarāja and finished by Siddharāja. This suggestion however does not appear to be convincing.

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The Kadi plate states, that Mūlarāja worshipped at the temple of Rudramahālaya, from which it follows that the temple was complete, for an unfinished temple cannot be consecrated. It is therefore possible that Siddharāja added to it some hall or gateway, as Bhīma II did to the temple of Somanātha. But Merutuṅga definitely states that the construction of the temple was commenced and the finial placed during the reign of Siddharāja. Merutuṅga may have been wrong, but evidently people at the end of the 13th century believed the temple to have been built by Siddharāja. Moreover, according to D. R. Bhandarkar this was one of the largest temples of its kind ever built in India.²⁷ It is most unlikely that a king with limited resources like Mūlarāja should have attempted to construct such a temple. But Siddharāja controlled the resources of an extensive empire, so that he was in a position to carry out a grandiose plan with comparative ease. It is known that Siddharāja was jealous of the intellectual greatness of the Paramāras, particularly of Bhoja. Siddharāja may have attempted to humble the fallen Paramāras by building a temple which was larger than any found in Mālava. At any rate, he borrowed from Mālava, the peculiar custom of forcing every Jaina shrine to lower its flag, when the banner of Mahākāla was unfurled.

Tod stated that he found two inscriptions one mentioning the founding of the temple is V.S. 998, and the other, its completion by Siddharāja in 1202. It is difficult to accept the reading of the enthusiastic Colonel, for Burgess, who saw three inscriptions there found them undecipherable. Probably Tod was influenced by the local ballad to which he has referred and which Burgess has translated.²⁸ This ballad states that Mūlarāja began the construction but left it unfinished. But no reliance can be placed on these ballads, and for reasons stated above, its statement does not appear to be correct. It is possible that Mūlarāja built a small temple which fell into decay, and was therefore removed by Siddharāja, who built on the site a great temple.

The temple, as has been noted above, was built on a grand scale, probably the best of its type in its days. The main temple faced the river Sarasvatī on the east and was surrounded by eleven shrines dedicated to the eleven Rudras. Eight of these are destroyed, and the remaining three are now being used as store house.²⁹ The main temple which probably consisted of two or three storeys is entirely gone. It is presumed that it had three entrances or porches, one on east, south, and north of the main hall respectively. Forbes saw the porch in the north which was practically destroyed in 1869.

Burgess suggested that the *maṇḍapa* was probably of two or three storeys, and the *śikhara* could hardly have been less than 120 feet in height, while from its sides above the shrine, would project beautiful balconies, such as we find on the temple of Kālikā Mātā at Dabhoi and

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elsewhere. The entire composition probably covered a space of 300 feet by 230 feet, the central building itself being 150 feet long and over 100 feet wide.

All that is now left of its former magnificence are the four great columns of the hall which stood in front of the entrance to the adytum, the pillars of the eastern and the northern porch with portions of superstructures, the *torāṇa*, and also the back portions now used as a mosque. The porch was surmounted by a dome which was supported by eight large stone beams, one of which still rests on the columns. One beam with two pillars and another beam belonging to the upper storey are also preserved.

Tod found that the building was "a mass of two storeys, each supported by four columns, and the columns of a third storey, preserving, without any entablature, their perfect perpendicularity". He further states that an earthquake in 1819 had thrown down the two of the loftiest columns.

Other Temples

The rest of the temples may be broadly divided into four groups: temples with one, two, and three shrines, as suggested by Sankalia; the small shrines at Valam, Tarabh and Pudgaon, which do not belong to any fixed class may be grouped into a separate class. Some other temples have recently been found which may be placed in the fourth group.

The following temples, which are similar to the one at Sunak may be called temples of the first group: temples at Sandera, Dhinoj, Manod, Ruhavi, Gorad, Virta, Dilmal, Hingloji Mātā at Khandoran, Kalikā-Mātā temples at Dhrasanvel and Dhrevad, Gokeśvara temple at Laurali, Siddheśvara Mahādeva temple at Sindhavi-Mātā, Śītalā-Mātā temple at Piludra; the temple of Nīlakantha at Miani, and the Chanbari temple in Saurāshtra.³⁰

The temple at Viramgam is the solitary example of class of temples with a double shrine.

The third group consists of the triple shrine temples at Kasara, Parbad, Kanoda, Gonad, Chanbari, and at Magderu.

The fourth group consists of the small shrines at Sandera and Wadhwan.³¹

Sunak Temple

The temple at Sunak is important because it is one of the few complete temples which has come down to us. It is a notable structure, and as many similar temples were erected at this period, the temple of Sunak enables one to understand this class of temples better. The temples of the first group resemble to a very great extent the temple at Sunak, so that it will be sufficient to give a description of the latter only.

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The temple at Sunak is a typical *śikhara* temple, rectangular in shape, with a spire surmounting the cella. It consists of a shrine, a *maṇḍapa* hall, and a porch. Deeply chased recesses run vertically along the *maṇḍovara* to the plinth, breaking the monotony of the straight wall into *ratha* like projections. Horizontally the exterior wall is partitioned into various mouldings, which rises, layer after layer of exquisite carvings, from the lowest level of the plinth to the architrave.

The interior pillars are also profusely carved. The dome resting on an octagon rises in concentric circles built on corbel principle. The inside of the dome was also beautifully sculptured; it had twelve *devīs*, of which six are now missing, supported by brackets projecting from a deep vertical tier of upper frieze. These figures are about two feet high, and the brackets are carved with human or demon supporters.

Above the shrine rises a graceful *śikhara* with *aṅga-śikharas* surrounding it. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* and the porch are pyramidal, but all the three are surmounted by an *āmalasaraka* or finial.

According to Burgess, the temples of Sunak, Delmal and Kasara, have an older appearance than that of Modhera; they are also not so elaborate in plan, and therefore possibly belong to the century previous to the date of the last.³²

According to Sankalia, however, the temple of Sunak stylistically belongs to the 11th century. He differs from Hultzsch in his interpretation of the Sunak inscription of Karṇa and is inclined to believe that the inscription contains a reference to a shrine of Mahādeva. But the disputed line reads as follows: *Ṭhakkura-Mahādevena kārīta vāpī* which clearly means "the tank excavated by Ṭhākura Mahādeva".³³ Again, according to Sankalia, "Ṭhākura is a common way of calling a deity". This may be true for the present, but we do not remember to have come across any inscription or text where a deity is referred to as *ṭhākura*, whereas, *ṭhākura* as an official designation is known from various inscriptions and texts some of which we have quoted above. *Tha.* as an abbreviation of *ṭhākura*, as an honorific title of a man is also found in Gujarat inscriptions.³⁴ According to the Ujjain Fragmentary stone inscription of the reign of Siddharāja, Mālava was governed in A.D. 1138 by one Mahādeva. From the Kiradu stone inscription of the reign of Kumārapāla, it is learnt that one Mahādeva was the chancellor at that time (c. A.D. 1152). The Sunak grant was issued in A.D. 1091, and it is possible that *Ṭhākura* Mahādeva, who may have been very young at the time, later became the governor of Mālava and then the chancellor. The *ṭhākuras* were sometimes very distinguished officers; for example, the Kiradu stone inscription of the reign of Kumārapāla was written by *Mahārājaputra Sāndhivigraha-Ṭhakkura* Khelāditya.

It appears therefore, that the Sunak grant of Karṇa does not refer

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to a temple of Mahādeva. On stylistic grounds, however, it may be assigned to a period anterior to Kārṇa's reign.

The Śītalāmātā temple at Piludra has been compared to the Kasara temple, by Hirananda Shastri. But while the Kasara temple is a triple-shrine one, the former has one shrine only. Hence it should be grouped with one shrine temples.

Double shrine : Viramgam temple.

The temple at Viramgam on the Mansar lake is a double shrine temple. Attached to the east of a square *maṇḍapa* is a shrine of Śiva, while on the west is a shrine of Viṣṇu. It may, therefore, also be called a composite temple. However, the niches in both the shrines have Bhairava, Nāteśa, and Mahākālā, and Gaṇeśa is on the lintel of the door.

Triple shrine temple at Kasara.

The temple at Kasara consists of a central *maṇḍapa* facing east, to which is attached three shrines. The shrine on the west is dedicated to Śiva, that on the north to Viṣṇu, while Brahmā occupies the southern shrine.

The *maṇḍapa*, which has twelve pillars, is small, about ten and a half feet square. There is a dome in the *maṇḍapa*, which rises in concentric circles of plain leaf-mouldings; in the centre of the dome is a lotus pendant. It had a porch as at Sunak, but it is no longer there.

Unlike the temple at Viramgam, the decoration of each shrine consists of the figures of the deity or figure allied to the deity to whom the temple is dedicated. Thus in the shrine of Śiva, the door is decorated with Gaṇeśa and Śiva in various forms, and the niches contain figures of Mahākālī, Bhairava, Mahishāsuramardīnī and Natarāja. In the niches in the shrine of Viṣṇu are the figures of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa on Garuḍa, Trivikrama, Varāha, and some other figures badly damaged. The shrine of Brahmā has Sarasvatī and Brahmā in three niches.

This is a further development of the syncretistic idea, which in iconography was expressed in the *tri-murtis*, very common in this period. The idea of *trimurti* has been discussed above in the chapter on religion, where it was suggested that the Tripurusha-prāsādas mentioned in the chronicles may have contained composite figures of Brahma, Śiva and Viṣṇu; for, a verse in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* states: "Brahmā's, Śiva's and Viṣṇu's bodies are the same as the body of the resplendent Sun, whose special nature is three-fold indeed. May the Sun be gracious!"³⁵ It is likely, therefore, that this type of triple shrines which contained three shrines for Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were in reality temples of Sūrya whose worship was very popular in Gujarat even in the 14th century.

In this connection, it is necessary to notice a late Sun temple described by Cousens.³⁶ On the front of the temple, above the entrance

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doorway, is an image of Sūrya with his seven horses below him and his two wives, one on either side, and he appears again in the principal niches upon the outside walls. In the shrine is a small image of Sūrya. In the niches around the shrine are three images, which contain respectively, Viṣṇu with Lakshmī, Brahmā with Sarasvatī or Sāvitrī, and Śiva with Pārvatī. The presence of these images in the niches can only be explained if the verse of the *Mārakaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, quoted above, is accepted as authoritative.

Temples at Sandera, Wadhwan & Miani

Two temples, one at Sandera and the other at Wadhwan in Saurāshṭra, have been grouped together on account of their *śikhara*s. According to Sankalia, the *śikhara*s of the two temples are of the Orissan *rekḥā* type, the difference being that the curvature is more gradual in the Sandera group than in the temples of Orissa. Secondly the neck called *beki* between the *āmala* and the main body of the *śikhara* is large in Orissa temples, while in Gujarat, the *beki* is very narrow.³⁷ But as the *śikhara*s of many temples are damaged it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusion. It is possible that the temples at Sandera and Wadhwan are earlier types of Nāgara temple, while the temples which represent its later development are either damaged, or have not yet been noticed.³⁸

Temple of Rāma at Bardia

In Bardia, a village about four miles to the south-east of Dvārakā, two shrines, one dedicated to Rāma and the other to Lakṣmaṇa, have been found.³⁹ The temple of Rāma stands on a raised platform and is approached by a flight of stone steps. It had a small porch, a domed *maṇḍapa* open on all sides, and a *garbha-griha*. The *maṇḍapa* is flanked by two balconies. The *śikhara* is gone, and the beautiful carvings on the outer walls of the temple badly mutilated.

Temples of Hingloji-Mātā and Jasmalnāthji⁴⁰

The temple of Hingloji-Mātā at Khandoran in the Visnagar taluk of the Mehsana district has an inscription in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* dated V.S. 1207. The inscription further reveals that the temple is dedicated to the goddess Sarvamaṅgalā, that is Durgā. It is a magnificent temple though of small dimensions. The carving on the outside wall is superb, though some of the figures are erotic.

Another interesting temple of a different type is the Jasmalnāthji Mahādeva temple at Asoda. The main temple consists of a shrine surmounted by a beautiful *śikhara*, a *maṇḍapa* with a dome resting on four main and eight subsidiary pillars and a porch. The ceiling of the dome is decorated with human figures showing females standing on males in

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playful attitude. The porch is framed by an exquisitely carved ornamental arch springing from the snout of a *makara* resting on a standing lion. This arch has a strong similarity to the arches found in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Sun temple at Modhera. The exterior of the temple is also profusely carved.

*The temple at Lakroda*¹¹

A very interesting type of temple has been discovered at Lakroda, a village about six miles to the east of Lodhra. At present it is called a Hanumāna temple, but it is really dedicated to Śiva. The temple is plain in construction and is built of huge blocks of stone. The temple consists of a shrine, a *maṇḍapa* and a porch. The *maṇḍapa* had a dome which was supported by twelve square corbelled massive pillars; the porch rests on four pillars only. But the most interesting part of the temple is the spire, which is marked by recessed *kāṇḍorās*, which is not found generally in Gujarat.

Jaina temples at Girnar, Śatruñjaya and Taringa

Girnar and Śatruñjaya are two of the most sacred Jaina *tīrthas*, famous alike for their sanctity and the temples which adorn them.

At Girnar, the oldest temple was perhaps of Kumārapāla which was so thoroughly repaired in the last century, that little of its original appearance remains. The great temple of Neminātha, repaired in A.D. 1278, is therefore, the oldest temple now. The temple stands in a colonnaded court of some seventy cells. Round the square shrine is the *pradakṣhiṇa-mārga*, and in front the cruciform *maṇḍapa*, in front of which is another *maṇḍapa* seemingly of recent construction.

The other temple, built by Vastupāla, consists of three shrines of which the central shrine is dedicated to Mallinātha the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara while the shrines on the north and south are dedicated to Sumeru and Sameta Śikhara respectively. There is a *maṇḍapa* with two domical roofs, which were once carved but are now replaced by painted brackets and modern ceilings. The *śikhara* too is modern, though its shape is old.¹²

At Śatruñjaya, the total number of temples, even in separate enclosures, exceeds five hundred. Though some are said to have been built in the 11th century, the majority were constructed after the 16th century. The temple on the southern summit is said to have been built by Kumārapāla inside Vimala's *tuk* or enclosure. None of the older temples have any architectural interest, and seem to have been renovated in later period. But the group as a whole is charming. Śatruñjaya is a city of temples, without any dwelling house of any kind not only among the temples but anywhere upon the hill.

"The pilgrim approaching it (Śatruñjaya) passes to the base of the

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mountains, through the town of Palitana, and along a road on either side of which rows of burr trees offer him a cloister-like shelter from the heat of the sun. After a toilsome ascent of from two or three miles upon the shoulder of the mountain, over a path marked on either side by frequent resting places, supplied with wells and pools of water, and adorned with small temples, whose altars are impressed with the holy feet of the hierarchs, he at length arrives in sight of the island-like upper hill, formed of rocks of very beautiful colour, upon which stands the shrine of his religion. It consists of two peaks divided by a valley which has been partially filled in, and covered with temples terraces, and gardens. The whole is surrounded by a fortified wall, supplied in places by embrasures for cannon, and this embrasure is divided into smaller castles, many of the temples forming independent fortifications."⁴³

"Everyday life, which is so wedded to all collections of sacred buildings in and about the towns, is here conspicuous by its absence; and this it is, together with its thoroughly isolated position among the clouds, that at once gives it that charm and mysterious air which is so peculiarly its own. Tennyson might almost have had it in mind when he wrote:

‘And I rode on and found a mighty hill,
And on the top a city walled; the spires
Prick’d with incredible pinnacle into heaven’.”⁴⁴

Taringa is another Jaina *līrtha*, about twenty-six miles north-east of Siddhapura. The original temple was built by Kumārapāla but being subsequently destroyed was repaired during Akbar's reign in the sixteenth century though the original plan seems to have been retained. The most interesting part of this temple is its "*maṇḍapa* which has eight octagonal columns, arranged in a way that we do not meet with in earlier temples or perhaps in later ones".⁴⁵ The temple is also situated in a picturesque setting on the top of a hill with a difficult approach.

Abu Temples

The two temples at Dilwara (*deval-vada*: *deul-vara*, "province or city of temples"), one built by Vimala, and the other by Tejahpāla, are the *chefs-d'oeuvre* of Jaina architecture.

According to the Mt. Abu temple inscription, Vimala in A.D. 1031-32, built his temple dedicated to Rishabhanātha,⁴⁶ which forms one of a group of shrines on this "romantic site". As was usual with the Jaina temples, this temple also was surrounded with a high enclosure wall of *devakulikās* or small shrines around the courtyard. The courtyard measures 145 feet by 95 feet, where screened by a double arcade of pillars, stands the temple building, a cruciform structure with a length of 98 feet and maximum width of 42 feet.

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The temple consists of a *mūlagarbha* or the shrine, two halls, namely, the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* and the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, and the *pradakṣiṇa-mārga*, that is, the ambulatory.⁴⁷ The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* is four column ranges deep and its mid-point is a circular cupola on twenty-four columns. Architraves reach from column to column, and arches, like garlands, flow from shaft to shaft. Some idea of the proportions of the columned hall may be gained from its measurements, the octagonal nave being 25 feet in diameter, and the architrave 12 feet from the floor; the apex of the dome, 30 feet high, is supported on an attic system of dwarf pillars with convoluted braces between, and all the capitals are of the four bracket order. The dome is built up of eleven concentric rings, five of which, interposed at regular intervals, depict patterns of figures and animals. Between these figured courses are ornamental ones, while from the apex hangs a central pendant surrounded by a group of smaller pendants. On sixteen brackets, sixteen *Vidyādevīs*, are superimposed on the surface of the dome across the mouldings.

On the ceilings of the collonades of smaller pillars, surrounding the main temple, are sculptured scenes from the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, and sometimes scenes from the Hindu mythology, such as Kālīyadamanā.

The other important temple at Dilawara is the temple of Nemi-nātha built by Tejaḥpāla to increase the merit of his wife Anupumādevī and their son Lūṇasīṃha, from whom the temple is known as *Lūṇa-vasahikā*. The construction of the main temple was finished by A.D. 1230 though Tejaḥpāla continued to build some of the subsidiary structures one of which is dedicated to his second wife Suhaḍādevī.

This temple is bigger in size than the *Vimala-vasahikā*, measuring 155 feet by 92 feet. Architectonically it hardly differs from the latter, though there is considerable differences in the interior decoration of the two temples, and in the type of pillars.

The exterior of these two temples is plain. This restraint in distribution heightens the overpowering effect of the interior decorations. As Cousens remarks "the crisp, thin translucent, shell like treatment of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty." It has also been rightly said that for minute delicacy of carving and beauty of detail, these two temples at Dilwara, stands almost unrivalled even in India, the land of patient and lavish labour.⁴⁸

This hypnotic effect of the interior decorations, prevents one from noticing the structural deficiencies of the temples, where the laws of proportion have been to some extent disregarded. The heights of the domes are too stunted compared to their diameters, and the ceilings of the bays of the transepts, particularly in *Lūṇa-vasahikā*, are too low. Of the unnecessarily heavy architraves, Cousen remarks that they are "the antithesis of the fairy lighness of the sculpture and gossamer tracery".⁴⁹

Zimmer rightly remarks on the *Vimala-vasahikā*: "Its interior,

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however, is already beginning to drown in its own sweet sap. The ornamentation has ceased to be a playful self-dissolution of the material, spreading itself out over its own surfaces like a thrilling shudder toward a more agitated life. Rather, it has become a fabric of preciosities laid upon the body of the material, and under it all flow has subsided. The total effect is of a building that has decomposed its substance into decor, and there lies over it a sweet macabre shimmer.

"The intrinsic frailty and lack of true monumentality inherent in this picturesque, delicate Jaina style are the price it paid for the breathtaking beauty of its ceilings, pillars, doorway, niches and panels. . . . Each chapel, each statue, each column, is part of an extensive lacework in which every detail represents the skilled realization of a fixed formula. And the end is a frozen, lifeless beauty, produced in infinite bounty".⁵⁰

The Sūrya temple at Modhera and Vimala's *vaśahikā* were built during the same period. The former is the creation of an artist, the latter a craftsmen's exhibition arranged by a fabulously wealthy man. Money judiciously invested brings more money, makes a man richer and gradually elevates his position among the *banias*, till he becomes their acknowledged respected chief. Unfortunately, beauty cannot be added, far less multiplied, and though the best craftsmen be hired their works will not sparkle with life unless a creative artist kindles it with the dynamism of his imagination and soul, whose wealth is measured by how much it can feel and its poverty by how little.

The forgotten architects of the temples at Ellora, Khajuraho, Modhera, Bhuvaneśvara, Konarak, or Tanjore forged in the smithy of their souls the uncreated urge of their race, the unrealised dreams of the sages and poets. Here at Abu, sitting behind silver doors are the bejewelled effigies of the Tirthaṅkaras, who in their life heroically surrendered all the worldly passions and objects; now they gaze steadfastly, with vacant lifeless eyes of precious jewels, on what money and manmon can create.

Toraṇas

A prominent feature of the temple architecture in Gujarat are the ornamental *toraṇas*, which were erected in front of a temple. The *toraṇas* which are exquisitely carved, may have been used to suspend a swing on which the deities on ceremonial occasions were placed.

Toraṇas have been found at Piludra, Vadnagar, Kapadyanj, Siddhapura and Valami.⁵¹ Of these the best preserved are the Vadnagar *toraṇas* which are built of red and yellow sandstones without mortar or other cementing material. To give stability to the structure the pillars have been provided with enormous bases covering 53 square feet. The mould-

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ings of the pillars follow those of the *maṇḍovara* of a temple. The double capitals are an elegant feature of the *toraṇa*.

There is a mutilated *torāṇa* at Siddhapura now, standing in the north of the east porch. It was practically intact when Forbes wrote his *Rās Mālā*, but was denuded of many of its beautiful components in 1869. The *torāṇa* of Siddhapura, and the other *torāṇas* which are smaller in dimensions, follow the plan of the Vadnagar *torāṇa*.

Secular architecture

The remains of ramparts and city gates at Dabhoi and Jhinjhuvada are at present the only evidence of secular architecture left. Burgess seems to have noticed a city wall in Vadnagar also.⁵²

The inherent structural defect of these ramparts was the main cause of their decay. Burgess and Cousens remark that the gateway (at Dabhoi) is wooden in character. "It is a framework mortised and tenoned together, exerting bending and tensile strains, for which stone is but ill adapted. Consequently when one part gives way the whole generally follows by the snapping of the brittle stone. In the carved brackets there is but a very small section of the material which passes from the top to the bottom wholly within the bracket, so that most of the weight upon it produces a shearing force tending to break it off. The shearing rather than the crushing resistance of the stone is thus brought into play. In wood work this would be perfectly legitimate, and throughout Gujarat is found abundance of wood work, both old and new, with just such bracketing and it is evident that the construction of these gateways was actually copied in stone from similar structures in wood then existing."

Vadnagar.

It is learnt from the Vadnagar-*praśasti*, that the city of Vadnagar was surrounded by a rampart. The *praśasti* states: Lest this Brāhmaṇa town, though given upto difficult austerities, should suffer harm, the king full of devotion, ordered a rampart to be built for protection.... The crest jewel of the Chaulukyas adorned this whole town with a rampart, desiring to benefit the Brāhmaṇas." Of these ramparts, little trace is now left; it has been suggested by H. Shastri that the present Arjun-Bari gate, on which the Vadnagar-*praśasti* is found, probably stands on the site of the original gate built by Kumārapāla. This is quite likely, for the present Vadnagar-*praśasti*, which is a copy of the original, was inscribed and set up in V.S. 1689, when the 'Arjuna-Bārikā' was re-built.

Jhinjhuvada, Ghumli and Uparkot.

The front-wall of Jhinjhuvada, a small town about 16 miles north of Kharaghoda railway station, is said to have been built by Siddha-

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rāja.⁵³ The old gates of the ruined rampart, strongly resembles the Dabhoi gates. The gates found at Ghumli called 'the Rampola gates' have now been removed to the Rajkot museum.

According to Sankalia, a gate of similar type, but much simpler in decoration, exists in the Uparkot (old fort) at Junagarh. Here the brackets projects inward so much that the space to be spanned by the lintel is less than a foot, which gives it the appearance of a triangular arch.

Dabhoi

The ruins of the ramparts of Dabhoi, the ancient Darbhavatī, is the most impressive remnant of military architecture of ancient India. The rampart seems to have been built during the reign of Visaladeva, by an architect named Devāditya. Sāraṅgadeva probably carried out extensive repairs to the rampart in V.S. 1344.⁵⁴

Parts of the bastion and walls were still standing in A.D. 1775, but since then those have been mosly dismantled and the materials used for ballast or put to some other use of a similar nature. Except for the principal gates with their adjuncts, a bastion and some walling here and there together with the basement upto a height of about 8 feet where the lozenge shaped ornament, so typical of the mediaeval Gujarat architecture start, the whole of the fortifying wall has been removed.

The enclosure was a rectangle, of which the two larger sides measured 1000 yards each, and the two smaller sides 800 yards each. There are four gates standing on the four cardinal points. The gates on the east which seems to have been the chief gate is called Hira gate, that on the west Baroda gate, that on the north Champaner, Mori or Mahudi gate and the Chandod or the Nundod gate stands on the south.

The quadrangular enclosure "is relieved at intervals by shallow rectangular bastions, originally fifty-two in number, on the four walls at distance of about 64 yards apart—by the centre gate-way with its outer gate, and by large round corner bastions. Running along the top of the walls are the *kanguras* or merlons with embrasures on narrow spaces between them. High up upon the inner side and behind these *kanguras* is a terrace or terreplein, about 8 feet wide, along which troops of the garrison could move from one part of the walls to another and shoot their arrows from between the *kanguras*. On the introduction of musketry the embrasure were found to be rather dangerously large, so leaving a few loopholes at intervals, each of these spaces was filled in with masonry. The *kanguras* upon the walls are a decided improvement in appearance upon the square-cut merlons of Western nations, but do not give such an idea of strength and massiveness so necessary in fortifications. Long collonades beneath the terreplein formed quarters for the soldiers and there were larger spaces running into the body of the shallow bastions. In each of the four corner bastions is a large

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circular room, its roof being supported by two concentric rings of pillars. Above this is the bastion platform. The plan of these corner bastions is peculiar. Eight small segments of a large circle are separated from one another by two angles set back into the circle with their points on its circumference. The bastion is carried up to its full height on this plan. This was subsequently found a weak arrangement when cannons were brought to bear upon it, all these angles and projections being very easily knocked away, and the spaces between the angles were built up, bringing the plan of the bastion to a circle. Upon these bastions have afterwards been raised twelve-sided brick towers with splayed embrasures for cannon."

Architecturally, the four gates are most significant. The gates were all double structures, consisting of an inner and outer curtain the former being at right angles to the line of entrance of the outer, leaving a small open court between. In most instances the inner gateway only has been preserved, in appearance an intricate and richly carved structure. The Baroda gate is now the best preserved, while the Hira gate has suffered most, and undergone material alterations. It must have been most minutely carved, but this carving is now to be seen only on the Kālikā-Mātā temple side, and on the extant part of Vaidyanātha shrine, to whom Someśvara, in the *Dabhoi-praśasti*, (v. 113) prays for the long life of Viśaladeva. The inscription is found in a niche inside the Hira gate.

Only a small portion of the temple of Vaidyanātha now remains, but the Kālikā-Mātā temple, which has undergone substantial repairs and restorations, still retains some of its original grandeur. The temple has three storeys, and was guarded with wooden doors, which are still preserved.

It is difficult to determine the *raison d'être* of the temples and the rich carvings on the gates. According to the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, the gate of a city was called *gopuram*⁵⁵ which reminds one of the *gopurams* of the south Indian temples which are so richly sculptured.

Detailed instruction on the construction of a city wall is given by Kauṭilya (II, 3), who recommends the construction of six gates. Apparently one of these gates was to be called, *gopura* according to Kauṭilya. According to the *Mānasāra*, the *gopuras* consisted of as many as sixteen storeys; the *Mānasāra* describes in detail the measurement of these storeys, and their ornaments and mouldings,⁵⁶ a discussion of which, however, is beyond the scope of the present work.

Irrigation Works.

From the beginning of the rule of the Chaulukya dynasty, the kings undertook to execute irrigation projects. Mūlarāja I appointed officers to dig square and round wells, and tanks. Udayamatī, the queen of

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Bhīma, is said to have excavated a very large tank at the capital, and popular legend credits her with digging the *Rāṇi-ki-vav*, which, as has been described above, was despoiled in order to build a modern step-well nearby. Udayamatī's son, Karṇa, also excavated a large tank called Karṇasāgara. Forbes has left an account of this tank as noted above.⁵⁷ Karṇa's queen Mayṇallādevī is said to have excavated the Mansar lake at Viramgam. But the most famous project of this type was the Sahasraliṅga lake excavated by Jayasimha Siddharāja.

Vavs

The abundance of step-wells in Gujarat and the existence of a greenish stone quarry at Motipurā near Dabhoi, reminds one of the following line from the *Meghadūtam*: *Vāpī ch-āsmīn marakata-silā-baddha-sopāna-mārgā*. (v. 82, *Uttaramegha*).

Vavs or step-wells are so named, because in order to reach their water level one has to descend by a flight of stairs. The *vav* at Vayad, which is described by Burgess, is a typical step-well. It is about 40 yards in length and 12 ft. 8 inches between the side retaining walls. The structure is five storeys in depth, and except at the bottom of the fourth storey downwards, the landing platforms are unusually narrow—at the bottom of the third stair the landing being little over two feet in breadth. Along the side walls run wide ledges at each stage. As usual it ends in a circular draw-well, about 13 feet in diameter at the top and diminishing to about 10½ feet below. At the head of this there is the usual *mot* for drawing up water by means of bullocks for irrigation.⁵⁸

The most beautiful *vav* in Gujarat, however, was the *Rāṇi-ki-vav*, which Udayamatī is said to have built. This *vav* has been repaired and to some extent renovated and some remains of its former glory can be seen now.⁵⁹

Mansar Lake.

The Mansar lake at Viramgam is said to have been built by Mayṇallādevī. The irregular shape of this lake is said to resemble a conch. The surrounding *ghat* or flight of stone steps which leads down to the water contains 357 small temples out of the original 520.⁶⁰

But the most famous lake was the Sahasraliṅga lake excavated by Siddharāja at Anahilapāṭaka. The *Sarasvatī-purāṇa* (16, V. 212) states:

na Siddheśa samo rājā na saras tadṛśam kachit

samam Sahasraliṅgena tīrtham anyān na vidyate.

(There is no king equal to Siddheśa, and no lake like that (excavated by him) and nowhere is there a *tīrtha* (as holy as) Sahasraliṅga.)

According to the *Sarasvatī-purāṇa*, the lake was surrounded by temples which included ten-incarnations (Daśāvatāra) of Viṣṇu on its northern embankment; on the west there were 108 shrines dedicated to

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various goddesses. There were also shrines dedicated to Sūrya, Lakulīṣa, Vināyaka, Kārttika, Kapāleśvara, Kollādevī, Somanātha and Bhairava. On the small hillock in the centre of the lake was a shrine dedicated to Vindhyaśinī. It is now occupied by a Muslim structure or *roza*. Above the triple inlet sluices (Trivenī) was the shrine of Jalaśāyī Viṣṇu.

Archaeological excavations have revealed that Sahasraliṅga lake was neither round nor rectangular, but many sided. Its actual shape can only be ascertained when the whole contour is traced out.⁶¹ Unfortunately, complete report of the excavation is not yet available.

Sculpture

Mediaeval Indian sculpture was either temple sculpture, that is mainly decorative, or *rilievo*; detached sculptures rarely occur; they are always meant to have a slab attached behind them. Moreover, in most of the images the importance is iconographic, rather than artistic; and the decorative sculptures of the temples are a part of the temple architecture and subservient to it, except in such temples as Vimala-*vasahikā* and Lūṇasiṃha-*vasahikā*, where they dominate the architecture completely.

During the Chaulukya period portrait sculpture was to some extent practised. In front of the Lūṇasiṃha-*vasahikā* may be seen the figures of the members of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla's family.⁶² On the northern side of the Hira gate at Dabhoi, under a balcony is carved an elephant with his rider surrounded by horsemen and it has been suggested that this elephant rider represents Viśaladeva.⁶³ In the temple of Pañcha-sara Pārśvanātha in Aṇahilapāṭaka, images of Vanarāja and his minister Jamba is still shown. But an inscription under the figure of Vanarāja is dated V.S. 1524 (A.D. 1467), hence Burgess denied its authenticity.⁶⁴ In a plaque in the ceiling of the dome of the *maṇḍapa* above the lotus leaves and stalks of the Vimala-*vasahikā* at Mt. Abu, Sarasvatī is flanked by two persons. On the proper right of the goddess is a bearded man under whom is inscribed Loyana Sūtradhāra, and on the proper left of the goddess is a person holding a measuring rod under whom is inscribed Sūtradhāra Kela. Presumably they are the two architects of the temple. Fittingly the right hand of Sarasvatī is extended in the *varadā* gesture.

The figures of the deities and their attendants are stylised and usually strictly follow the iconographic texts, though sometimes the same deity is represented in more than one style. For example, of the Sūrya images at Modhera, one shows the god standing erect in the seven horsed chariot; he has two hands (broken) holding full blown lotuses; he has usual ornaments, the Iranian waist-girdle and the top boots, and is not only accompanied by Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, but the two horse-faced gods (Aśvins, sons of Sūrya by Sañjnā) are also shown behind them. The

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other figure though of Sūrya differs from the former in the following respects: it is less richly carved, the lotuses stand above the shoulder, and the boots seems to be impressed; there are no Aśvins and the attendants are not seated, but standing; there are no horses also; the figure stands on a lotus; above it on either side is a devotee or Vidyādhara in the act of praising.⁶⁵

Again at Kheralu has been found a Sūrya image, which according to an inscription found on its pedestal was set up in V.S. 1293 (A.D. 1236). It is a group of three images cut out of white marble slabs, the central figure measuring about $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet and the flanking images about $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet by 1 foot each. Sūrya here is holding two lotuses; he has his top boots, Iranian girdle, *kirāṭa-mukula* and the usual necklaces; he is flanked by two archers who represent Ushā and Pratyushā, busy in dispelling darkness by their arrows, and is attended by four attendants who are Daṇḍi, Piṅgala, his regular attendants, and his two wives, probably Rājñī and Nikshubhā; Chāyā and Suvarchasā, the two other wives of Sūrya, are probably the two goddesses on two sides, who also hold lotus and are attended by two attendants. The horses, which are almost invariably found in the images of Sūrya in Western India, are conspicuous by their absence. The entire group is absolutely lifeless.⁶⁶

A rather unusual sculptured panel has been found in Ajapāla or Ajayapāla-kuṇḍa in Vadnagar. It represents the seven sages, Arundhaṭī, and the divine cow, Kāmadhenu; it also depicts a fight between an elephant and a horse.⁶⁷

At Ambasan in the Mehsana taluk several good sculptures are said to be lying loose on the site known as Śītalā-Mātā. The best of these pieces is the fragmentary stone panel representing Viṣṇu seated on Śeṣha who is encircled by the Nāgis in adoration.⁶⁸

A curious piece of sculpture has been found at Kheralu. It is a leogryph ridden by a dwarf and attacked by a lady.⁶⁹ Dwarfs are, however a common feature of Gujarat sculpture and are usually found as pillar brackets in temples, for example at Sunak, Kasara, Virta, Dilmol and Ghumli.⁷⁰ Leogryphs are, however, rare in Gujarat.

The Chaulukyan temple architecture is conspicuous by the rows of mouldings on the plinth with animal motif, the *āsvathara* and the *gajathara*. The *āsvathara* or a row of horses is usually found in larger temples though there are exceptions, while the *gajathara*, or a row of elephants invariably decorates the plinth of the temples of this period. The treatment of the animals, however, are entirely conventional, and these horse-rows and elephant-rows may be called ornamental designs, rather than animal sculpture. It is possible however that these figures in the mouldings have been placed in relation to the continuous plane of the relief ground, and their movement would not be conveyed except by distorting their shapes.

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It is in decorative sculpture, that the art in this period excels. The craftsmanship and some of the designs are superb, if not unique. But there is a strident overtone in the complexity and multiplicity of designs and their numbers which at the first sight has an overwhelming effect on the beholder, as at the temples at Abu. The Sūrya temple at Modhera is also elaborately sculptured, but its poised architecture and open surroundings with the big artificial lake balances the tone. In the Abu temples, again, the sculptures are more emphatically projected spatially from the surface of the components of which they form a part. Though this tendency is present at Modhera, as in most other mediaeval temples, the emphasis there is subordinated to the total conception of the structure.

Sometimes narrative scenes are sculptured on the inside pillars and walls. In Modhera scenes from the *Mahābhārata* are sculptured, but the stone is badly weathered and details are effaced. But in Abu temples the sculptures are very well preserved and scenes from Brahmanical and Jaina mythology, such as Kāliyadamana and the marriage of Neminātha, can be seen. Charming sculptures of this type is found in the Dabhoi fort. There high up on the wall is a frieze showing the "churning of the milk ocean" and "death of Parikshit".⁷¹ The other figure sculptures are distributed over the walls of the Hira gate, in niches and panels. Both the sides of the walls of the Kālikā-Mātā temple is profusely carved in high and low relief, depicting single figures, pairs or groups of three or more figures. None of these sculptures however reach the level of great art, expressing at the same time, the real and the ideal, the typical and the individual.

One of the reasons for this degeneration was that in mediaeval India the entire temple represented the significance which was formerly expressed through the sculptured images. Sculptures were still important, but as an adjunct of the main structure. As a devotee proceeded towards the cella, these sculptured figures and reliefs attuned his mind to the central purpose of the house of God. Then it became immaterial whether they were formalised even to the extent of losing all merit as a work of art or not; to a devotee any representation is enough, and so the purpose is fulfilled.

There are, however, amorous or *mithuna* figures in the temples at Modhera, Khandoran, Dugdheśvara Mahādeva temple at Mandrapur, and in the inner side of the architraves of the porches in the Rudra-mahālaya.⁷² Hirananda Shastri states that the Rājārājesvara temple has a strange nāde figure of white marble which reminds one of the old railing images of Mathura.⁷³ This may be significant, for amorous figures have been a peculiar feature of Indian art from very early days. In some of the Maurya and Śuṅga terracottas the female divinity is dressed in a *sārī* or skirt of diaphanous material; but special care is

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taken to reveal the mount of Venus in apparent nudity, a tendency which also characterises the stone sculptures in the Suṅga, Andhra and the Kushāṇa period.⁷⁴ Again, the majority of the images found at Mathura are that of nude or semi-nude female figures. Commenting on this Coomarswamy states: "It will, indeed, have been observed that there is scarcely a single temple figure represented in early Indian art without erotic suggestion of some kind, implied, or explicitly expressed and emphasized; nowhere, indeed, has the vegetative sexual motif been presented with greater frankness or transparency, though in certain later phases of Indian art, as at Khajuraho and Konarak, more specifically. The railing types are to be connected with and perhaps derived from the early terracottas, which in their turn remind us of the nude goddess once worshipped throughout Western Asia, and of the gold plaque of the Earth goddess from Lauriya-Nandangarh. In the presence of these emblems of abundance we must not be misled by modern ideas; their meaning, if not Buddhist or Jaina, is nevertheless religious; and reveals an essential purity of spirit that has at all times preserved the East from many psychological disasters that have overtaken the West. The two polar themes of Indian, indeed, of all experience, are there presented, side by side, though not in opposition; in much later, mediaeval, Vaiṣṇava art we find them unified".⁷⁵

Wood Carving

Good quality stone is not found in Gujarat and, therefore, it has been suggested that her early monuments were of wood. The designs of the carvings also seem to have been copied from wooden originals. The possibility of the original Somanātha temple's being built of wood has been discussed above.

Fine specimens of wood carving are to be met in many places in Gujarat such as Anahilapāṭaka, Siddhapura, Baroda and Songadh. Some of these wood carvings are marvels of skill. It is evident that they were parts of a building, and though highly decorative, had strict structural function. Some of the wooden brackets, and a group of six female orchestra players were discovered some time ago⁷⁶. But the date of these wood carvings is uncertain.

Painting

There have been differences of opinion regarding the nomenclature of the school of painting which flourished in Gujarat and Rajputana; for our purpose, it will be convenient to call it 'Gujarat painting'. These paintings are always found in manuscripts, where they were used to illustrate the texts. Due to the small size of the illustrations, they are also known as miniatures; so that, they may be referred to as Gujarat miniatures.

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The earliest dated illustrated manuscript, according to Motichandra, is a copy of *Niśīthachūrṇī*, which was written in V.S. 1157 during the reign of Siddharāja. Hirananda Shastri, however, has described an illustrated manuscript of *Kalpasūtra* dated V.S. 1125. If the date is genuine, then this copy of *Kalpasūtra*, should be accepted as the earliest dated illustrated manuscript of Gujarat.⁷⁷

The art of book-illustrations continued to be practised upto the 17th century if not later. All the earlier manuscripts, however, were written on palm-leaves, while paper manuscripts dated from about the beginning of the 14th century are available.

It may be mentioned here, that there is a general consensus of opinion, that paper was introduced in India by the Muslim conquerors. But a manuscript in paper, written in the Gupta script of the 5th century, has been discovered at Kashgar, while Nearchos, a Greek writer, who accompanied Alexander, stated that the Indians were manufacturing writing paper out of cotton by pounding.⁷⁸ R. B. Pandey suggests that under the climatic conditions of India paper cannot survive for long, so that paper manuscripts from Gujarat and Rajputana cannot be traced back to a time earlier than the 14th century A.D. However, as no paper manuscript written during the period under review, has been discovered, we shall only discuss the palm-leaf manuscripts.

Before proceeding to discuss the style of the Gujarat miniatures, it will be convenient to note here the important illustrated dated manuscripts.

In the *Niśīthachūrṇī*, most of the illustrations are decorative floral or geometric patterns executed on a circular base or rounded. There are a few human figures, one of which shows an elephant rider with two *apsarases* holding garlands in the lower margin, which represents the ground.⁷⁹ The picture reminds one of the famous verse with which Hemachandra is said to have addressed Siddharāja when he met the Emperor for the first time:

*Siddharāja gaja-rājāṃ uchchakaiḥ
kāraya prasaram etam agrataḥ
santrasantu haritāṃ mataṅga-jās-
taiḥ kim adya bhavataiva bhūdhritā.⁸⁰*

The other dated palm-leaf illustrated manuscripts are the following:

1. *Jñātāsūtra* and three other *Aṅgas* of the Svetāmbara school with the commentary of Abhyadeva, dated V.S. 1184 (A.D. 1127).
2. *Daśapaikālikā Laghuvṛtti*, dated V.S. 1200 (A.D. 1143).
3. *Ogha Niryukti*, dated V.S. 1218 (A.D. 1161).
4. *Mahāvīracharita* dated V.S. 1294 (A.D. 1237).
5. *Neminātha Charita*, dated V.S. 1298 (A.D. 1241).
6. *Kathāratnasāgara*, dated V.S. 1313 (A.D. 1256).

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7. *Śrāvakapratīkramanachūṛṇī*, dated V.S. 1317 (A.D. 1260).
8. *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchāryakathā*, dated V.S. 1335 (A.D. 1278).
(Another illustrated manuscript of this work is dated V.S. 1336 A.D. 1279).
9. *Subāhukathā* and seven other *kathās*, dated V.S. 1345 (A.D. 1288).⁸¹

Besides these dated manuscripts there are also other illustrated manuscripts which do not bear any dates but on stylistic grounds their illustrations are considered to belong to this period.

A miniature in the *Daśavaikālikā Laghuṣṛīti* represents a Jaina monk seated on a couch conversing with another monk seated in front of him; a layman with folded hands stands on the right. This group is said to represent Hemachandra, and his disciple Mahendra Sūri and Kumārapāla. In the manuscript of the *Mahāvīracharita*, a monk is shown in a miniature seated on a throne dressed in the typical white garb of the Jaina monks; behind him a disciple, holding a piece of cloth, is waiting and another disciple is learning his lessons. In another illustration in the same work, a bearded man, dressed in shorts and a half-sleeved jacket sits with folded hands. The Jaina monk in the first illustration, and the bearded man in the second illustration, have been identified with Hemachandra and Kumārapāla respectively.⁸²

A manuscript of the *Siddha-Hema-laghu-ṣṛīti*, found in Aṇahilapāṭaka contains several pictures. The manuscript is undated, but Shastri was of the opinion that it was copied not long after it had been written. One of the illustrations, seems to represent a book being presented to a king. This may represent the well-known episode of Hemachandra's presentation of his grammar to Siddharāja. H. Shastri, however claimed, that this is the earliest known portrait of Siddharāja. It may represent Siddharāja, but it is not possible to say that it was a portrait painting.⁸³

In the illustrations of *Subāhukathā*, the representation of trees and animals appear for the first time.

Among the undated manuscripts, the Digambara Jaina canonical text, *Shatkhanda-gama* with the *Dhavalā ṭīkā* is important, because it shows that illustrating the manuscripts was not practised by the Śvetāmbaras alone. Motichandra is of the opinion that this manuscript should be dated between A.D. 1113-1120 and that it contains the earliest known Digambara miniatures.

Many references are available to show that painting on cloth was popular during this period. But the earliest known painted cloth belongs to the 14th century A.D.

Wooden book-covers were also sometimes painted. One wood cover (26 inches by 3 inches) has been supposed to contain a representation of Jinadatta Sūri, from which it has been conjectured that it should be

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dated between A.D. 1112-1154.⁸⁴ The reasons advanced for this identification, however, are hardly convincing.

Technique

The Gujarat miniatures served a limited purpose, namely, illustrating a manuscript. The width of a palm-leaf was about 2-3 inches, so that the space was limited. Another limitation was imposed by the prevailing custom of writing the manuscript first, and then submitting it to the painter. On the written folios rectangular spaces were marked off by the copyist before he commenced writing. Sometimes marginal legends describing the scene were left to guide the painter; thumbnail sketches of the composition done in black ink, as a guide to the painter, have also been found.

In the palm-leaf manuscripts, the painters first covered the panel with a vermillion paint. Figures were then modelled in colours after which they were outlined.⁸⁵ The result was constant break in the line; there was no attempt at careful drawing, and angularity became an outstanding feature of these miniatures. The only attempt towards modelling, is sometimes seen in the application of colour washes or thickening the outlines of a figure. The surface of the palm-leaf is not adapted to delicate workmanship with a fine brush, therefore, larger brushes with wider strokes were used. As a result the details obtained on paper manuscripts with finer brushes could not be reproduced on palm-leaf manuscripts.

The colours most often used, apart from the vermillion for the background, were yellow, blue, white and rarely green or gold. The different colours were applied in such a manner, that the shades could blend with each other. Lac-dye was applied to the feet and the lips.

The limited palette did not probably greatly handicap the painters, for, their subjects were also limited. Usually the subjects of painting were, *tīrthaṅkaras*, gods, goddesses, monks, nuns, devotees (male and female) and kings; scenes from nature were rarely drawn; and all these were highly conventional representations.

Style

The peculiarity of the Gujarat miniatures was that from the beginning, they were conventional and formal. One of the reasons may have been, that these miniatures were primarily intended to illustrate Jain canonical texts, and Jaina art, particularly iconography, has always been conventional with hardly any change. This attitude towards art may have influenced the miniatures to some extent.

There was however some changes observable in detailed treatment; some features, particularly the treatment of the eye developed gradually, till the farther eye was completely projected into space. But the other

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characteristics of this art, such as angularity, absence of depth and perspective, can be discerned from the beginning. It will, therefore, be convenient to describe the general characteristics of the Gujarat miniatures, though some of these were present in an undeveloped form in the palm-leaf manuscripts.

The conception is purely decorative, without any realistic approach. The subjects are grouped together on the same ground which lacks all depth and perspective. The figures are never placed one behind the other. The height of the figures does not depend on their real dimensions, nor on their disposition in the composition, but according to the importance of the subject; for example a man can be taller than an elephant. The kings and the saints are always taller than the servants and the disciples, or, in other words the perspective is hierarchic.

The elements of nature loses their realistic character. The sky is suggested by conventional clouds of blue or black, and without going into details, it may be stated that sun, moon, water, mountain, and trees were represented by equally conventional designs. For example, in a manuscript of the *Subāhukathā* of A.D. 1288, trees are represented. But, most of the trees consists of a trunk headed by a cluster of circular green leaves with a few patches of red and yellow indicating fruits and flowers. The trunk after rising straight for three fourths of its height sharply inclines downwards and takes on the aspect of an umbrella or chauri; as Valadevamuni and the *rathakāraka* are standing under the trees, it seems obvious that the trees were intentionally made to appear like this.⁸⁶

Among other general characteristics may be mentioned that the representation of architecture was reduced to a minimum; two columns supported by a roof was sufficient to represent a temple. The plan of the picture was always perpendicular in relation to the observer, and attempt was rarely made to represent the point of view from any height.⁸⁷

The characteristics of the human figure, apart from its angularities in the treatment of the limbs, is seen in the excessively large heads measuring about one fifth of the height of the body. But the chief characteristic of the Gujarat miniatures was the position of the farther eye. Before we discuss the eyes, however, it is necessary to elucidate a point made above.

We have stated above that one of the conventions of Gujarat miniatures was that one figure was never placed in front of another. In support of this convention, Motichandra quotes from the translation of the *Vishṇudharmottara* by Stella Kramrisch, as follows: "In representing certain figures the artist should avoid to place one figure before the other", but the actual sentence in Kramrisch's translation is: "In painting (one) should carefully avoid, in case of all these, placing one

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(figure) in front of another."⁸⁸ Now, the actual line in the *Vishṇu-dharmottara* is, "*Sammukhatvam ath-aileshām chitre yatnād-vivarjayet.*"⁸⁹ *Sammukhatvam* here means "frontal view", that is the line quoted above would mean that "a painter should carefully abstain from representing the frontal view (full face of a figure); in other words, only profiles should be shown.

The date of the *Vishṇudharmottara* is uncertain, but it could not have been written before the *Matsya-purāṇa* which was most probably written between c. A.D. 550-650.⁹⁰ As al-Beruni mentions this work, it must have been written before the 11th century. Therefore, it may be concluded that it was composed between the 7th to 10th centuries A.D. Hence it seems that the convention of drawing the profiles only, came to be recognised after the Gupta age and before the earliest dated illustrated Gujarat miniature.

It is possible that the Indian painters were, as Stchoukine says, obsessed with the principle of the "greatest visibility",⁹¹ which brought in its train a series of conventions necessary to implement this principle. The process of reducing the aspect of objects by the effect of linear perspective was avoided, and the various parts of the body were treated with a view to emphasise them. The head, which was formerly treated under all the aspects, sometimes with a marked preference for the three-fourth profile, came to be treated in pure profile, through an intermediate stage when the "*profil perdu*" became popular.

This raised a problem. Either the painter could draw the full face, and satisfy the principle of the greatest visibility or he could draw the profile and present the individuality of the figure; that is, he could represent a sharp nose but lose one eye. A compromise was effected by drawing a pure profile, and projecting the farther eye into space.

This projection of the farther eye into space distinguishes Gujarat miniatures from all schools of painting. Ajit Ghose explained this peculiarity as due to the artists desire to show that he was painting something flat, though his aim was plastic. Norman Brown was of the opinion that the protruberance of the farther eye was the result of copying the glass eyes of the *śvetāmbara* images, which extend beyond the normal eyes to a distance of about half an inch.⁹²

These suggestions have been thoroughly discussed by Motichandra, who has rightly rejected them.⁹³ He has also shown that the tendency of projecting the eye increased as the profiles became sharper. It is however difficult to maintain, as he has done, that it was an established convention in Ajanta to represent the human face in three quarter profile only. Full face of Buddha is found in caves nine and nineteen for example. What happened at Ajanta was that there was a bias towards profile, as in a group no two faces were drawn in the same angle. But

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it does not appear that the early painters of Ajanta were drawing under the fetish of any convention.

However, this convention of drawing the profile came to be recognised with the beginning of the mediaeval ages, when, it appears, that angularity of features was preferred to rounded forms, and great importance was given in sculpture to 'śuka-nāsa', a nose as aquiline as a parrot's beak, and pointed chin. Reproduction of these conventions on a flat surface made it necessary to draw in profiles.

Drawing the profile, however, resulted in another problem namely, that one eye and part of the forehead remained unrepresented. Motichandra has shown that in a Gujarat miniature, if a line is drawn from the middle of the forehead to the chin of a human figure, it will be seen that, except for the farther eye and the portion of the forehead the head is in profile. In later miniatures even the length of the farther forehead diminishes, but the farther eye projected into space remains. The nearer eye, it may be noted, is not shown in profile; practically the full eye from a frontal aspect is given.

One of the reasons that may be suggested for this peculiarity is that the eyes were considered to be the most important element in the facial expression. For example, according to the *Vishnudharmottara* (III, 35, vv. 5-7), the art of painting should follow that of dancing, and in chapter 25 of the same work, sixty two verses out of seventy-five describes the various positions of the eyes and the brows in expressing different moods of a dancer. As the position of the eye is not described in the chapters on painting, it has to be presumed that the painter, should follow the dancer in this respect. Thus the farther eye was difficult to eliminate from a picture. This problem was solved by drawing the face in profile with the nearer eye full, and the farther eye projected into space. At first, parts of farther forehead and even of farther chin were given, but these details diminished as the process developed. Thus, the contour of the face, that is individuality and the full view of the eyes were presented at the same time. In all the pictures this result was not obtained, but in many pictures a pair of staring eyes superimposed on an almost perfect profile can be seen.

Evaluation

In evaluating the artistic remains of a past age, one naturally wonders how far one can trust one's aesthetic appreciation to interpret truly the feelings which inspired it. The task becomes more difficult when it is known, as in the case of Gujarat miniatures, that the paintings were primarily meant to satisfy either some monks or some rich patron, who may have had very little sense of appreciation. It seems almost certain that the painter had very little scope for showing his individuality or imagination in these highly conventional drawings.

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It should not be assumed, however, that these miniatures suffer in aesthetic value because of this religious content. In India particularly, there have never been any dichotomy between religion and art, and, as a matter of fact, all the great art produced in India were religious art. Religion by itself has never curbed the originality of the artist; his restrictions were due to the iconographic texts which bore the stamp of religion. We do not yet know whether there was any Jaina canonical text on painting, and if it existed, what limitations it imposed upon the artist.

Some art critics, as Motichandra rightly points out,⁹⁴ in the first flush of the discovery of these miniatures overpraised them. Even Coomaraswamy was carried away by his enthusiasm for these miniatures, for which Motichandra has criticised him. It should be noted, however, that Motichandra quotes and criticises a passage from the fourth volume of Coomaraswamy's *Catalogue of Indian Collection*, but in his *History of Indian and Inonesian Art*, the appreciation is less emphatic: "Here we have a series of constantly repeated compositions, varying only in unimportant details, and clearly indicating a long precedent tradition.... The style is one of pure draughtsmanship, the colour is indeed brilliant, but it is the outline that establishes the facts, and this outline, though exceedingly facile and almost careless, is very accomplished, and very legible. In many cases the execution might well be called brilliant, and this applies as much to the tiny thumbnail indicatory sketches in the margins as to the finished miniatures. The variety of scenes and circumstances represented is very considerable, and the pictures afford valuable information on contemporary, or more probably, considering the conservatism of the style, earlier than fifteenth century manners, customs and costumes."⁹⁵

This is a very generous appreciation; but it is difficult to disagree from the points emphasised by Coomaraswamy here. Draughtsmanship, drawing of the outline, and the colouring of the miniatures are undoubtedly technically sound. The defect, however, is in the composition which is at best primitive, obvious, and endlessly repetitive. Monotony is increased by the flatness, lack of depth, and the restricted palette. The vermillion background, unvarying in tone or otherwise, renders these pictures wearisome.

But the greatest drawback of the Gujarat miniatures was in depicting nature, in which Indian art has always excelled. Indeed it appears that total dissociation from nature has imbued these miniatures with a lifeless, over sophisticated, soporific charm having a restricted appeal, which is their only claim to recognition as works of art.

It has been suggested that the style of the Gujarat miniatures can be traced to Ajanta and the wall paintings of Ellora, and that its effect spread as far as Pagan in Burma.⁹⁶ Śaka influence for the origin of

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these pictures has also been suggested.⁹⁷ Some of the points made out by these critics are undoubtedly very interesting, but there are others who have denied that Gujarat miniatures had any relation with the art of Ajanta or Bagh. For example, Norman Brown points out: "The art (of Gujarat miniatures) is at a far remove from that of Ajanta or Bagh, as though it were a folk art converted to the purposes of religion, on which point Mr. Ghose writes pertinently."⁹⁸

In this connection it may be pointed out that the peculiarities of the Gujarat miniature paintings, though very rare is not unique, for practically the same peculiarities with the exception of the projected farther eye, are found in the paintings of ancient Egypt. Breasted writes: "In relief, now greatly in demand for temple decoration, and the chapel of the mastaba-tomb, the Egyptian was confronted by the problem of foreshortening and perspective. He must put objects having roundness and thickness, upon a flat surface. How this should be done had been determined for him before the beginning of the Old Kingdom (c. 3400 B.C.). A conventional style had already been established before the third dynasty, (c. 3100 B.C.) and that style was now sacred and inviolable tradition. While a certain freedom of development survived, that style in its fundamentals persisted throughout the Egyptian art, even after the artist had learned to perceive its shortcomings. The age which produced it had not learned to maintain one point of view in the drawing of any given scene or object; two different points of view were combined in the same figure: *in drawing a man, a front view of the eyes and shoulders was regularly placed upon a profile of trunk and legs.*"⁹⁹

It is not claimed that Gujarat art was an offshoot of the ancient Egyptian art. What we want to emphasise here is that the ancient artists were confronted by problems which they could only solve crudely. In the hieratic arts these ancient traditions became sanctified, and persisted.

The history of Indian pictorial art suffers from lack of evidence to illustrate its continuous tradition. The art of Ajanta is mature and deliberate. The Gujarat miniatures, as Norman Brown points out, are "primitive", "although the types in these paintings are of great plastic antiquity and constitute the culmination of a long development".¹⁰⁰ Until, therefore, further materials are available, it does not seem possible to specify either its origin or its influence abroad.

CHAPTER XVII

Gujarat Chronicles

Large number of chronicles were written about the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, and in this respect the position of Gujarat literature is unique in India. It is true that properly speaking none of the Gujarat chronicles can be termed 'history', but they provide rough materials for writing one.

The chronicles may be divided into the following groups:

- (I) General History:
 - ✓1. *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* by Hemachandra
 - ✓2. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* by Merutuṅga
- (II) Biographies of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra
 1. Prakrit *Dvyāśraya* by Hemachandra (also known as *Kumārapālacharita*)
 2. *Mahāvīracharita* by Hemachandra (part of Canto XII)
 3. *Kumārapālapratibodha* by Somaprabha
 4. *Moharājapavāṇa* by Yaśaḥpāla
 5. *Hema-Sūri-Prabandha* in *Prabhāvacharita* by Prabhāchandra
 6. *Kumārapālabhūpālacharitra* by Jayasinha Sūri (II)
 7. *Kumārapālaprabandha* by Jina-maṇḍana
 8. *Kumārapālacharita* by Charitrasundara
 9. *Hema-Sūri-prabandha* in *Prabandhakośa* by Rājaśekhara
- (III) Works on Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla
 1. *Kīrtikaumudī* by Someśvara
 2. *Hamnīramadamardana* by Jayasinha Sūri (I)
 3. *Vasantavilāsa* by Bālachandra Sūri
 4. *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* by Udayaprabha
 5. *Sukṛitasaukīrtana* by Arisinha
 6. *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-prabandha* in *Prabandhakośa* by Rājaśekhara
 7. *Vastupālacharita* by Harsha Gaṇi
- (IV) Unclassified Works:
 1. *Surathotsava* by Someśvara (Canto XV only)
 2. *Ratnamālā* by Kṛishṇaji
 3. *Mudrita-Kumudachandra* by Yaśaḥchandra
 4. *Jagaducharita* by Sarvānanda
 5. Prologue of *Dūtāṅgada* by Subhaṭa
 - ✓6. *Kaṇasundarī* by Bilhaṇa

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(V) Miscellaneous Works:

1. *Lekhapaddhati*: a collection of documents
2. Several genealogical lists of the Chaulukya kings of which the most important is *Vichāraśreṇī* or *Therāvali* by Merutuṅga.

(VI) Non-Gujarat-chronicles:

1. *Prithvīrājavijaya* by Jayanaka
2. Prologue of *Pārthaparākramā* by Prahlādana

For a detailed discussion of these works, it will be convenient to arrange them in chronological order under the name of their authors.

1. Bilhaṇa: *Karṇasundarī*

Strictly speaking, the *Karṇasundarī* is not a Gujarat chronicle. It is a drama written by the famous Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who spent some time at Anahilapātaka during the reign of Karṇa I (c. V.S. 1122-1150). The historical importance of this work is insignificant. The plausibility of the plot has been discussed above. The drama is in four acts, and has been described as 'a poor recast obviously of the *Ratnāvali* or the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*'.¹

2. Yaśaḥchandra: *Mudrīta-Kumudachandra*

Yaśaḥchandra was probably an earlier contemporary of Hemachandra. He was the son of Padmachandra and grandson of Dhana-deva,² a minister of a prince of Śākambharī. The *Mudrīta-Kumudachandra* is a drama in five acts. It records the controversy which took place in Siddharāja's court between Devachandra and Kumudachandra, a description of which has been given above in the chapter on religious life. It was the work of a religious man, and intended for a Svetāmbara Jaina audience. As such it might have been a success as a drama. Profusely illustrated MSS. of this work has been found.

3. Hemachandra: *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*

We have already given a short account of the life of Hemachandra; his best biography has been written by G. Bühler. Hemachandra wrote a large number of books of which one of the most important was the *Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana* or the *Haima-vyākaraṇa* which has been described by Kielhorn as 'the best grammar of the Indian middle ages'. For, it is arranged in a more practical manner and has a more practical terminology than the grammars of Pāṇini, Chandragomin and Śakaṭāyana. Hemachandra wrote two commentaries on this grammar, called *Laghuvr̥tti* and *Vṛihadvr̥tti*, which includes his *Uṇādigāṇasūtra*, *Dhātupāṭha*, and a *Liṅgānuśāsana* with his own commentary. The eighth chapter of the *Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana* (SH) is a Prakrit grammar on which also Hemachandra wrote his own commentary, called *Prakāśikā*.

The SH is divided into thirty-two sections, at the end of each of which he wrote a Sanskrit couplet eulogising the virtue of a Chaulukya king. As the grammar was finished during the reign of Siddharāja, the

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verses describe the good qualities of the Chaulukya kings from Mūlarāja I to Siddharāja. The importance of these verses for reconstructing the history of Gujarat is slight, but not totally negligible.

In spite of having written the two commentaries in Sanskrit and one in Prakrit, Hemachandra wrote his *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* (DV) to illustrate the rules of his grammars. We write 'grammars', for though SH includes both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit grammar, for all practical purposes they are two distinct works. Similarly DV is strictly speaking a work in twenty-eight cantos; of these the first twenty cantos are written in Sanskrit and illustrates the rules of his Sanskrit grammar, while the last eight cantos are written in Prakrit and illustrate the rules of his Prakrit grammar. But for all practical purposes they are two distinct works, hence in the following discussion DV will indicate the Sanskrit work only, and the Prakrit work will be referred to under its alternative title, namely Kumārapālacharita, as it deals exclusively with the life of Kumārapāla in distinction to DV which presents a general history of Gujarat from the reign of Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla.

DV consists of 2439 verses divided into 20 unequal cantos. Practically every verse contains word or words which illustrate the rules of his grammar, and the verses are so arranged that the examples follow in strict order the arrangement of the rules of the SH. The first section of SH deals with the arrangement of the alphabet and allied matters, and examples of the rules of this section are to some extent omitted.³ The second section of the SH begins with the rule of conjunction: *samānā-nām tena dīrghaḥ* (SH I, ii, 1) and this is illustrated in the fourth verse of the DV:

*asti svastika-vad-bhumer-dharm-āgāraṁ nay-āspadam
puraṁ Śrīyā sad-āśliṣṭaṁ namn-Āṇahilapāṭakam* (DV, I, v. 4)

Thereafter practically each verse contains an example of one or more rules of the SH, so that it is necessary to discuss a few typical verses of the DV to show how far Hemachandra succeeded or failed in his attempt to graft history on grammar.

One of the most striking verses of the DV is that with which Hemachandra begins to give examples of *Taddhit*-suffixes:

*tat-tad-dhitaṁ kartṛbhir-ātma-bhartuḥ
sametya vṛiddhair-yuvabhiḥ kṣhaṇād-vā
duḥsthair-ath-Āvanti-bhaṭaiḥ sa
vaprodhyāro-hy-abhūtai raṇa-tūrya-vādyāt.* (DV, XIV, v. 37)

Historically this verse describes the condition of the Mālava soldiers "*(Āvanti-bhaṭa)* who—old and young—hurried to man the ramparts of their fortress and were not frightened on hearing the war-pipes of the Chaulukya army". For all we know, Hemachandra might have been here describing a real scene from a battle of the protracted struggle, many

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accounts of which he undoubtedly heard. But the verse illustrates the following aphorisms of the SH:

(1) *Taddhito'nādih* (VI, i, 1); (2) *Pautrādi vṛiddham* (VI, i, 2); (3) *Vamśya-jyāyobhrātror-jīvati-prapautrādya 'strī 'yuvā* (VI, i, 3); (4) *Sapinḍe vayahsthānādhihe jīvad-vā* (VI, i, 4); (5) *Yuva-vṛiddham kut-sārche vā* (VI, i, 5); (6) *Samjñā durvā* (VI, i, 6); and (7) *Vā 'dyāt* (VI, i, 11). Probably this verse served his double purpose quite well. There are many verses of this nature. We give below another example:

supreyasī karuṇayā bahu-Vishṇumitra-

grāmeṇy-abhūt sa-suta eva jano nṛipe'smin

su-bhrātri-putra-sahite kshata-nāḍi-kṛitā

*tantrī-galāja-balim-āpa na devat-āpi.*⁴ (DV, XX, v. 27)

In this verse Hemachandra describes the effects of the non-slaughter measures passed by Kumārapāla, and at the same time illustrates five aphorisms of the SH (VII, iii, 176-180), according to two of which (VII, iii, 178-179) *samāsānta ka* (kac according to Hemachandra *kaḥ* according to Pāṇini) is not added to the end of a *Bahubhīhi* compound in (i) *sahattulyayoge* and (ii) *bhrātuh stutau*. Examples of (i) given in the *Laghuṣṛīti* is *saputro yāti* and of (ii) is *subhrātā*. In DV, however, Hemachandra uses the form *Su-bhrātri-putra-sahite*, and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, his commentator, explains this as follows: “*śobhano bhrātā Kumārapālo yasya sa subhrātā Mahāpāladevas-tasya putro*’(A)jyadevas-tena sahite”. Thus, according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, Ajayapāla was the nephew of Kumārapāla, but we know from a contemporary source that Ajayapāla was the son of Kumārapāla. Hence it seems that by his peculiar use of the words, Hemachandra misled his commentator to think that Kumārapāla was helped by his nephew. But the main object of this verse was to describe the effects of the non-slaughter measures passed by Kumārapāla, and to that extent Hemachandra succeeded.

We shall now give an example to show that while in one verse Hemachandra is able to fulfill the demands of both history and grammar, he fails in the next one to do so. He describes (DV, XIV, v. 72) how Siddharāja defeated king Yaśovarman, who is compared to a sparrow. But in the next but one verse, Hemachandra adds that after defeating Yaśovarman, Siddharāja defeated many other frontier kings, each of whom is compared to a different animal, and it is stated that Siddharāja tied these kings in the manner in which it was appropriate to tie that particular animal, for example, a king who was compared to a dog was tied like a dog. In the first verse Hemachandra uses the word ‘*chaṭakairam*’ and ‘*chaṭaka*’ to illustrate his aphorism *chaṭakāṇṇairah striyaṁ tu lup* (SH VI, i, 79). However, this verse, we know from other sources, was giving correct information though in a garb suited to Sanskrit poetry. But the other verse was written merely to serve as examples for his apho-

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risms (SH, VI, i, 81-96) and instead of possessing any historical significance, is actually misleading.

There are many verses of this nature. For example, Hemachandra says that Grāharipu's wife's name was Nīlī (DV, IV, v. 48). Suspicion is at once aroused, for he cannot be expected to have known the name of a queen whose husband was defeated by Mūlarāja I in the 10th century A.D. The source of his information is easily detected: we find that as an illustration to one of his aphorisms (SH, II, iv, 28) he uses the word Nīlī as an example in his *Laghuvr̥tti* too, and it is known that *Laghuvr̥tti* was written before DV. It is apparent that Nīlī had no real existence, and the only excuse for inventing the name was that it was necessary and convenient to illustrate a rule of his grammar. Again, Hemachandra states that on a certain occasion, Mūlarāja had as his allies kings named Revatimitra, Gaṅgamaha, Gaṅgāmaha etc. (DV, V, vv. 1-2). Turning to his *Laghuvr̥tti*, we find that these three names were used there as examples of an aphorism (SH, II, iv, 99). As such coincidences and names are rare, most probably Mūlarāja never had any allies bearing such names. But all doubts are set at rest when he makes the ambassador of Bhīma boast in the court of Lakshmī-Karṇa, of a large number of Bhīma's allies who bore the peculiar names of Yanti, Ranti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Manti, Vanti, and Tanti (DV, IX, v. 36). Not unnaturally these very words he used in his *Laghuvr̥tti* to illustrate the rule that the 'i' should not be long in certain cases (*na tikiḍīrghaścha*, SH, IV, ii, 59). Obviously this verse is without any historical significance. Coming to his own period, we find that the names of Arjorāja's allies who fought against Kumārapāla (DV, XVI, vv. 7-15) were already used by him in the *Laghuvr̥tti* as examples of several aphorisms (SH, VI, iii, 6-25). But the name of Chāhāḍa, who also, according to Hemachandra, took Arjorāja's part against Kumārapāla, was not used to illustrate any grammatical rule. Many other chronicles too state that Chāhāḍa fought against Kumārapāla on this occasion, so that it may be concluded that Chāhāḍa had a real existence. Needless to say, the names of the allies of Mūlarāja or of Bhīma or of Arjorāja, which are found in the DV, are not found in any other source.

There is another aspect of the DV: it is a *mahākāvya*. Hemachandra was one of the greatest authorities of Sanskrit poetics as well as of language and literature, and naturally knew best as to what were the essential components of a *mahākāvya*. The exigencies of Sanskrit poetics, or Hemachandra's desire to emulate great poets, probably led him to write the two cantos (XVI and XVII) where he breaks off the narration of a campaign, first, to describe the natural beauties of Abu, then, of four seasons, and lastly, a series of amorous scenes. None of these descriptive verses has any relation with history. But sometimes

some of these digressions contain useful informations, such as we find in the third canto, where, while describing the start of Mūlarāja's campaign against Grāharipu, Hemachandra has left valuable information regarding some social and religious customs of the period.

We shall now have to consider the historical facts overlooked by Hemachandra. We shall not take into consideration the reign of kings of whom Hemachandra had no direct knowledge; but he lived during the reigns of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, so that one may presume him to have had a first hand knowledge of the activities of these two kings. Of Kumārapāla's reign Hemachandra gives a more or less true account, if we do not take into consideration the details supplied by him; but he does not describe the early life of Kumārapāla. However, in view of the fact that Kumārapāla was most probably persecuted by Siddharāja, it is easy to see why Hemachandra was reticent about his early life. That however cannot be valid excuse for any historian to gloss over essential facts. But it seems that Hemachandra habitually overlooked facts which were derogatory to the reputation of the Chaulukya kings. Also, he passes over in silence the relation between Bhīma and Bhoja, which is described so elaborately by Merutuṅga and is also referred to by many other Chroniclers including Someśvara. Bhīma's victory over Bhoja was a landmark in the Chaulukya history. Now, Hemachandra is said to be the earliest authority to quote Bhoja and he was certainly aware of the tragic end of the Paramāra Emperor to which he makes a veiled reference incidentally when he says that Lakshmī-Karṇa gave Bhīma the golden *maṇḍapikā* of Bhoja. (DV, IX, v. 57) What was then the cause of reticence? It may be suggested that in Bhoja, Hemachandra found a spirit akin to his own, and felt too great a respect for the Paramāra polymath to describe his fall.

Curiously the most unhistorical part of the DV is its description of Siddharāja's reign. With the exception of the conquest of Mālava, and of some pious activities, no other incident of Siddharāja's reign is described which is not mythical. In the 10th canto, Hemachandra gives an imaginary account of Karṇa's worship of a Goddess, some supernatural happenings, appearance of the Goddess from whom Karṇa obtained the blessings of a son. That son was Siddharāja, whose mythical exploits fill the next four cantos of the DV. For example, in his description of Siddharāja's fight with Barbaraka (Canto XII), Hemachandra calls Barbaraka a *rākshasa*, and his description of this fight as well as the circumstances leading to it reminds one inevitably of Rāma's fight with Tāḍakā to save the hermitage of Viśvāmitra. Barbaraka however had a real existence, for one of the regular *birudas* of Siddharāja was *Barbaraka-jishṇu*; but from Hemachandra's mythical description, which was corroborated by all the other Chroniclers, it is impossible to identify Barbaraka. The next canto is full of even more

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surprising stories. We are told that Siddharāja was in the habit of roaming about at night to keep himself informed of the affairs of the country. One night he came across a snake (*Nāga*) and accompanied it to the netherworld! In canto XIV, Hemachandra states that one day Siddharāja met several *yoginīs* who advised him for his own benefit to go to Ujjayinī and enter into friendly relations with the king Yaśovarman, so that he (Siddharāja) might be able to worship the *Yoginī* Kālīkā. Thereupon Siddharāja swore to capture both the *Yoginī* and king Yaśovarman, and a fight ensued resulting in the defeat and capture of the Paramāra king. Happily this improbable story is contradicted by the accounts left by other Chroniclers. However, Hemachandra next relates that Śiva himself appeared in person to inform Siddharāja that he would have no son and would be succeeded by Kumārapāla. With the disappearance of Śiva, Vibhīṣhaṇa arrived from Laṅkā to inform Siddharāja that in a former existence he had Vibhīṣhaṇa as his servant. The inference is obvious, and the commentator Abhayatilaka Gaṇi carefully explains that a former birth—probably we should say incarnation—here alludes to Rāmachandra. ((*DV*, XV, vv. 56-57).

That is what Hemachandra wrote about Siddharāja, in whose court he spent the best years of his life and attained fame. It need not be supposed that he intended to write history but the exigencies of grammar compelled him to write a myth instead. He was quite capable of writing tolerably good history even within the limits of the *DV*, and it is evident that his selection and omission of subjects were deliberate. He set out to write an eulogy of the Chaulukyas, and particularly of Siddharāja, and from that standpoint his work should be judged.

DV however must be distinguished from such works as Halāyudha's *Kavirahasya*, which is a metrical guide to poets in the employment of verbal forms, and is at the same time an eulogy of Kṛishṇa III, the Rāshtrakūṭa king. *Kavirahasya* does not give any historical information beyond stating the name of the ruling monarch, but the *DV* undoubtedly gives us some information. On the other hand the *DV* compares very unfavourably with the *Rājataranginī* as history. It seems that as history, it falls into the same category as Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅka-devacharita*.

Hemachandra's work was not history as we understand it to-day. To criticise his defects as a historian would not be fair. But even from the most exacting modern historian, he can wring the reluctant tribute that is due to genius.

Date of DV

According to Merutuṅga, after the *SH* was finished, some envious persons pointed out to Siddharāja that the grammar contained no description of the Chaulukyas. Soon Hemachandra came to learn of

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the intrigue against him, and he composed overnight thirty-two verses praising the Chaulukya kings and inserted one at the end of each section of his grammar. Here Merutuṅga correctly quotes the first of these verses. Then, according to Merutuṅga, "Hemachandra composed the book called '*Dvyāśraya*', to describe Siddharāja's conquest in all directions". Merutuṅga evidently had not read the DV,⁵ but his statement as to the period of composition may be to some extent true. Most probably Hemachandra began to write it during the reign of Siddharāja and completed it during the next reign.

Kumārapālacharita

Kumārapālacharita, which is the Prakrit DV, consists of 742 verses divided into eight cantos. The plan of this work is exactly like that of the Sanskrit DV. The first verse which is of a benedictory character illustrates the first three aphorisms in which Hemachandra defines Prakrit. The second verse illustrates the aphorism: *dirgha-hrasvau mitho vṛttau* (SH, Prakrit, I, i, 4). Thereafter, the verses follow the grammar with the scientific precision of its Sanskrit counterpart. Parts of the first two cantos (I, vv. 71-90; II, vv. 1-91) describe the daily life of Kumārapāla, and in the sixth canto (vv. 50-70), there is a description of the fight of Kumārapāla's army against Mallikārjuna. The rest of the sixth canto (vv. 71-107) is devoted to a fanciful description of kings who surrendered to Kumārapāla. No other subject of historical interest is discussed in this work, the rest of which is mostly full of descriptions of flowers, trees (canto III), and the seasons (Cantos IV and V). In the seventh canto is described the pious thoughts of Kumārapāla, and Hemachandra utilises this opportunity to point out the dangers of a man's coming into any form of contact with woman. Even looking at a woman was forbidden (VII, v. 24). Then in answer to Kumārapāla's prayers, the Goddess Śrutadevī appeared and in the last and the eighth canto, she is represented as instructing Kumārapāla on various aspects of Jainism. We shall not probably be too much mistaken if we assume, that the last two cantos contain the summary of the sermons which Hemachandra preached to Kumārapāla from time to time.

Commentators of DV

Some time in the beginning of the 14th century of the Vikrama era, Jineśvara Sūri set his two disciples, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi and Pūrṇakalaśa Gaṇi, to write commentaries of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit DV.

Abhayatilaka Gaṇi finished writing his commentary in V.S. 1312 at Palhanpur. It has sometimes been wrongly held that he completed the unfinished DV, but that is not a fact. He wrote the commentary only and the text was completely written by Hemachandra, who alone indeed was capable of writing it.

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Abhayatilaka Gaṇi admits gratefully that his commentary was kindly revised and corrected by his co-pupil and poet Laksmītilaka Gaṇi. In a *Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvali*, it is stated that in V.S. 1319, Upādhyāya Abhayatilaka defeated at Ujjain one Vidyānanda of the Tapagachchha and received a *jayapatra*.⁶ Our commentator also belonged to the Kharataragachchha, and it seems that he was identical with the recipient of the *jayapatra*. At least by any standard he fully deserved one; no reader of the DV will ever fail to be gratefully impressed by the great erudition of its commentator and the dexterity with which he explains the tortuous obscurity of Hemachandra's verses. Happily he was guided by Hemachandra's famous dictum: *ṭikā nirantara-vyākhyā pañjikā pada-bhañjikā*. As a result, we get through Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's commentary a connected narrative; he fills up many gaps left in the narrative by the author. Some of his comments explaining the social and religious customs of the period are of the utmost importance. His one and only drawback was in accepting all the statements of Hemachandra as literally true; but we cannot expect a Jaina monk of that period to have acted differently. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi performed his task extremely well; without his commentary, large part of the DV would to-day have remained unintelligible.

Pūrṇakalaśa Gaṇi wrote the commentary of the Prakrit DV in Sanskrit. His scope was limited, but he too performed his task with great skill.

DV was published in two volumes, the second volume appearing in 1921. Both the volumes were edited by A. V. Kathvate, but he unfortunately died while the book was in the press, so that it had to be printed without any historical introduction, or index. *Kumārapāla-charita* has been edited twice.

4. Yaśaḥpāla: *Moharājaparājaya*

The *Moharājaparājaya*, or the *Defeat of King Illusion*, is an allegorical drama in five acts, describing the process and the results of the conversion of Kumārapāla to Jainism.

It has been said that the play resembles in some respects the Christian plays of Mediaeval Europe. All the dramatis personae, except the king, his jester and Hemachandra, represent abstract qualities good as well as evil. Such plays are not uncommon in Sanskrit literature; an earlier prototype on which *Moharājaparājaya* was probably consciously modelled being the *Prabodhachandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇaniśra, composed in the second half of the 11th century A.D.

The author Yaśaḥpāla's father, Dhanadeva, is called a *Mantrin*. Yaśaḥpāla describes himself as a 'swan at the lotus like feet of Chakravarti Ajayadeva', that is Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla. This indicates the possibility of Yaśaḥpāla's being a minister of

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Ajayapāla. Ajayapāla reigned between c.V.S. 1229-1232, therefore the drama must have been written during that period.

5. Somaprabha: *Kumārapālapratibodha*

The *Kumārapālapratibodha* contains a general description of the teachings of the Jaina doctrine purported to have been given from time to time by Hemachandra to Kumārapāla; it also describes the manner in which these lessons gradually influenced the king till he was completely converted to Jainism.

Somaprabha called his work *Jina-dharma-pratibodha*, but in the colophon of one MS. the work was called *Kumārapālapratibodha*. According to the editor the latter name conveys to the general reader a better significance of the subject matter of the work, hence it has been retained. The work is mostly written in Prakrit, but a few stories in the last chapter are in Sanskrit.

It is a voluminous work, but its worth as history is insignificant. As a matter of fact, at the very commencement of his work, the author disavows any intention of writing the biography either of Hemachandra or of Kumārapāla. He thereby missed a great chance, for he wrote in V.S. 1241, about only a decade after the death of Kumārapāla.

Other known works of Somaprabha are, *Sumatināthacharita*, *Suktimuktāvali* and *Śatārthakāvya*. The last named work consists of a single verse capable of being explained in one hundred ways.

The *Kumārapālapratibodha* was edited by Munirāja Jinavijaya with an English introduction, a Sanskrit *prastāvanā* and *pariśiṣṭa*. (G.O.S. XIV).

Several chronicles were written during the reign of Bhīma II. Most of these chronicles were eulogies of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, but they generally contain an account of the founders of the Vāghelā dynasty, and a canto or appropriate number of verses are devoted to an eulogy of the Chaulukyas, which seems to have been *de rigueur*. It is not possible to arrange these chronicles in a strict chronological order.

6. Someśvara: *Kīrtikaumudī* and *Surathotsava*

The earliest known member of Someśvara's family was installed as the royal chaplain by Mūlarāja I. Since then the members of that family served the Chaulukya kings in that capacity down to the time our author, though it is by no means clear if Someśvara, who describes himself as *Gūṛjareśvara-purohita* had served under Bhīma II. As he was a favourite of the Vāghelās, the title may mean that he was the chaplain of the Vāghelās.

The exact dates of Someśvara cannot be ascertained. It is known that he survived Bhīma II and wrote the *Dabhoi-praśasti* in V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1253). He composed several other *praśastis* which have already been noted.

The mentality of Someśvara is apparent from the first canto of the

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Kīrtikaumudī, where after several invocatory verses addressed to different gods, he begins to praise the poets. Though many famous poets are included in the panegyric, he particularly selects for praise Prahādāna, the Abu Paramāra prince, one Yaśovīra, who seems to have been a minister of the Chāhamānas, and Vastupāla, then the richest man in Western India and the chief supporter of the Vāghelās. It is said that Prahādāna was the son of Sarasvatī and husband of the goddess of victory, and that compared to Yaśovīra even Kālidāsa and Māgha were of little account! Thus Someśvara attempted to ingratiate himself—probably successfully—with three royal houses, by no means an easy task.

We have discussed elsewhere the political predilections of Someśvara. He was a frank partisan of the Vāghelās, and of the brothers Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla. It seems almost certain that like other partisan writers he did not mind distorting history by stating as facts whatever he wanted to circulate as true. But wherever the interests of his patrons were not implicated, he has presented unbiased facts. Thus the narrative in the second canto of the *Kīrtikaumudī* upto the death of Mūlarāja II gives possibly the best history of the Chaulukyas upto that period. His description of the Yādava invasion of Gujarat is also graphic and convincing. But his main intention in writing the book was to eulogise Vastupāla, and it is obvious that in describing the activities of the minister, he indulges in all sorts of exaggerations.

The *Kīrtikaumudī* is divided into nine cantos. It is generally called a *mahākāvya*, but it has been said that it resembles a *champu* more than a *mahākāvya* in form. It was a popular book; Merutuṅga quoted freely from it.

It was edited by A. V. Kathvate in 1883; besides a learned historical introduction, the editor had added useful grammatical notes. But later he admitted that the MSS. used by him were defective, when a better MS. was discovered by R. G. Bhandarkar. *Kīrtikaumudī* was translated into German, by Von August Hack, under the title *Kīrtikaumudī,—oder die Lotus blume des Ruhmes* (1892).

The *Surathotsava*, a *mahākāvya*, describes in fourteen cantos the mythical story of King Suratha's loss of kingdom through the treachery of his ministers, his retirement to a forest, and worship of the Mother Goddess through whose divine intervention he ultimately regained his kingdom. In the fifteenth and the last canto, Someśvara, in describing his own ancestors, recalled their relations with the successive Chaulukya kings, thereby providing a good deal of unbiased information not available elsewhere.

Though the subject matter of the work is mythical, the fate of Suratha so closely resembles that of Bhīma II—during whose reign the

book was written—that its chances of being a political allegory cannot be overlooked.

The *Surathotsava* was discovered by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who discussed fully the historical merits of the fifteenth canto which he published in full. It was edited in 1902 by MM. Pandit Sivadatta and K. K. Parab.⁷ The editors provided an indifferent historical introduction in Sanskrit, which is really a collection of some excerpts from several texts, without any critical analysis of their value.

Recently *Rāmaśataka*, a hymn to Rāma by Someśvara has been discovered. (J.O.I., I, 10-12).

7. Bālachandra Sūri: *Vasantavilāsa*

The *Vasantavilāsa*, a *mahākāvya* in fourteen cantos, is another eulogy of Vastupāla, whose *nom de plume* was Vasanta. But the third canto is mainly an eulogy of the Chaulukya kings from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.

The work was intended to establish the author's reputation as a poet, still he gives historical information of some value. As most of such informations are given incidentally, they may be relied upon. Bālachandra's pretensions were very high: he actually states that while he was enjoying slumber (*yoganidrā*), Sarasvatī appeared before him and blessed him saying that he would successfully fill the place of Kālidāsa.

Besides the *Vasantavilāsa*, Bālachandra wrote *Karuṇāvajrāyudha*, a drama in five acts and commentaries on Āśāda's *Vivekamañjarī* and *Upadeśakandaṭī*.

The *Vasantavilāsa* was edited by C. D. Dalal with an excellent historical introduction. (G.O.S., VII, 1917).

8. Jayasimha Sūri (I): *Hammīramadamardana*

Hammīramadamardana is a drama in five acts. Its subject matter has already been described. The drama was probably composed between V.S. 1276 to 1286. The author was the Āchārya of the temple of Muni Subrata at Broach. Once while Tejaḥpāla paid a visit to this temple, Jayasimha Sūri recited a poem praising him and requesting him to provide twenty-five *Devakulikās* with golden staff in the Śakunikā Vihāra. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla fulfilled this request, whereupon our author composed a long *praśasti* commemorating the gift. Later the Śakunikā Vihāra was turned into a mosque, but the *praśasti* was saved through a copy preserved at the end of a MS. of *Hammīramadamardana*.

9. Udayaprabha Sūri: *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī* is a *praśasti* written, as the title indicates, in praise of the pious deeds and glory of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. It seems to have been composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya. It is said that Vastupāla had the *praśasti* inscribed on a slab of stone in the Indra-maṇḍapa erected by him. The *praśasti* begins with the eulogy of the Aṇahilapāṭaka kings from Vanarāja, thus providing a useful genealogy of the

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Chāpotkaṭas. His eulogy of the Chaulukya kings, though not free from some absurd exaggerations, is important. The whole *praśasti* consists of 179 verses which are composed in various metres. The author was the religious preceptor of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, so that his version of the coming to power of the two ministers is of utmost importance. The *praśasti* testifies to the writer's literary skill, and probably to enhance his reputation he used unusual similes and unfamiliar words.

Other important works by the same author are: (1) *Dharmābhyudaya* or *Sanḥādhipati-charitra-mahākāvya*, composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's pilgrimage; (2) *Ārambhasiddhi*, a work on *Jyotiṣa*; (3) and *Upadeśamālākarnikā*, a commentary on the *Upadeśamālā* composed in V.S. 1229.

The three works, namely *Hammīramadamardana*, *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti*, and *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtanī* were published in a single volume (G.O.S. X, 1920), edited by C. D. Dalal. Unfortunately the editor died while his work was still in progress, but his incomplete introduction and notes give a good summary of the historical portion of the three works.

10. Arisimha: *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana*

The *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana* is a *mahākāvya* divided into eleven cantos, and was finished about the year V.S. 1285. The first canto describes the history of the Chāpotkaṭas, while the second describes that of the Chaulukyas. Historically, these two cantos are the most important of the whole work, the rest of which are devoted to descriptions of the pious deeds of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.

Arisimha was proficient in the science of Sanskrit poetics and wrote a work called *Kavitā-rahasya* or *Kāvya-kalpalatā-vṛitti*; it was a treatise on the composition of verses, including practical treatment of prosody and rhetoric. The work was composed in part by Arisimha and was completed by Amarachandra, who also wrote the commentary called *Kāvya-kalpalatā-kavi-sikshā-vṛitti*. Amarachandra also added a few verses of his own composition at the end of each canto of *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana*. The relation between Arisimha and Amarachandra is difficult to determine. It has been suggested that Amarachandra was the pupil of Arisimha, but from the concluding verse of Amarachandra's *Bāla-Bhārata* and the colophon of his *Kāvya-kalpalatā*, it is learnt that he was the pupil of Jinadatta Sūri. Hence in spite of the fact that Rājaśekhara says that Amarachandra was a pupil of Arisimha, it appears that the two were fellow students.⁸

Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana was first noticed by G. Bühler, who published Sanskrit extracts with German translations and an introduction in the *Sitzungsberichte* in 1899 (Bd. CXIX). Bühler's German introduction and translation of the Sanskrit verses (without the Sanskrit text) were

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rendered into English by E. K. Burgess under the direction of James Burgess in 1903 (IA, XXXI, 477-95). Both the German and the English versions were published as separate pamphlets.

11. *Kṛishṇaji: Ratnamālā*

The *Ratnamālā* is said to have consisted originally of 108 cantos, of which only eight have survived. An English translation in verse by A. K. Forbes was published in *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IX, 20-100). The original Prakrit text has not yet been published. The historical value of the work, as appears from the translation, is limited, and it does not contain any information not available elsewhere, except the descriptions of the persons of the Chaulukya kings. Of its author, Kṛishna, nothing is known. As he brought his narrative down to the reign of Bhīma II, it is most likely that it was written during the reign of that king.

12. *Prabhāchandra: Prabhāvākacharita*

The *Prabhāvākacharita* contains the biographies of twenty-two Jaina Āchāryas, and was completed in V.S. 1334. The author states at the outset that he was beginning the work where Hemachandra had left it. For, Hemachandra after writing his *Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita* wrote an appendix to it, called the *Parīśiṣṭaparvā* or the *Sthavirāvali-charita*, in which he wrote the biographies of the Jaina Āchāryas upto Vajrasvāmī. Prabhāchandra began from the life of Vajrasvāmī and brought his narrative down to the biography of Hemachandra.

The main purpose of the work was to relate the lives of the Jaina Āchāryas, but in order to provide a historical background to their activities, anecdotes about many kings have been introduced, more prominent amongst them being Bhoja, Bhīma I, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. The anecdotes about Bhoja and Bhīma are without any historical significance, but it was impossible to write the biography of Hemachandra without giving details of the reigns of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. Therefore *Śrī-Hemachandra-Sūri-charita* is the most important chapter of the *Prabhāvākacharita* so far as history is concerned. In the *Śrī-Vādi-Deva-Sūri-charita* is given a detailed description of the historic debate between Devachandra and Kumudachandra, which has been discussed above.

The author stated in his short preface that he had collected materials for his work from books written by his predecessors, and from stories which were current during his time. But so far as is known, Prabhāchandra's book contains the earliest biography of Hemachandra. Probably reliable traditions about Hemachandra were still available when the book was written, for, with a few exceptions, Prabhāchandra has left a sober account of parts of the reigns of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla.

Prabhāvākacharita was first edited by Pandit Hirananda M. Sharma, and published by the N.S.P., in 1909. An improved second

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edition by Muni Jina Vijaya was published in the S.J.S. in 1940. None of the editions are provided with any historical introduction.

13. Merutuṅga: *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and *Vichāraśreṇī*

The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* may be considered to be a general history of Gujarat from V.S. 940-1250. Like Prabhāchandra, Merutuṅga went through many works of his predecessors, and also relied upon traditions. In the preceding pages we have critically analysed the more important historical narratives contained in the work, but besides those narratives the book contains a large number of interesting anecdotes. The value of such anecdotes is dubious, and many can be proved to be fictitious. (See above Ch. V, f.n. 132)

The avowed object of the author in writing the book was to replace the oft-heard ancient stories which no longer delighted the wise:

*bhīṣaṁ śrutatvān-na kathāḥ purāṇāḥ prīṇanti chetāṁsi tathā budhānām
vṛttaiḥ-tad-āsanna-satām Prabandha-chintāmaṇi-grantham ahaṁ tanomi.*

The first three sections of the first chapter contain anecdotes about Vikramāditya, Sātavahana, and Bhuyarāja (Pratīhāra Bhoja?). The fourth section, called *Vanarājādi-prabandha*, gives a short history of the Chāpotkaṭas. With the fifth section, called *Mūlarājādi-prabandha*, begins the history of the Chaulukyas which in this section is carried to the end of Durlabharāja's reign. As a matter of fact, little besides the names and dates of the three immediate successors of Mūlarāja are recorded. The sixth section is devoted to the anecdotes about the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṇja. Then begins the second chapter, called *Bhoja-Bhīma-prabandha*, which relates the history of the two kings. The third chapter is called *Siddharājā-prabandha*, in which after describing the last days of Bhīma and the reign of Karna in a couple of pages, more than twenty pages are devoted to the narration of the events of Siddharāja's reign. The first section of the fourth chapter describes Kumārapāla's reign, and is as long as chapter three. At the end of chapter four is described briefly the evil deeds of Ajayapāla (Merutuṅga calls him Ajayadeva), reign of Mūlarāja II, Bhīma II, and the accession of Viradhavala. Section two of the same chapter, called *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti*, records the activities of the two brothers. The fifth and the last chapter which follows, is called *Prakīrṇaka-prabandha*, and is a collection of miscellaneous anecdotes, mostly about historical persons.

Merutuṅga finished writing *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* in V.S. 1361 (A.D. 1304), but his history of Gujarat really comes to a close with the death of Kumārapāla in V.S. 1229. Of the Vāghelās he writes nothing except that Viradhavala came after Bhīma II. (This indicates indirectly that the Vāghelās were not the strong supporters of Jainism as they are sometimes supposed to be.) Herein lies the weakness of his work: he omitted altogether that period of which he had direct knowledge,

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and instead wrote about a period for which he had to depend upon oral traditions and older works, probably faulty; for, had those books preserved the real history of Gujarat, Merutuṅga would not have had to rely upon oral traditions. Thus his book became a collection of unreliable anecdotes. Had he written the history of his own times, probably his work would have ranked with that of Kalhaṇa's. It may be recalled here, that the earlier cantos of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* are faulty, while the later chapters, particularly those in which Kalhaṇa describes events of which either he or his father had direct knowledge, contain sober history. This we miss in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.

Merutuṅga had however realised that in writing history the genealogy of kings and their dates were of primary importance. We have shown above that most of the dates given in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* are wrong, but they are either wrong by a few months or a year. Probably by consulting old documents he could find out the year of accession of a king, but not the exact date. This date he seems to have guessed—unless he came across some corrupt source of information—and put down to make his story *vraisemblable*: a reprehensible practice, but it shows that he understood the importance of dates. That is not saying too little, when one comes to think of the paucity of historical literature in Sanskrit. In the whole of the DV or the *Kīrti-kaumudī*, and in many other works mentioned above, not a single date is mentioned.

Merutuṅga also realised the necessity of writing a continuous narrative. All his anecdotes are woven around a core of history, the course of which is never impeded, and the facts are usually arranged in strict chronological order. His method of presentation is usually precise and unambiguous. Merutuṅga had also grasped an important aspect of the history of the Chaulukyas, namely, that it was impossible to write their history without describing the history of the Paramāras of Mālava.

Merutuṅga's work falls short of the standards of history, not of modern history alone, but of his contemporary historical literature. A comparison with the Muslim histories of the period will show that Merutuṅga was much inferior to the average Muslim historian of his time. Still his work, the only one of its kind in Sanskrit literature, is not without value.

Prabandhachintāmaṇi was first published in 1888, edited by Shastri Ramachandra Dinanatha. It was translated by C. H. Tawney in 1901. Dinanatha's edition was corrected by Durgasankar Shastri and published in 1932. Another edition of the text by Muni Jina Vijaya was published in 1933. Tawney's translation, undertaken at the suggestion of G. Bühler, is provided with a good historical introduction, and some of his foot notes are very instructive. These features are absent from the Sanskrit text. It has been translated into Hindi by Muni Jina Vijaya.

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The *Vichārasreṇī* is a chronology of the kings of many dynasties and includes a chronology of the Chaulukya kings. A translation by Bhau Daji was published in the *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (IX, 147-57) from a defective copy of a MS., and the text has not yet been published. The work, though not without merits, being almost a pioneer attempt to reconstruct history, is full of errors, and consequently unreliable. It was written in or after V.S. 1371, for it records an incident of that year. It is also known as the *Therāvalī*.

14. Jayasinhha Sūri (II): *Kumārapālabhūpālacharitra*

The *Kumārapālabhūpālacharitra* was finished in V.S. 1422 and according to the author, contained 6307 verses, but the number of verses printed is 6053. But the work is so full of fanciful tales, that it does not appear that much has been lost.

The 1st canto of the book is important as it gives a version of Mūlarāja's origin not found elsewhere, and which to some extent is supported by an inscription. The rest of the book (cantos II-X) gives the history of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra in which facts and fictions are inextricably mixed up. Total suspension of disbelief is demanded from the reader.

This Jayasinhha Sūri is different from the author of *Hammīramadamardana*. His other known work is a commentary on *Nyāyasāra*.

Kumārapālabhūpālacharitra was edited by Sri Kshantivijaya Gani and published in 1935.

15. Jina-maṇḍana: *Kumārapālaprabandha*

Jina-maṇḍana completed his work in V.S. 1492. He collected his materials mainly from the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, and the *Kumārapālabhūpālacharitra*, and freely quotes verses from the later work (without acknowledging) though the *Kumārapālaprabandha* is written in prose. Besides these works, Jina-maṇḍana seems to have consulted *Prabhāvacharita* and a Prakrit work which cannot be identified. He has given the summary of the *Moharājaparājaya*, treating it as if the incidents related in that drama really happened; but Jayasinhha Sūri had already done the same, and he might have copied it from Jayasinhha's work. Jina-maṇḍana's work at best is a loose compilation of select portions from the texts named above. Undoubtedly a historian also gathers his material from different sources, but Jina-maṇḍana had no critical faculty, and the result of his labour suffers from all the defects of a compilation of facts gathered from unreliable sources.

16. Sarvānanda: *Jagaducharita*

"The *Jagaducharita*, or life of Jagadu, (in Sanskrit Jagaddeva) belongs to the class of historical romances.... It differs from other works of the same kind, like the *Śrī-Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara, and the *Sukṛitasāhikīrtana* of Arisinhha, only by its comparatively late origin, by

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a want of artistic finish and by the circumstance that its hero is not a king or minister but a simple merchant, who did much for his native town by rebuilding its walls, and for Gujarat by alleviating the widespread distress during a terrible famine in A.D. 1256-58.

"The *Jagaducharita*, which in the colophon is called a *mahākāvya*, contains seven *sargas* with 388 verses." (G. Bühler).

The date of the author is not known; after a thorough discussion of this problem, Bühler suggested that the work was completed either during the second half of the 14th or at least the beginning of the 15th century.

The story of Jagadu has been told by several other Jaina scholars, but Sarvānanda's work seems to be his earliest biography, and though not free from exaggerations, is comparatively free from the absurdities of the later biographers. Long extracts from texts, with translations, of *Jagaducharita* was published in the *Sitzungsberichte* by G. Bühler in 1892 (Bd. CXXVI, G. Bühler: *Indian Studies* No. 1).

17. Rājāśekhara: *Prabandhakośa*

The *Prabandhakośa* is also known as *Chaturvīṃśatiprabandha*, from the number of its *prabandhas*, which are all biographies. There are biographies of ten Jaina Āchāryas, four poets, seven kings, and three commoners. Most of the biographies are of important historical personages, but of all the Gujarat Chroniclers, Rājāśekhara was probably the worst historian, and his work abounds in absurdities, more dangerous because they have an appearance of verisimilitude. Some glaring instances of his inaccuracies have been discussed above. The work was finished in V.S. 1405.

It was edited by Muni Jina Vijaya and published in 1935 (S.J.S.)

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

- (1) A. S. Altekar : *The Rāshtrakūṭas And Their Times*, 102. (2) *History And Culture of the Indian People IV, (Imperial Kanauj)* 35. (3) EI, I, 122 ff. (4) EI, I, 129, v. 43 (5) DHNI, II, 1062-63. (6) EI, XII, 197. (7) EI, I, 268. (8) EI, IV, 283. (9) EI, V, 151.

CHAPTER II

Origin

(1) In the Kadi Grant of Mūlarāja (IA, VI, 191) the dynasty is called Chaulukika and in a grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja (*Bharatiya Vidya*, Hindi-Gujarati, I, 73) the dynasty is called Saulkika. In the Sambhar Inscription of Jayasimha (IA, LVIII, 234) the dynasty is referred to as Chaulakya, and in the Jalor inscription of Kumārapāla (EI, XI, 54) it is called Chaullakya. Hemachandra used the forms Chaulukya and Chulukya rather indiscriminately (DV, II, v. 2 ; XIV, vv. 53, 73 ; XV, vv. 8, 12 ; XVIII, vv. 24, 81, 93, 96) and has also used *Chulukakula* (DV, IX, v. 145 XIV, 72).

(2) This question has been exhaustively dealt with by Sri R. S. Satyasraya in his book, '*The Origin of the Chālukyas*,' and by Sri B. V. Krishnarao in his article *The Origin and the Original Home of the Chālukyas*, IHC, III, 386-410.

(3) Chālukya dynasties are mentioned in the following inscriptions though the family name is spelt variously :

- (a) Dewal Prasasti of Lalla the Chhinda, EI, I, 75 ;
- (b) The Fragmentary Jhansi stone inscription of Sallakshana Simha (?) EI, I, 215 ;
- (c) The Bilhari Chedi Inscription, EI, I, 251 ;
- (d) An Inscription from Ranod : EI, I, 351 ;
- (e) Inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj : EI, IX, 1 ;
- (f) The Kadaba plates of Prabhutavarsha : EI, IV, 332 ;
- (g) An Inscription from Kotur : IA, XX, 69 ;
- (h) An Inscription from Varuna : *Inscriptions of Mysore District*, No. My. 35 ;
- (i) Didgur Inscription : EI, VI, 251 ;
- (j) *Inscriptions in the Mysore Dt.* nos. My, 36, 37, 41-44 ;
- (k) The Huli Inscription : EI, XVIII, 189 ;
- (l) The Bhor State Museum Copper plates : EI, XXII, 186 ;
- (m) A Grant of Chalukya Kusumāyudha : IA, XXXII, 281 ;
- (n) Surat Grant of Trilochanapāla : IA, XII, 196 ;
- (o) Chaulukya plates from Naosari : JBRRAS, XXVI, 250 ;
- (p) A Grant of Chalukya Bacharasa : EC, V, Cn. 169 ;
- (q) Inscriptions of Chattigadeva : EC, VIII, Sb 465 : 454, 455 ;
- (r) Inscriptions of Goggi : EC, III, My. 36, 37, 41-45 ;
- (s) Kalyan plates of Yaśovarman : EI, XIX, 69 ;
- (t) IA, XII, 11-19 ;
- (u) Arikeśari, who gave shelter to the Kanarese poet Pampa, was a Chalukya prince. Pampa has given the genealogy of this prince.
- (v) Vāghelās, who succeeded the dynasty established by Mūlarāja belonged to a different branch of the Chaulukyas.
- (w) *Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāḍa* : N. Venkataramanayya (1953).

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- (4) 'Chulukyanām janaviseshāṇām' ; *Prithvirājaviṇaya*, V, v. 80. (5) EI, I, 301. (6) DV, I, commentary on v. 2. PCT, 21-22 ; PCJ, 15. (7) *Vasantavilāsa*, III, vv. 1-2. (8) KBCH, I, vv. 16-21. (9) *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, I. (10) Tod : *Rajasthan*, (2nd. Ed.) 69, 73. (11) ASI, Cunningham, II, 254. (12) BG, IX, i, 483 ; BG, I, i, App. III, 483 ; JBBRAS, XXI, 413 ; IA, XL, 7. (13) JASB, LV, (1887) 5-65 ; JBBRAS, (1920) 203-11 ; JBBRAS, (III), N.S. 35. (14) DV, XVI, v. 34. (15) IHQ, XVI, 738-46. (16) C. L. Vaidya : *History of Mediaeval India*, II, 18. (17) JBBRAS, XXI, 413-433 (18) IA, XL, 7 39. (19) EI, IX, 4. (20) R. S. Tripathi : *History of Kanauj*, 266. (21) JBBRAS, XVI, 174. (22) *Sarasvatī-kanthābharana* (1884), II, v. 13. (23) *Bharatiya-Vidya*, VIII, 304. (24) EI, V, 149. (25) EI, X, 78. (26) A. S. Altekar : *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, 121. (27) DV, I, v. 2. (28) DV, XVI, v. 7. (29) *Gūjaratīvara rājyaśrīr-yaśya jāñhe śvayamvarā*, KK, II, v. 2. (30) *Surathotsava*, XV, vv. 8-9. (31) EI, XX, 18-19. (32) B. V. Krishnarao, *IHC*, III, 386-410. (33) EI, XXVII, 4. (34) Varunasarmaka Grant : *Bharatiya Vidya* (Hindi-Gujarati), I, 73. (35) It is generally said that the earliest reference to Chuluka is in *Mahābhārata*. Actually the reading Chuluka was accepted in the older editions. (Cal. Ed. *Mbh.* VI, 71, v. 20). But the Poona Edition has accepted the reading Chuchupa, though several MSS. have the reading Chuluka. (Poona Ed. Vol. VII, 394, f.n.). *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, LVII, vv. 40-41. (36) JRAS, 1912, 712. (37) *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, IX, 15, 21 ; XIV, 8 ; XVI, 35. (38) IA, IV, 364 ; JIH, XX, 65 ; JRAS, 1912, 788. (39) René Grousset : *L'empire des Steppes*, 64. (40) EI, XIV, 110. (41) EI, III, 54. Fleet was of the opinion that as the termination 'arasa' clearly seems to be the Kanarese word which means 'king', Buddhavarasa had probably migrated from the Kanarese country. (42) EI, XV, 156. (43) JBORS, VIII, 84. (44) *Bharatiya Vidya*, VI, 90 ; Maser Inscription, EI, XXIX, 18, This view does not appear to be tenable ; See my article : Was Central India the home of Mūlarāja's ancestors ; *Bharatiya Vidya*, XIV, 1. (45) JRAS, 1912, 712. (46) JA, 1910, 541-42. (47) P. C. Bagchi : *Chulika, Sulika, and Chulika-Paiśāchi*, JDL, XXI. (48) René Grousset, op. cit. 64. (49) P. C. Bagchi, op. cit. (50) H. L. Jain : Presidential Address : *Prakrits and Jainism* AIOC, XII, ii, 139. (51) EI, II, 438. (52) IA, XL, 150. (53) *tau Gūjaratrā-Kachchhasya Dvārakā-Kuṇḍinasya nu nāthau śarormimālābhīr-Gaṅgā-Soṇam prachakratuḥ* DV, V, v. 121. (54) DV, IX, v. 165. (55) DV, XVI, v. 8. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi was explaining the word 'Pratichya-rāt' used by Hemachandra. According to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi *Pratichya-rāt* meant king of western country, that is Kumārapāla, who was king of Gūjaratrā. (56) M. H. Nainar : Somnat as Noticed by Arab Geographers, *IHC*, VI, 212. Actually the word *Jazrat* is used. (57) Barnett identified the Jayasimha of the Huli plate with the Paramāra king of that name. (EI, XVIII, 203). But D. C. Ganguly identified Gūrjarāshṭra with Gujarat. (JBORS, XXIV, 228). (58) EI, XI, 49-50. (59) EI, VIII, 219. (60) EI, II, 42. (61) Bh. MSS. 1882-83, 45-6 ; Peterson MSS. 1886-92, xlv. (62) PCJ, 96 ; PCT, 152. (63) D. C. Ganguly : *Yādavaprakāśa on the ancient Geography of India*, IHQ, XIX, 223. (64) *Ratnamālā* Tr. by Forbes JBBRAS, IX, 32-5. I have changed the spelling of the proper names. (65) The Chāpōtkā genealogy adopted by Jina Vijaya Muni in the text of *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* is different from the one to be found in Dinanatha's edition, and translated by Tawney. But as most of the manuscripts give the genealogy accepted by

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Jina Vijaya Muni, it seems that, that was the correct genealogy, or at least a correct copy of Merutuṅga's original.

(66) PCJ, 11. A complete translation of the passage is given here because Tawney did not include this passage in his translation. PCT, 16, f.n. 2. It is interesting to observe that according to this tradition the Paramāras of Mālava owed their rise to Bhūyarāja of Kalyāṇakaṭaka, who, as we have shown, was most probably Pratihāra Bhoja. Dhārā was the ancient capital of the Paramāras (*Navasāhasāṅkcharita*, I, v. 90).

(67) Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhury, IHQ, V, 129-32. (68) IA, XII, 190 ; EI, IX, 6.

(69) KBCH, vv. 16-29.

CHAPTER III

Mūlarāja I

(1) In the Kadi grant of Mūlarāja (IA, VI, 191) the name is spelt as Rāji. Hemachandra calls Mūlarāja, *Rāji-nandana* (DV, IV, v. 63) ; Abhayatilaka Gaṇi also writes Rāji. (DV, Vol. I, p. 266). But Merutuṅga uses the form Rāja (PCT, 22 ; PCJ, 15). Both Hemachandra and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi give the name of Rāji's younger brother as Daḍakka (DV, III, v. 99, Vol. I, p. 266). But Merutuṅga calls him Daṇḍaka (PCT, 22 ; PCJ, 15).

(2) PCT, 22-3 ; PCJ, 15-6. The date of Mūlarāja's accession is known from the Sambhar inscription which has been discussed in the chapter on chronology.

The Chāpotkaṭas were probably not exterminated by Mūlarāja, for we find a Chāpotkaṭa prince mentioned honourably in the Amran inscription of Śaraṅgadeva dated V.S. 1333. (PO, III, 23).

(3) *Sukṛitasāṅkirtana*, II, vv. 1-2. (*Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. CXIX, (1889,) p. 40). *Sukṛitakīrtikālolini*, v. 23 ; *Ratnamālā* JBBRAS, IX, 53.

(4) *Moharājaparājaya*, Act, IV, pp. 108-9. It is represented that when Kumārāpāla was enforcing prohibition in Gujarat, a drunkard reminded the king that the Chāpotkaṭas were notorious for their drinking habits ; Kumārāpāla silenced the man by retorting that faults committed by others do not exonerate a criminal. This also presumes a relationship between the Chaulukyas and the Chāpotkaṭas.

(5) Kadi Grant, IA, VI, 191. (6) EI, I, 301, vv. 4-5. (7) *ibid*, 294. (8) KK, II, v. 2 ; *Dabhoi-praśasti*, v. 6. EI, I, 21. Both were composed by Someśvara.

(9) *Surathotsava*, XV, vv. 7-8. (10) IA, XVIII, 186.

(11) *Harir-iva Balibandhakaras-triśakti-yuktah Pinākapāñir-iva Kamalāśrayas-cha Vidhir-iva jayati Śrī-Mūlarāja-nripah.*

(The king, Śrī Mūlarāja, is victorious, who, establishing the oblation, is like Hari, who chained Bali (*Balibandhakara*), who, endowed with three (royal) powers (*śakti*), is like the Bearer of Pināka accompanied by the goddess Trīśakti,—who, the refuge of Kamalā, is like Brahman whose throne is lotus (Kamalā)). "This couplet is loaded with puns. Viṣṇu fettered Bali, but Mūlarāja fixed the taxes ; Śiva is accompanied by the goddess Trīśakti, but Mūlarāja by the three kingly powers arising from his majesty, from his energy, and from charms. Mūlarāja was a dwelling-place of the goddess of good fortune (Kamalā), but Brahmā sits on the lotus (Kamalā)." (Tawney, PCT, 89 f.n. 3). This verse from *Siddha-Hemachandra* is one of the thirty-two which Hemachandra is said to have written at the end of each chapter of his celebrated

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grammar. The verses are given in Bühler : *Life of Hemachandra*, 73, and in the introduction to *Siddha-Hemachandra* Ed. by Muni Himāṃsu-Vijaya.

(12) H. D. Sankalia, HCG, 34.

(13) Hemachandra actually makes Mūlarāja say : "*Krito mayā Grāharipu*", which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains as "*Grāharipu-mayākṛitaḥ pratishṭhitaḥ*". Mūlarāja also refers to Grāharipu as "*śraropita*" which is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as "*atmasaṁsthāpita jane*" (DV, II, v. 59).

(14) DV, II, v. 109. Hemachandra does not say that Grāharipu lived at Vāmanasthali, but from a reference to Māhishmatī, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi after a tortuous explanation proves that Grāharipu lived at Vāmanasthali. Vāmanasthali has been identified with modern Vanthali nine miles west of Junagadh. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi also mentions another stronghold of Grāharipu, named Durgapallī, which was a den of thieves (DV, Vol. I, p. 174-75). Indrajī identified Durgapallī with Junagadh (BG, I, i. 160).

(15) DV, II, v. 83.

(16) Hemachandra refers to Laksha as :

yudho'parājishṇur-arer-abhirus-trātā Turushkān api Kachchhadeśāt

(DV, II, v. 105)

This literally seems to mean that Laksha had saved the Turushkas from Kachchha, that is Laksha was so powerful that sitting at Kachchha, he managed to save the Turushkas from some danger. But according to the editor of the DV, the phrase means that Laksha saved Kachha from the Turushkas (DV, Vol. I, p. 208).

(17) DV, II v. 106. (18) DV, II, vv. 108-9. (19) Hemachandra does not mention the Jambumālī forest. It is mentioned by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi (DV, IV, v. 1).

(20) DV IV, vv. 25-33.

(21) The semi-mythical nature of the description of the battle can be best realised from these verses (DV, IV, vv. 59-63) in which Hemachandra had named the various kinds of spirits and his commentator explained with meticulous care the differences between Sūrpanakhā, Dātranakhi, Dīrghamukha and other *piśāchas*. It is only fair to add that all these words were introduced to illustrate certain grammatical rules and were not intended to be taken seriously.

(22) *Sūrya-tanayā taṭe himāni-śita-yavāni-ṭripta-danti-dānīḥ*

Yavanānyū lekḥayan prāśastīm nvesho'ranyānīḥ kṣhaṇāl-lalaṅghe

(DV, IV, v. 76)

It is clear that Hemachandra was merely giving examples of two aphorisms from his grammar (SH, II, IV, 64 and 65 ; Pāṇini, IV, i. 49), and the verse was intended to serve as an example of the use of affix '*anuk*' to indicate the writing of the Yavanas. But both Forbes and Indrajī seems to have misunderstood this verse, and took it to mean that Grāharipu's wife wrote to her sons in the *Yavani* language. Indrajī goes so far as to declare : "The mention of her name and of the language in which she wrote suggest something remarkable in the race and position of queen Nili." (BG, I, i, 160 f.n. 1). But neither the verse nor the commentary supports such conclusion. It may be noted that in the next ten verses Hemachandra gives a series of uncommon feminine forms which have no bearing on history. (See the Chapter on sources) The river Sūryātānayā has been identified by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi with river Bhadrā in Saurāshtra.

(23) IA, XII, 192. (24) Sindhurāja must be a proper name, since Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains it as '*śamudrādhipatvād yathārīhanānā Sindhurājākhyo nṛipaḥ*' (DV, IV, v. 89). Mūlarāja's son and successor Chāmūṇḍarāja fought another Sindhurāja, who was probably the Paramāra king of Mālava, so it does not seem that these two

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Sindhurājas were identical, for a Paramāra of Mālava cannot be called 'King of the ocean' (*saṃudrādhipati*).

(25) *mitre Revatimitrasya raṇāyottasthatas-tadā*

Gaṅgādvārāpatī Gaṅgamaha-Gaṅgāmah-ānujau (DV, V, v. 2)

On this Abhayatilaka Gaṇi comments : *tadā Gaṅgamaha-Gaṅgāmahānujau Gaṅgama-hākhyas-tal-laghu-bhrātā*. Thus we that Gaṅgamaha and Gaṅgāmahā were two brothers ; none of them was the brother of Mūlarāja as stated by Forbes and Indrajī (*Ras Mala*, I, IA, IV, 76 ; BG, I, i, 160). But all these terms seems to have served as grammatical examples, and these kings had no real existence.

(26) This uncorroborated testimony of Hemachandra is not sufficient for concluding that the Paramāras of Abu were really allies of Mūlarāja. But it may be said in Hemachandra's favour that we know that Mūlarāja drove one Dharanivarāha from his kingdom, who might have been the king of Abu and Mūlarāja's vassal. (For a discussion of Dharanivarāha's identity see pp. 31, 49). The real difficulty is that, throughout the work Hemachandra has obviously largely drawn upon his imagination to invent allies both for his patron's family as well as for their adversaries in order to increase the significance of the battles, and to create examples for his grammar. In the present instance, it is clear that Hemachandra wanted to use the words '*Prāg-Arbuda*' and '*Śimāla*' ; how far this necessity prompted him to compose this verse, is not possible to determine.

Dr. D. C. Ganguly is of the opinion, exclusively on the evidence of Hemachandra's verse discussed above (DV, V, v. 37) that the 'Rājā of Arbuda' might have been Kṛishṇarāja or his father Aranyarāja of the Abu branch of the Paramāras (Ganguly : *Paramāras*, 299). Kṛishṇarāja certainly was a contemporary of Mūlarāja, for his earliest known date is A.D. 967 (ASI., 1936-37, 122). But Hemachandra uses *Prāg-Arbuda* in verse 37, king of Śrīmāla in verse 45, and in verse 47 speaks of the Paramāras. (All references are to Canto V of DV). It seems that different kings were meant, at least so far as the kings of *Prāg-Arbuda* and Śrīmāla are concerned, for Bhinnmal is to the west of Abu and not to the east. It may be said that Hemachandra really meant Dūsala, son of Sindhurāja, the founder of the Bhinnmal branch of the Paramāras. But as this branch was established by Vākpati Muṇja an enemy of Mūlarāja, it is hardly likely for them to have been allies of the Chaulukya king. The Arbuda king might have been Dharanivarāha.

(27) DV, V, v. 49. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that one *akshauhiṇī* is composed of 21,870 elephants, same number of chariots, 64,610 horses, and 1,09,350 foot soldiers, implying that this number of Mlechchha troops actually joined Mūlarāja.

(28) DV, V, vv. 102-03. (29) DV, V, vv. 111-12. This should not be taken as a proof of the beef eating habits of the mediaeval Abhiras. (30) DV, V, v. 127.

(31) PCT, 27-8 ; PCJ, 18-9.

(32) The *Tarikh us-Sind* (E & D, I, 218) records an invasion of Cutch by a king of Sindh, who was propitiated by a man of Samma tribe named Lakhā, who came as ambassador bringing presents and a Kach horse, making offering of these, and asking pardon for their sins. Duda, the king of Sindh, gave him presents in money, a horse and a *khil'at* allowing him to depart. It is tempting to use this statement as corroborating Hemachandra's regarding liberation of Cutch from the Turushka by Laksha, but Burgess states, that, the incidents recorded in the *Tarikh us-Sind* happened in the middle of the 12th century. According to the Jadeja chronology proposed by Burgess, Lakhā Phulāni of the bards reigned from A.D. 1320 to 1344 (ASWI, II, 196-99).

In the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (I, 291 ; 1894 Ed.) Tod states : "I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one of S. 1024,

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the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakhā, and state as instance of his power, that he collected the transit dues at the further barrier of Putun, and levied tribute from the prince of Chitore." But as D.R. Bhandarkar has observed, 'it is by no means clear how far Tod's statement as to the contents of these inscriptions is to be trusted.' (EI, XI, 67).

A late Bardic tale records that the distinguished Rathor chief Siho, came from Kanauj and settled in Kher. Afterwards he started on a pilgrimage to Dvārakā. On his way he had to pass through Patan, the principality of Chaulukya Mūlarāja, where Lakho Phulāno had made great devastations. Mūlarāja tried to detain Siho, but the latter promised to return and proceeded to Dvaraka. He came back, slew Lakho Phulāni, and Mūlarāja gave his daughter in marriage to Siho. (Tessitori, JASB, 1919, pp. 31, 38).

(33) In his Kadi grant dt. V.S. 1043 (IA, VI, 191) it is stated that Mūlarāja granted some land to Mūlanāthadeva established at Maṇḍali. This Mūlanāthadeva was identified by Bühler with Mūleśvara mentioned by Merutuṅga. Now, Merutuṅga says that Mūlarāja used to go every Monday to worship Somanātha and pleased with his devotion Somanātha came to Maṇḍali where Mūlarāja built the temple of Mūleśvara. Thereafter Mūlarāja began to go to Maṇḍali every day, and pleased with this singular devotion Somanātha came to the capital Anahilapāṭaka where Mūlarāja built the Tripurusha temple. (PCT, 25 ; PCJ, 17). On the testimony of Merutuṅga and the Kadi grant it may be held that Mūlarāja's visit to Somanātha must have been prior to V.S. 1043, by which date the temple at Maṇḍali was complete. As the main object of Mūlarāja's attacking Grāharipu was to free the holy places from the Abhira chief's tyranny, it may be said that Mūlarāja did not visit Somanātha till Grāharipu had been defeated.

Bühler dismissed this story of Mūlarāja's weekly pilgrimage to Somanātha as absurd, since it involved a journey of 250 miles and back from Anahilapāṭaka (IA, VI, 134). He assumed that Mūlarāja used to start from his capital, but in fairness to Merutuṅga, it must be said that nowhere he states the name of the place from which Mūlarāja performed his weekly pilgrimage. It is therefore possible, that after defeating Grāharipu, Mūlarāja stayed at some place near Somanātha for some time, in order to bring the country under control, and it was during this period that he visited Somanātha every Monday; on his return to his capital he first built the temple at Maṇḍali as it was no longer possible for him to visit Somanātha, and later built the temple at his capital when even a journey to Maṇḍali was felt to be too arduous. Merutuṅga's version is entirely corroborated by Arisimha. (SS, II, vv. 1-4).

(34) "Kanthkot, an old fortress on the top of an isolated rocky hill, the steep scarp of which has been crowned by a wall built of massive blocks." Burgess, ASWI, II, 215. (35) PCT, 23-4 ; PCJ, 16-7. (36) *Prithvirājaviṃśaya*, V. v. 51. (37) An unpublished inscription of V.S. 1065 (A.D. 1009) mentions a *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Deva-ita of the Solar family of Bharukachchha. (ASI 1935-36, III). The suzerain of this *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is not mentioned. He might well have been Mūlarāja, or Chāmuṇḍarāja.

(38) DV, VI, vv. 1-96. Hemachandra gives the name as Dvārāpa (DV, VI, v. 27), which is a Sanskritised form of Bārāpa. (BG, I, i, 159, f. n. 1). Merutuṅga uses the form Bārāpa (PCT, 23, 'Barava', PCJ, 16, Bārāpa). In the Surat Grant of Trilochanapāla the name is spelt as Bārappa, but the spelling of the Gujarat Chroniclers has been adopted here. (39) KK, II, v. 2.

(40) *Sukṛitasāṅkīrtana*, II, v. 4. (41) Surat Grant of Trilochanapāla, IA, XII, 196-205. (42) PCT, 23 ; PCJ, 16. (43) Pandey : *New Dynasties of Gujarat*, 14. IA, XII, 196-205. (44) Surat Plates of Chaulukya Kīrtirāja of Śaka 940 Ed. by D. B.

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Diskalkar, *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, 296. (45) v. 14. *EI*, I, 235. (46) JBBRAS, XVI, 173-4. (47) *EI*, X, 20.

(48) The suggestion was first put forward by Kielhorn when he published the verses of Padmagupta noted above (JBBRAS, XVI, 173). Pandit Ram Karna, who edited the Bijapur inscription of Dhavala (*EI*, X, 17) suggested that the unnamed Gūrjara prince was probably Mūlarāja. Dr. H. C. Ray places the death of Mūlarāja in A.D. 996, and suggests that the Gūrjara prince who took shelter with Dhavala might be either Mūlarāja or his son Chāmuṇḍarāja (DHNI, II, f.n. 7). Dr. D. C. Ganguly has accepted Padmagupta's description not only as applicable to Mūlarāja but as almost literally true (Ganguly : *Paramaras*, 54). Dr. Ganguly is of the opinion that Muṇja occupied Gujarat for some time; but such a conclusion seems to place too great faith in a Sanskrit poet, who as a class were notoriously prone to exaggeration and never more so, than when writing the eulogy of their patrons.

(49) *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīni*, v. 27. (50) Khajuraho Inscription No. iv. v. 46, *EI*, I, 145. (51) *EI*, XIV, 182. (52) *IA*, VI, 51. (53) JBBRAS, XVI, 174. (54) *IA*, LXI, 135. (55) *EI*, X, 19. (56) *EI*, I, 256. (57) *EI*, XI, 142. (58) *Sṛīdhara's Devapattana-Prāśasti*, vv. 9-10, *EI*, II, 440-41. (59) *Surathotsava*, Canto XV.

(60) L. B. Gandhi : *Gujrātano Prāchīna Mantri Vamśa* (Gujarati) AIOC, VII, 1157. (61) Varunasarmaka Grant of Yuvarāja Chāmuṇḍarāja : *Bharatiya Vidya* (Hindi-Gujarati), I, 73. (62) *Bharatiya-Vidya* (English), VI, 93 f.n. (63) JBBRAS, IX.

(64) DV, VI, vv. 100-107. According to the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra, the Śākambharī Chāhamāna Vighararāja II killed Mūlarāja and conquered the country. This portion of *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* is however very unreliable and it has been rightly said, that the "author really knew nothing about the more ancient kings of the race; the names are simply brought in to give him opportunities of displaying his power for poetical conceits, and thus the account of the princes about whom he had no historical information are filled with fanciful conceptions in which some of the natural phenomena are explained with admirable contempt of the teachings of the 'proud philosophy' of nature." (N. J. Kirtane : *The Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri, *IA*, VIII, 59). On the other hand it is generally admitted that the *Prithvirājaviṣaya* is a quite reliable work and there we find it merely mentioned that Mūlarāja took shelter in the Kanthā fort when attacked by Vighararāja II. As this version is corroborated by Merutuṅga, the version of *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* may be rejected as worthless. It may also be noted that the known date of Vighararāja II is V.S. 1030 (A.D. 973) (Harsha Stone Inscription, *EI*, II, 116) and the earliest known date of his successor Durlabharāja is V.S. 1056 (A.D. 999) (JRAS, 1913, 269). The last known date of Mūlarāja is V.S. 1051 (A.D. 995) (*EI*, X, 76). It is therefore more than probable that Mūlarāja outlived Vighararāja II.

(65) According to Merutuṅga, one evening after the ceremony of waving the lights was over, Mūlarāja gave some (chewed) betel to a servant who perceived worms in it. Learning this, the king was seized with a desire for asceticism, and determined to abandon the world; he then applied fire to the toe of his right foot, and performing great gifts such as bestowal of elephants and so on, through a period of eight days :

Submissive to discipline only, he endured clinging to his foot

A fire, with its smoke steaming up like hair ;

Why mention any other brave warrior in comparison with him ?

Since he pierced even the circle of the sun.

Being praised with this and other panegyrics of this kind, he ascended to heaven

(PCT, 29; PCJ, 19).

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CHAPTER IV

Chāmuṇḍarāja, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja

(1) For details see chapter on chronology. (2) *Bharatiya Vidya* (Hindi-Gujarati), I, 73. (3) VTP, vv. 8-9. (4) KBCH, I, v. 31. (5) *Nava-Sāhasāṅka-charita*, X, vv. 14-17.

(6) V. 6, EI, I, 308. Regarding the identification of Sindhurāja opinions differ. Dr. D. C. Ganguly has identified him with the Paramāra king of Mālava. (Ganguly : *Paramāras*, 79-80) Dr. H. C. Ray is of the opinion that this Sindhurāja is to be identified with the ruler of Sind, and might have been one of the successors of the Habbari dynasty of Mansura (DHNI, II, 942). Referring to the Vadnagar-*prāśasti*, Dr. Ray observes : "This statement is not incredible in view of the fact that Sind formed the western border of the Chaulukya kingdom. If there is any truth in this statement, we must assume that Chāmuṇḍa by his hostility to the Sind rulers merely carried on the policy laid down by his father. It is however difficult to identify this ruler of Sind. I can only suggest that he was probably one of the local rulers of Mansura who may have ruled there between the Habbari dynasty and the Sumras." (DHNI, II, 946) As regards Dr. Ray's contention that Mūlarāja fought against one Sindhurāja who was a king of Sind, it is necessary to point out that Mūlarāja, according to Hemachandra, fought against a Sindhurāja who was an ally of Grāharipu. Sindhurāja was in that particular case the proper name of Grāharipu's ally, as explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi (*Sindhurājākhyā nṛpaḥ*, DV, IV, v. 89). It was Grāharipu who defeated the king of Sind and forced him to surrender horses and elephants (DV, II, v. 83). This Sindhupati, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains, was the king of Sind (*Sindhupatiṁ Sindhudeśādhipaṁ*). We have further seen that a verse in the DV, (above Ch. III, ref. 16) may be interpreted to mean that Laksha had defeated the Turushkas, who, in all probability, were the rulers of Sind. Thus the enmity was between Grāharipu and Laksha on one side and the king of Sind on the other. It seems therefore, that the VTP which Dr. Ray quotes to prove that Mūlarāja fought with a ruler of Sind (DHNI, II, 942) also meant by Sindhurāja, a king of that name. Also the Vadnagar-*prāśasti* and Jayasinha Sūri seem to have used Sindhurāja in the identical sense, that is as a proper name. Moreover, all these writers beginning from Hemachandra were well aware of the might of the Muslims; it would therefore be surprising if all of them had omitted to mention specifically such an important victory of Mūlarāja and his son. Only SKK in a single verse (v. 36) refers to an apparently imaginary victory of Mūlarāja over the Muslims, but there the word Turushka is specifically mentioned. But this statement cannot be accepted, as Hemachandra mentions that Turushkas were allies of Mūlarāja and had helped him with a large number of soldiers against Grāharipu. We should not however pin our faith on such statements unless they can be corroborated by more reliable evidences.

(7) *śakala-Gūjrara-vijayānantara*, BKI, Part, 1, BK, No. 52. (8) There is some difference of opinion as to whether Gūjrara was conquered by Irivabedaṅga Satyāśraya or his father Taila II. Dr. Saletore is of the opinion that it was conquered by Taila II whose distinctive *biruda* was Āhavamalla, by which name the conqueror of Gūjrara in the Lakkundi record is called. But Satyāśraya also was known as Āhavamalla as we learn from a recently discovered inscription (BKI, No. 50); this together with the date of the inscription and the fact that it mentions that the request was granted soon after the conquest of Gūjrara, indicate that the Āhavamalla of the Lakkundi inscription was no other than Irivabedaṅga Satyāśraya. There is some difficulty in this identification which assumes that Lāṭa was during this time included within the Chaulukya kingdom which was known as Gūjraदेश on Gūjrara.

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Another factor of this identification is the date of the *Gadāyuddha*. The Editor of the *Gadāyuddha* thinks that the book was written during the reign of Taila II, but Sri Dikshit believes that it was composed some time between A.D. 1003-1007, that is after Satyāśraya had driven the Cholas under Rājārāja out of the Western Chālukya country. Sri Iyengar thinks that it is a work of the 10th century. He has, however, identified Irivabedaṅga Satyāśraya with Bhīmasena of *Gadāyuddha*, and Taila II with Dharmarāja. It therefore seems, that there is some indication that Satyāśraya defeated the Gūrjaras during the life of his father. But for reasons already stated this does not seem probable. (For a fuller discussion of this question see, B.A. Saleore : An Unidentified Embassy To The Court of King Siddharāja of Gujarat, IHC, X, (1947) 225. G.K. Dikshit : Satyāśraya Chālukya, (*A fresh estimate*), Ibid, 241 A.V.H.C.K. Iyengar : Historical Implication of *Gadāyuddha* by Ranna-Kavi, a Kannada poet of the 10th century, AIOC, XVI, (1951) Summaries of Papers, 134.

(9) *Gadāyuddha*, I, 12. (10) v. 11, 1A, XII, 201. (11) *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, 290. 135. (12) Fleet held that there were Western Chālukya feudatories who did not mention their suzerain, for example *Mahāsāmanata* Bhīllama III of the Yādava family and *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Chittarāja the Silahāra, none of whom mentioned their suzerains in their inscriptions. (Fleet, *DKD*, BC, I, ii. 436). (13) DV, VII, vv. 8-30.

(14) *pitṛājñām-ādādāno'tha Vallabhah kaṇṭakachchhīde
pratasthe'svair-mukhaṁ kūrmo vyādād-vyadāch-cha bhūr-yathā*

(15) Introduction to *Siddha-Hemachandra*, p. 76, v. 10.

(16) Idrisi in his geography mentions a king Balhara of Naharwala. As Idrisi was dependent to a great extent on his predecessors for his account of India, it is almost certain that the reference here is to Vallabha of Aṇahilapāṭaka. (For Idrisi's statement see S.M.H. Nainar : *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of India*, 18 and 158

It is obvious that, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi intended to fill the gap in the narrative of Hemachandra by mentioning that Vallabha was crowned king before he left the capital, indeed, before the occurrence of the *causus belli*. This is one of the rare passages in the whole book where the commentator introduces an important incident on his own initiative. His general reticence was due to obvious reasons. No Sanskrit scholar in the age of Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, far less a Śvetāmbara monk of Gujarat, as he was, would have dared to improve upon the narration of a man who in his own lifetime enjoyed the well-earned reputation of being the *Kalikāla-sarvajña*. Hence the extraordinary liberty taken by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi shows that he felt himself compelled by events which were to his knowledge true. That is, he knew from other sources that Chāmuṇḍa was forced to abdicate in favour of his son. His statement that Chāmuṇḍa was removed by Vāchīpidevi may not be entirely fictitious. In some old manuscripts of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (PCJ, 20, PCT, 29) Chāmuṇḍa is said to have erected two temples, one of which was dedicated to god Chāchīpeśvara. Now, in the manuscript of the *Dryāśraya* consulted by Forbes the name of Chāmuṇḍa's sister was given as Chāchīpi. It is therefore possible that her name is wrongly given as Vāchīpi in the printed edition of *Dryāśraya* (or in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* the name of the temple should be Vāchīnīśvara), and not knowing the sex of the person after whom the temple was erected, Merutuṅga called it Chāchīpeśvara instead of Chāchīnīśvara. These temples after the name of their donors were generally erected by Chaulukya kings. Hence if a temple was set up to commemorate Vāchīpi-or Chāchīpi-devī, she must be held to have wielded considerable power. It should also be remembered that Abhayatilaka Gaṇi belonged to the Kharatara sect which is said to have been founded under the patronage of Chāmuṇḍa's son Durlabha in A.D. 1024.

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Hence it would not be surprising for Abhayatilaka to have access to some yet unknown source of history for this period.

(17) PCT, 29; PCJ, 20. (18) JBBRAS, IX, 155. (19) *Kitab-i-Yamini* (Tr. by Reynolds), 283; *Ferishta* (Tr. by Briggs), I, 38. (20) Jubbulpore and Khaira Grants of Yaśaḥ-Karna, EI, II, 4-6, XII, 212.

(21) *atr-opatishṭhate Pārā Sindhum-adhvaisha Kuntalān*

bruvanta iti rājān upātishṭhanta kepi tam. (DV, VII, v. 35).

Commenting on this verse Abhayatilaka Gāṇi remarks : *Etena Vallabho'-vanti-madhye pravishṭa ity-uktam.* Hemachandra nowhere says that Vallabha entered Avanti or Mālava. This verse seems to have an important bearing on the location of the Kuntala country.

(22) *paraḥ Pārāpārā tatabhuvi vihāraḥ puravaram*

tataḥ Sindhuḥ sindhuḥ Phaṇipati-ranam pō-anam-ataḥ

Sarasvatī Kanṭhābharaṇa by Bhoja, p. 108 (1884 Ed.)

(23) The rivers Pārā and Sindhu meet in a place called Pawaya which is the Pawaia of the Gwalior Gazetteer maps, a tiny village about 25 miles north-east of Narwar.

(24) v. 7; EI, I, 302. (25) PCT, 29; PCJ, 20.

(26) *tasmād-Vallabharājo'bhud yat pratap-āti-tāpitaḥ*

Muñjo'-vantiśvaro Dhārā-yantre'pi na dhṛitiṁ dadhau.

KBCH, I, v. 32.

(27) DV, VII, vv. 43-49. (28) DV, VII, vv. 50-56. Hemachandra states that Chāmunda retired to a *tirtha*, Abhayatilaka Gāṇi adds that it was Suklatīrtha. (29) v. 8; EI, I, 302. (30) KBCH, I, v. 35. (31) IA, XII, 201. (32) *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, 290. (33) See above, foot-note 12. (34) Miraj Copper plate, IA, VIII, 10. (35) Radhanpur Grant of Bhīma I, IA, VI, 193-94. (36) Commentry in DV, VII, v. 74. (37) EI, XI, 68.

(38) D. R. Bhandarkar erroneously stated that Mahendra was chased by 'Chaulukya Durlabharāja the brother and successor of Vighraharāja of the Harsha inscription'. (EI, XI, 68). The Durlabharāja of Harsha inscription was a Chāhamāna not a Chaulukya which was pointed out by the editor of EI (XI, 68, f.n.) and Kielhorn (JASB, LXII, 309-14). As the Hastikundi inscription is dated A.D. 997 this Durlabha cannot be the Chaulukya king, but Dr. H. C. Ray has accepted Bhandarkar's identification and states that Durlabha and Nāgarāja married two daughters of Mahendra, (DHNI, II, 1106), though elsewhere (ibid, 945) he states that they married the sisters of Mahendra.

(39) DV, VII, vv. 75-78. This is probably a pun on Durlabha, for it is explained in the Vadnagar-*prastāvi* that Durlabha was not easily gained (*durlabha*) by other peoples' wives. (40) DV, VII, vv. 79-142.

(41) *Raghuvamśam*, Cantos VI & VII. Apparently Bilhaṇa like Hemachandra felt the necessity to exalt his patron by introducing a *svayamvara sabhā* in which Vikramāditya VI was selected by the bride and all the other kings, dissatisfied and envious suitors cowardly slunk away. (*Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, X, vv. 1-4)

(42) Peterson MSS. 1884, p. 65. Bhandarkar MSS. 1882-83, p. 45. Klatt's List, IA, XI, 248. A recently discovered *Kharataragachchha paṭṭāvali* mentions Durlabha as a contemporary of Vardhamana Sūri. (Dasarathi Sarma : IHQ, XI, 779-81). For Vardhamana Sūri, Peterson MSS. 1892-95, p. lxiii. For Jineśvara Sūri, ibid, 1886-92, p. xlv. Date of Jñānavimala, V.S. 1654, ibid, p. xlvi. (43) DV, VII, v. 64. This interesting episode has been discussed in details above in the chapter on religion (p. 310). (44) PCT, 29; PCJ, 20. This information, apart from the three manuscripts which Tawney consulted, is found only in one manuscript, consulted

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by Jinavijaya Muni. (45) For the date of Bhīma's accession see the chapter on chronology.

CHAPTER V

Bhīma and Karna

N. B. Under the chapter heading the regnal period of Bhīma has been misprinted as V.S. 1088-1122. It should be V.S. 1080-1122.

(1) DV, VIII, vv. 1-22. (2) According to Merutuṅga, Durlabha was prevented from going to Banaras by Muṅja, the king of Mālava. Later Durlabha succeeded in going to Banaras in the garb of a hermit and died there. Merutuṅga himself states that Muṅja was killed by Taila II (PCT, 30 ; PCJ, 20) ; Taila's last known date is A.D. 998 and Muṅja probably died a few years earlier. Hence Muṅja could not have been reigning at the time of Durlabha's abdication. Merutuṅga probably introduced Muṅja at this stage of his narrative, so that he might find a suitable excuse to turn from his history of the Chaulukyas to the *Muṅja-prabandha*. (3) The principal authorities for Sultan Mahmud's Somnath campaign are the following :—

(i) Abu Said Abdul-Hayy bin ad-Dalik bin Mahmud al Gardizi. (He completed his work *Zainu'l-Akhbar* before A.D. 1052 and is the earliest authority for Mahmud's Somnath campaign ; the celebrated *Kitabu'l-Yamini* of Abu Nasr Muharrad bin Muhammad al-Jabbar al-Utbi covers the period of Sultan Mahmud upto A.D. 1020 only). His *Zainu'l-Akhbar* has not yet been translated in full. An abridged translation is given in DHNI, II, 953, and a slightly fuller translation by Sri Ram Sharma in IHQ, IX, 974. Dr. Nazim, who edited the text has used it fully in his work on Sultan Mahmud.

(ii) Next to *Zainu'l-Akhbar*, the most important source is *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* of Ibnu'l Athir (E & D, II, 244-248). (A.D. 1160-1234). Dr. Nazim states : "With the exception of a few confused and inaccurate statements, Ibnu'l Athir's account of Sultan Mahmud is generally very authentic and trustworthy."

(iii) The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Khwaja Nizam ud-Din (vol. I tr. by B. De) is a dry chronicle of facts, sober, without any embellishment. Nizam ud-Din saw service in Gujarat in the capacity of Bakshi to Itimad Khan, Akbar's viceroy of Gujarat. Hence amongst all the later historians he alone had the opportunity to gain personal knowledge of Gujarat. Nizam ud-Din has given a very short account of Mahmud's Somanath campaign.

(iv) Mulla Abdul Qadir al-Badaoni *Muntakhab-ut Twarikh*. (Vol. I, Tr. by Ranking). Badaoni followed Nizam ud-Din implicitly, though occasionally he quoted the *Nizam-ut Twarikh* and the *Lubbu-t Twarikh* and both accepted *Zainu'l-Akhbar* and followed it implicitly, hence the similarity in their narratives. It is, however, significant that two of the soberest historians of the Muslim period should totally ignore Ibnu'l Athir in favour of Gardizi. Badaoni particularly was the most bigoted of Sunnis, and his omission to mention the details of the sack of Somanath as given by Ibnu'l Athir, is, to say the least, surprising.

(v) Abdul Qasim Hindu Shah Ferishta : *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, Tr. by Briggs.

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Ferishta utilised every authority that he could find without examining their reliability. Hence some of the additional stories which he relates regarding the siege of Somnath, though not inherently improbable cannot be accepted. Sir Henry Elliot had a very high opinion of Ferishta's history, but Major Raverty's views accepted by Prof. Hodivala seems to be a more correct appraisal of Ferishta's merit. Raverty denounced Ferishta as "a mere copyist who follows the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* so closely and slavishly, that not only the poetical quotations, but the errors and slips also are appropriated". Raverty adds that "wherever Nizam ud-Din has misread or misunderstood the original authorities, this Dakhani author has done the same". (*Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Tr. Raverty, 631, 651, 653, 665, 667, 697, 711 notes. Hodivala : *Studies in Indo Muslim History*, 594). Of Ferishta's translation by Briggs, Jarret observed : "Briggs represents the original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth". (*Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. Blochman and Jarret, II, 222, f.n.).

- (vi) Of the modern works dealing with Sultān Mahmūd's Indian campaigns the following are important : (1) *Cambridge History of India*, III, Chapter II, by Sir Wolsely Haig. (2) M. Nazim : *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd*. (3) H. C. Ray ; *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II.

(4) Gardizi has given the following reason for Sultān Mahmūd's invasion of Somanath : "When winter came, as usual, Mahmūd went towards India in order to gain religious merit. Some one said, 'On the sea shore there is a great city Somanath by name. Hindus regard it with the same respect which the Muslims reserve for Mecca. There are gold and silver idols in the temple. The idol Manat, which the Prophet had removed from Ka'aba, had reached this place via Aden. They had brought it. In the treasury of that temple they have placed precious stones and a good deal of property. But the way thereto is very dangerous.' When Mahmūd heard this he planned to go to that city and destroy the idols. From Hindusthan he now set his forces towards Somanath." (*IHQ*, IX, 934). This story of the Manat had a very long life. Nizam ud-Din and Badaoni passed it over in silence, while Ferishta recorded it along with a different version of the Brahmins.

For Ibnu'l Athir gives the following version of the causes which led Mahmūd to invade Somanath : "When Mahmūd was gaining victories and demolishing idols in India, the Hindus said that Somanath was displeased with these idols, and that if it had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmūd heard this he resolved upon making a campaign to destroy this idol believing that when the Hindus saw their prayers and imprecations to be futile they would embrace the faith." (E & D, II, 469) Sir Wolsely Haig and some modern Muslim historians have uncritically accepted Ibnu'l Athir's version which seems to imply that the Hindus had a share in bringing about the destruction of their temple by vainly boasting about the power of their deity. But neither Badaoni, nor Nizam ud-Din nor Ferishta gave any reason for Mahmūd's invasion of Somanath, though between the three of them they had consulted all the sources that are now available. Ferishta particularly delighted in relating anecdotes, and his omission of this particular one may be taken to mean that even he had no faith in these stories of Gardizi and Ibnu'l Athir. Hence one is justified in rejecting these stories. The following statement of al-Beruni is important in this connection : "The reason why Somanath has become so famous is that it was a harbour for seafaring people". (*Al-Beruni's India*, Tr. by Sachau, II, 104). It is probably from the Muslim

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merchants and sailors that Mahmūd came to learn of the wealth of Somanātha, and decided to attack it.

(5) Sri Ram Sharma a An Almost Contemporary Account of Mahmūd's Invasion of India, IHQ, IX, 941. (6) Ibnu'l Athir, E & D, II, 469. The date given of Mahmūd's departure is wrong, see Nazim op. cit. 115, f.n. 3. (7) Ferishta (Briggs), I, 69. (8) Ibnu'l Athir, op. cit. Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jawzi quoted by Nazim op. cit., 115.

(9) There has been some controversy regarding the route followed by Mahmūd in this expedition. Both Ibnu'l Athir and Ferishta gave wrong routes. The route given here is found in a *qasida* by Farrukhi who is said to have accompanied Mahmūd in this campaign. The importance of this *qasida* was first pointed out by Nazim who has translated part of it. (Nazim, op. cit. 215). The original *qasida* is given in the appendix of the new reprint of E & D, II, 797.

(10) Ferishta (Briggs.) I, 70, 74, 170. (11) Nazim op. cit. 217. In *Muntakhabat Twarikh* translated by Ranking the name is given as 'Bairam Dev'. But both the printed text and the lithographed edition has 'Param Dev'. (*Muntakhabat Twarikh*, B. I. Ed. Text, pp. 57, 59, 98 p. 18. Lithograph Ed., 57) Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (2nd Ed., II, 263) has given the name of this king as Raja Chamand, but he is clearly mistaken. The *qasida* of Farrukhi (translated by Nazim) states : (The next place) was Nahrwala, on the possession of which Bhim prided himself over other princes of India. He had an army of 200 elephants and nearly 100,000 horse and 90,000 foot. Rai Bhim resided in luxury in this fort and enjoyed his life.

(12) BG, I, i, 168, f.n. 2. Nazim op. cit., 119. (13) Dr. Ray who is of the same opinion has suggested stages of corruption from 'Bhima' to 'Param' in Persian alphabet. DHNI, II, 961, f.n. 2.

(14) Merutuṅga has probably recorded an episode handed down from this period. While relating some stories he records one about a very strong man called Maṅgu. As an example of Maṅgu's prowess Merutuṅga states that "when the king of Gujarat had fled, (Maṅgu) cut down in battle the invading Mlechchhas as he pleased, and the place where so fighting he went to heaven, is generally known in Pattana as the p'ot of Maṅgu". (PCT, 109-10 ; PCJ, 72). Merutuṅga states that Maṅgu used to visit the court of Siddharāja, where he was famous for his strength and appetite. But Merutuṅga is clearly wrong, no Muslim army invaded Anahilapāṭaka while Siddharāja was alive. Maṅgu therefore either lived during the reign of Bhīma I, or Bhīma II when Qutb ud-Din raided the Chaulukya capital. It is more likely for Merutuṅga to have committed a mistake for the earlier period, hence Maṅgu should be placed in the reign of Bhīma I.

(15) Ibnu'l Athir, E & D, II, 470. (16) Burgess, ASWI, IX, 81 ; Sankalia : *Architecture of Gujarat*, 81. (17) Farrukhi describes Modhera as follows :

The next place was Mundher, where there was a tank which dazzled the eyes of thought.

The more I think of this tank, the less capable I feel of praising it adequately. The tank was of wide expanse and accomodated 1000 small idol temples.

(Nazim op. cit., 217).

It is therefore clear that when Sultān Mahmūd passed through Modhera the big temple had not been built. But the situation of the inscription inside the Modhera temple shows that it is not a commemorative inscription.

(18) Farrukhi, *ibid.* (19) Ibnu'l Athir. For the date see Nazim, op. cit., 116.

(20) The most reliable amongst Muslim writers, al-Beruni, states : "The fortress which contained the idol and its treasures was not ancient, but was built only about a hundred years ago". (*Al-Beruni*, Tr. by Sachau, II, 165). (21) IHQ, IX, 941.

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(22) This account is mainly based on Ibnu'l Athir who gives the dates ; and on informations recorded by Ibn Zafir (f. 115 a) and Sibṭ Ibnu'l Jawazī (f. 216 a) given in Nazim op. cit. 117-18. The dates used here are those accepted by Nazim and Hodivala as E & D has several mistakes. The year given by al-Beruni (II, 9) Gardizi (86-7) Nizam ud-Din (I, 9) and Khond Mir (E & D, IV, 180) is A. H. 416. Ferishta (I, 32, Briggs I, 66) says that Mahmūd started on 10th Shaban 415 A.H., and his error has misled some modern historians (CHI, III, 23) who place the sack of Somanath in A.D. 1024-25. This is adequately discussed by Prof. Hodivala. (op. cit., 235-36).

(23) Ferishta (Briggs) I, 74.

(24) Ibnu'l Athir, E & D, II, 471 ; Ferishta (Briggs), I, 71. This is one of those incidents recorded by Muslim historians which are difficult to accept but cannot be rejected as eminent authorities like Sir Wolsley Haig has accepted it. However, we are to believe that Mahmūd within three days of his arrival had secured the boats though he was busy fighting all the time. Granting that he had all the foresight to provide for this contingency, one might naturally ask as to where did the Central Asian soldiers of Mahmūd learn the seamanship necessary to manage a boat in open sea and pursue the Hindu fugitives, who, living as they did on the sea coast, must have been good sailors. From where he lived, Ibnu'l Athir cannot be expected to have had any idea about the sea. Ferishta, who lived in South India, and was a much travelled man ought to have known better, but he merely noted everything left by his predecessors.

(25) This is the description left by Gardizi and seems to be the authoritative one. Later Muslim historians added to this various embellishments to exaggerate the amount of loot. The most celebrated story is that written by Sheikh Farid ud-Din Attar of the 14th century A.D. According to this Sheikh, the Brahmins offered Mahmūd a large amount of money if he would spare the deity. To this were added the entreaties of his officers who requested him to accept the offer of the Brahmins, but Mahmūd replied that he preferred to be known as 'idol-breaker' to an 'idol-seller'. He then had the idol broken and from a hidden cavity inside the *līṅga* came out a far larger amount of jewels than what the Brahmins had offered him. Apart from the value of this story as an inducement to Muslim fanaticism, which is shown here to be rewarded with wealth hidden by wicked Brahmins, the story has little value. The *līṅgas* were never made hollow as it was against the canons of Hindu iconography. Al-Beruni has quoted *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* wherein it is stated that a faultless stone is absolutely essential for the construction of a *līṅga*. As a contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd, and one of the most observant and erudite of travellers, the cavity inside the *līṅga* of Somnātha would not have escaped al-Beruni's notice ; but immediately after quoting from *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, al-Beruni states that Somanātha was the most famous *līṅga* in India. Also of all the Muslim authors al-Beruni alone gives the correct meaning of Somanātha. (Al-Beruni Tr. Sachau, II, 103-05).

Dr. Nazim calculating the value of the spoils of Somanath, on the basis of the data supplied by Ibnu'l Athir, arrives at the conclusion, that 'its value in present (1931) money would equal £ 10,500,000'. (Nazim, op. cit., 118, f.n. 6).

(26) The short stay of Mahmūd is evident from the date of his return to Multan. Ferishta states that Mahmūd returned to Anahilapātaka from Somanath and stayed there for some time and appointed one Dabishleem as the governor. Sir Wolsley Haig follows Ferishta and states that Mahmūd returned to Anahilapātaka, but he rejected the story of Dabishleem. It is now evident that Ferishta was entirely wrong, but here he is in good company for Abul Fazl also recorded the same story, (*Ain-i-Akbari* 2nd Ed., II, 268) which left him with little space for recording much else about Mahmūd. The translator of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Bayley, 33) tried to defend this story by

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weaving a plausible hypothesis around it. Its utter absurdity (and possible source) was adequately demonstrated by Jackson and Indrajī (BG, I, i 163, f. n. 2) and since then the story has been rightly rejected by most modern scholars. There is therefore hardly any use in repeating it here. (See also Hodivala op. cit., 238-39).

(27) Gardizi : IHQ, IX, 941-2. (28) Ibnū'l Athir, E & D, II, 249, 473. Five different identifications of this Khandahat of Ibnū'l Athir has been proposed but finding none of them satisfactory, Prof. Hodivala has suggested that the place must have been Cambay. (Hodivala op. cit., 187-88). But it does not seem that, within the short time he spent in India, Mahmūd went so far south. The identification of Kandahat is also discussed in BG, I, i, 167, f. n. 4 and DHNI, II, 961, f. n. 1.

(29) Ferishta (Briggs), I, 74. (30) *Habibu-siyar* by Khond Mir (A.D. 1521) "Sultan Mahmud after this glorious victory (Somanath) reduced a fort in which the governor of Nahrwala had taken refuge." (E & D, IV, 183). (31) DHNI, II, 961-62. (32) *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, I, 82. E & D, II, 474-75. Ufi has two guides, E & D, II, 192. Mansura stood on the old site of Brahmanabad about 43 miles north-east of Hyderabad Sind. (33) Ibnū'l Athir, E & D, II, 249.

(34) Diwan Ranchodji Amaji wrote a book called '*Tarikh-i-Sorath*', which describes the total route of Mahmūd's army in the following language : "Shāh Mahmūd took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers of both sexes were captured.....Turks, Afghans, and Mughal female prisoners, if they happened to be virgins were accepted as wives by Indians. The bowels of the others, however, were cleared by means of emetics and purgatives, and thereafter the captives were married to men of similar rank." Needless to say, this crude attempt to exalt Hindu valour cannot refer to any of its sources of information, which is sufficient to reject the whole story as baseless. Its assumption that Mahmūd was accompanied on this long and arduous march with a host of women, some of them virgins, shows that the author supposed that Mahmūd followed the custom of the Mughal Emperors.

Moreover there is no reason to suppose that Mahmūd's refusal to meet Bhīma in a battle, his early retreat from Gujrat, and subsequent suffering of his army was the result of a defeat. Mahmūd's Somnath campaign has always been regarded by all Muslim historians as one of the most brilliant feats of arms for which, the Caliph heaped honours and titles on Mahmūd and his sons. All Muslim historians select this episode for fuller treatment than any other in the career of Mahmūd.

Recent apologists of Sultān Mahmūd have stated that "wanton bloodshed and reckless spoliation of Hindu temples.....were committed in the course of legitimate warfare, when such acts are sanctioned by the practice of all conquerors of the world". This is true to the extent that Chenghiz Khan turned the mosque at Samarqand into a horse stable and Hulagu gave a taste of this sort of legitimate warfare at Baghdad, but it is not known that Muslim historians have condoned these activities of Chenghiz and Hulagu as having been committed during the course of legitimate warfare. It may be permissible to note here that copies of *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* are rare in India probably because it described in rather forceful language the pagan ancestors of the Mughal emperors who wrought such havoc in the Islamic world. Probably the Mughal Emperors, including Aurangzeb were of the opinion that the actions of Chenghiz and Hulagu were taken in pursuance of legitimate warfare, and did not therefore merit censure from Minhaj ud-din.

Dr. Nazim, from whom the sentence was quoted then states : "Spoils captured from a defeated enemy have always been considered the lawful property of the victorious army. In India however, wealth was accumulated not only in the coffer

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of kings, as in other countries, but also in vaults of temples which were consecrated to the service of various deities. The consequence was that, while elsewhere the capture of the defeated monarch's treasury usually gratified the conquerors lust for mammon, in India temples were also ransacked to secure the piles of gold and precious stone in them." It is necessary to point out that Hindus are not the only people to adorn their places of worship. Many Christian monasteries also contain vast wealth. As for the Muslims they sometimes write *Qoran* with gold letters, and it is said that Chenghiz Khan burnt a very big library to recover the gold. Would any one say that if the Muslims had not written their scripture in letters of gold their library would have been saved? Sikandra, which contained semi-precious stones, was rifled by the Jats, who dug up the coffin of Akbar to find if any wealth was hidden there. This news disturbed very much the aged Aurangzeb, who did not possess the philosophical calm of a modern Indo-Muslim historian. Granting that Mahmūd did everything for the 'lust of mammon', it yet remains unexplained how the burning and demolition of temples could satisfy that lust. Evidently Sultān Mahmūd was a religious fanatic, and was not the first and unfortunately by no means the last man, who attempted to combine the acquisition of religious merit with material profit.

(35) E & D, II, 477 corrected by Nazim op. cit., 117, f. n. 2. (36) DV, VIII, vv. 40-49. (37) DV, VIII, v. 52. (38) DV, VIII, v. 54. (39) DV, VIII, v. 58. (40) DV, VIII, v. 66. (41) DV, VIII, vv. 63-72. In 10 verses Hemachandra describes the prowess of the king of Chedi without giving a single definite information.

(42) Hemachandra sates : *Tam sa Sindhuvaham. āpa*", which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains : "*Sa Bhimas-tam Sindhuvaham Pañchanadākyam vahanam āpa prāpa*" (DV, VIII, v. 74). But as later Hemachandra describes the building of a bridge over the river, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi is right in inferring from Hemachandra that Bhima reached the river Indus.

(43) DV, VIII, vv. 97-108. (44) DV, VIII, vv. 117-124. (45) DV, IX, vv. 1-4. (46) PCT, 46 ; PCJ, 32. (47) DHNI, II, 951.

(48) *Karṇam cha Sindhurājān cha nirjitya yudhi durjayam*
Sri-Bhimenādhuna chakre Mahābhāratam-anyathā

(Intr. to *Siddha-Hemachandra*, p. 76. This verse has also been found in a MS. of Hemachandra's *Sadbānuśāsanarīti*, Peterson MSS. 1883, 64. (49) DV, VIII, v. III.

(50) *na Kāchchhake Saindhavakā vimarde na Kāchchhakāh Saindhavakepyakupyan*
tail Saindhavair-vajibhir-ukshavis-cha Kāchchhais-tad-ājñāyam itā vrajantah.

DV, XVI, v. 31.

"The people of Sindh(Saindhava) though they came into (contact with the) people of Kachchha were not angry. They brought with them horses from Sindh and bulls from Kachchha."

(51) Six Saindhava Copper Plates : Ed. by A. S. Altekar, EI, XXVI, 185-226.

(52) EI, IX, 151. (53) *ibid.* 11. (54) No. 1780 of Cousen's List, EI, IX, 148.

(55) There is difference of opinion as to whether Kṛṣṇarāja and Pūrṇapāla belonged to the same branch of the Paramāras or not. D. R. Bhandarkar was of the opinion that Kṛṣṇarāja was a brother and successor of Pūrṇapāla (EI, XI, 68). Dr. Ray is of the same opinion and have placed both the kings in the Abu Branch (DHNI, II, 912). Dr. D. C. Ganguly is of the opinion that Kṛṣṇarāja belonged to the Bhinmal branch of the Paramāras who ruled over Marumandala from Abu (*Paramaras*, 345). As the name of Kṛṣṇarāja's grandfather differs from that of Pūrṇapāla's grandfather, Dr. Ganguly rightly holds that the two cannot belong to the same family.

(56) BG, I, i, 472-75. Another inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja also from Bhinmal

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was issued in V.S. 1123. (A.D. 1066). (57) EI, IX, 70. (58) In Nadol plates of Alhaṇadeva and of Rājaputra-Kīrtipāla both of V.S. 1218 he is called Mahendra. EI, IX, 63-70. (59) A.S.I., 1936-37, 121. (60) *desaḥ Saptasāta yena śapta-sāhasrikāḥ kṛitāḥ*; ibid. (61) EI, XI, 304-13. Saptasātabhūmi, which has been identified with Saptasāta-*riṣhaya*, has been mentioned in Kelhaṇadeva's inscription dated V. S. 1227 (JRASB., XII, 103-4). Saptasāta-*riṣhaya* was probably the modern Gundoch district in Marwad. It was under Jindrarāja's grandson Rathapāla in V.S. 1176.

(62) ASI, 1936-37, 121.

(63) *Dhārā-pañchaka-sādhanaika-chaturais-tad-vājibhiḥ sādhitā kṣhipraṁ Mālava-chakravartī-nagarī Dhāreti ko vishmayāḥ*. Vadvnagar-praśasti, v. 9; EI, I, 297.

(64) *eka-Dhārā-patir-yasya dvī-dharen-āsinā jitaḥ kiṁ chitraṁ yad-asau jetaṁ śata-dhāram-apī kṣamaḥ*. v. 17
asau guṇī matreva Bhojaḥ kaṇṭham-upeyushā dhanuṣā guṇinā yasya naśyannaśvānna pātitaḥ. v. 18, KK, II.

(65) VTP, v. 13. (66) SS, II, vv. 17-20; VV, III, v. 15. (67) KBCH, I, v. 34. (68) PCT, 36; PCJ, 25. One MS. gives the date of the two kings as (reigning in) V.S. 1078. (69) PCT, 41; PCJ, 28.

(70) *Sthānapurusha*. Tawney has translated this as 'representative' (PCT, 44, f.n. 1. See also PCT, 66, f.n. 2). But it seems that a spy is really meant, for the next part of the sentence is: "*Dāmaranāmānāṁ sāndhivigrahikāṁ ādiśat* (PCJ, 30) which clearly shows that Dāmara the *sāndhivigrahika*, that is the diplomatic representative was at this time residing in Bhoja's court. It is therefore more reasonable to assume that Bhima received information of Bhoja's design from a spy and sent appropriate orders to his agent at Bhoja's court.

Merutuṅga usually uses the word *sāndhivigrahika* in the sense of an ambassador, that is a diplomatic agent of a high if not the highest rank. In the verse immediately following the passage under reference Bhoja asks Dāmara: *Yushmakādhipa sāndhivigrahapade dūtāḥ kiyanto dvija* (PCJ, 31) ("How many messengers (*dūtā*) are there, belonging to your king, holding the rank of ambassador (*sāndhivigrahapade*)?

(71) *danḍa*, PCJ, 30. (72) Merutuṅga states that when after receiving Bhīma's order Dāmara went to Bhoja, the Paramāra king addressed the enemy ambassador with a verse inquiring the number of the grades of diplomatic representatives employed by Bhīma. (See above ref. 70). Dāmara replied that there were three kinds of diplomatic representatives, sent in order, according as the foreign court is considered to be of low, medium, or excellent quality. This delivered with a suppressed smile pleased the king of Dhārā.

(73) *Sindhudeśa-riṣaya vyāpṛite Śrī-Bhima*, PCJ, 32. (74) PCT, 66; PCJ, 45.

(75) Bhoja is said to have addressed Bhīma a riddle the answers to which were (1) a dancing girl, (2) an ascetic, (3) a spendthrift and (4) a gambler. These four, according to Merutuṅga—our only authority—Bhīma sent to Bhoja on the advice of another dancing girl who solved the riddle! (PCT, 68; PCJ, 46-7). (76) PCJ, 48. PCT, 70 has *Ālūya* and *Akolūya*.

(77). Merutuṅga gives a very interesting story of Lakṣmī-Karṇa's birth which is semi-mythical. PCT, 72; PCJ, 49. A similar story about the birth of Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal is related by Muslim historians. (78) PCT, 75; PCJ, 51-2.

(79) It may appear strange that Hemachandra should be entirely silent about Bhīma's victory over the great Paramāra rival. It is possible that Hemachandra did not want to describe the sad end of Bhoja. It seems that when Hemachandra says that Bhīma obtained from Lakṣmī-Karṇa Bhoja's golden *maṇḍapikā*, he indicated the fall of the Paramāra king. For, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that, Karṇa got

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that *maṇḍapikā* by defeating Bhoja, King of Mālava. (80) Udayapur-*prāśasti*, v. 20, EI, I, 238.

(81) EI, III, 46. Dr. D. C. Ganguly is of the opinion that Jayasinhha not only drove Bhīma and Lakshmi-Karṇa out of Mālava with the help of the Western Chālukyas, but defeated Bhīma in a battle near Mt. Abu in which Paramāra Jagaddeva took part. But the meaning of a very important passage is disputed. Dr. Ganguly holds that Jayasinhha and Jagaddeva were friends, but according to the translation by the editor of EI of v. 10, Jayasinhha should be looked upon as an enemy and not a friend of Jagaddeva, and cannot refer to Paramāra Jayasinhha. (Jainad Stone Inscription of Paramāra Jagaddeva, EI, XXII, 54-63).

(82) PCT, 75; PCJ, 51-2. (83) *ibid.* (84) DV, IX, vv. 1-4. (85) DV, IX, vv. 5-10. (86) DV, IX, v. 26. (87) DV, IX, v. 36. This verse was intended to serve as grammatical examples.

(88) Hemachandra says '*Bhojasya svarṇa-maṇḍapikām*' (DV, IX, v. 57), which means a 'small pavillion of gold which belonged to Bhoja.' The description of *Maṇḍapikā* is probably given in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini*: "Among the booty was a house of silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy, made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds." (*Tarikh-i-Yamini* of Al Utbi, E & D, II, 35.)

(89) Merutuṅga quoted extensively from *Kirtikaumudi*. In the present instance he first relates the story of Bhoja being surrounded by two Gujarati soldiers who put the bow round his neck and then let him off; he ends this story with the verse from *Kirtikaumudi* noted above. (See above r.n. 64, KK, II, v. 18 PCJ, 48, PCT, 71). It is not possible to say whether Merutuṅga invented this story or did elucidate the verse of KK. As some of the stories of Merutuṅga are palpably fictitious, it may be that he invented this one too. (90) EI, XXIV, 107. *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalam*, 296 (BI Ed. 1902).

(91) MM. Mirashi has suggested, on the basis of the Rewa Stone Inscription that Karṇa's relation with Bhīma was first strained, and later there was an alliance between the two directed against Bhoja, but later still the two allies fell apart as related by Hemachandra. This theory does not seem to be plausible. (92) *Vikramāṅkadeva-charita*, I, vv. 102-03.

(93) Tawney has the name 'Chaulādevī' or 'Chakulādevī', which was found only in one MS. consulted by Jinavijaya Muni, all the other MSS. consulted by him had Bakuladevi not Vakuladevi as mentioned in *Rās Mālā*. Without giving any reference Indrajī and Dr. Ray have stated that Bhīma had another wife (BG, I, i, 169; *DHNI*, II, 962). I cannot find any authority for the existence of the third wife.

(94) DV, IX, vv. 73-4; PCT, 77, 116; PCJ, 53, 77. (95) DV, IX, vv. 73-77. (96) The question of Kshemarāja has been discussed fully in the chapter on Kumārapāla. (97) M. A. Chagtai : The Earliest Muslim Inscription in India from Ahmedabad, IHC, III, (1939), 647. (98) PCT, 78; PCJ, 54. A.R.A.B., 1934-35, 8. (99) *Ratna-mālā*, JBBRAS, IX, 37. (100) For discussion of this date see the Chapter on Chronology. (101) DV, IX, vv. 73-77.

(102) *Prabodha-Chandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Mīśra, (I, 6) describes the Chandella victory over Kalachuri Karṇa. The Tibetan texts refer to a war between Kalachuri Karṇa and the Pāla king Nayapāla when the former invaded Bengal. (*Jour. Buddhist Text Society*, I, (1893), 9-10; S. C. Das : *Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow*, 51; JASB., 1891, 51) Lakshmi-Karṇa's Paikor inscription (ASI, 1921-22, 115) proves that he at least advanced upto the borders of Western Bengal, in the Bankura district.

From *Rāmacharita* (I, v. 9 and commentary) we learn that Nayapāla's son and successor Vīraḥapāla III defeated Lakshmi-Karṇa and married his daughter Yauvanaśrī. It is claimed in the Belava copper plates that Jātavarman of East Bengal married Viraśrī of Karṇa, that is Viraśrī, a daughter of Karṇa. (Belava Copper plate, v. 3, EI, XII, 37). This Karṇa is undoubtedly the Kalachuri Lakshmi-Karṇa, and the fact that he had to give his daughters in marriage, first, to Vīraḥapāla III who was not at all a powerful king, and next to Jātavarman an insignificant prince of East Bengal, shows that Lakshmi-Karṇa was eager to protect his eastern frontier. I think these incidents happened at the end of Karṇa's reign after his days of military glory was over.

(103) *Vikramāṇḍavacharita*, I, vv. 102-3. (104) *ibid*, III, vv. 55-57. (105) D. C. Ganguly : *Paramāras*, 123-31. (106) D. C. Ganguly : *The Paramāra Udayāditya*, IHQ, XVIII, 266-68. (107) The arguments of MM. Mirashi, who thinks that Karna is the Kalachuri king Lakshmi-Karna, are as follows : The *svāmini* of the *Nagpur-praśasti* (v. 32, EI, II, 185, 192) refers to Jayasinha, who was the son of Bhoja. Chaulukya Karna was not a contemporary of Jayasinha, for, his father Bhima was reigning till V.S. 1120, while Jayasinha was succeeded by Udayāditya some time in V.S. 1116. The Kalachuri Karna on the other hand was a contemporary of Paramāra Jayasinha. Further a verse in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalan* (p. 296) clearly states that Kalachuri Karna had by force uprooted the family of the Mālavas. "Such statements could have been made only if Jayasinha being killed in battle, there was for some time no scion of the royal family on the throne of Mālava. Though the Chaulukya Karna also is said to have waged war on the king of Dhārā, he is nowhere credited with the eradication of the family of the Mālava king." The three kings referred to in the Dongargaon inscription who were defeated by Udayāditya, were, Someśvara II, Kalachuri Lakshmi-Karna, and the Western Gaṅga chief Udayāditya. (MM. V. V. Mirashi : *Rewa Stone Inscription of Karna*, EI, XXIV, 107, f.n. 1 ; *New Light on the History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, IHC, V, 257).

Regarding this theory it is necessary to point out that it is Udayāditya who defeated the three kings. Hence the fact that Chalukya Karna might not have been a contemporary of Jayasinha is hardly material for finding out which of the two Karnas—both of whom were his contemporaries—was defeated by Udayāditya.

The verse in the *Prākṛita-Paiṅgalam*, on which MM. Mirashi relies, is a very late verse composed to illustrate a *yamaka*. As such it can have no independent value as a piece of historical evidence, and for all we know, may refer to Lakshmi-Karṇa's victory over Bhoja. Both Merutuṅga and Abhayatilaka Gaṇi state that Lakshmi-Karṇa defeated Bhoja, but no evidence has yet been discovered which credits that Kalachuri king with a victory over the successors of Bhoja.

Thirdly, MM. Mirashi contends that the three kings referred to in the Dungargaon inscription (EI, XXVI, 179) who were defeated by Udayāditya were Someśvara II, Kalachuri Lakshmi-Karna, and the Western Gaṅga chief Udayāditya. But the last mentioned chief was a *Dapṭanāyaka* and *Mahāmāṇḍaleśvara* of Someśvara II, and not a king. Presumably he was the *Mahāmāṇḍaleśvara*-Udayāditya Gaṅga Paramādi mentioned by Fleet (DKD, 452). Ereyaṅga, the Hoysala chief, also claimed to have defeated the Paramāra king and burnt the city of Dhārā; evidently Ereyaṅga and Gaṅga Udayāditya belonged to the same status, and it is difficult to explain as to why the Paramāras should have elevated the Gaṅga chief to the rank of his suzerain and ignored his peers, such as Ereyaṅga and others.

Now, in the un-edited part of the Udayapur-*prāsaṣṭi* (ASI, 1925-26, 193) it is stated that Udayāditya defeated the king of Dāhala, that is a Kalachuri king. Evidently he is the third king defeated by Udayāditya. For, the Nagpur-*prāsaṣṭi* (v. 32, Ef, II, 180) states that Udayāditya defeated the king of Karnaṭa, Karna, and

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other kings. The king of Karpāta was undoubtedly a Western Chālukya king, king Karṇa the Chaulukya king, as we know from Chronicles—Gujrat and Chāhamāna—and from inscriptions that he had fought against the Mālava king; the third king therefore can only be the king of Ḍāhala mentioned in the Udayapur-*prāśasti*.

(106) Chitorgadh, now Victoria Hall, Udaipur, fragmentary Inscription of the time of Kumārāpāla: Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, PRAS, WC, 1905-06, 61, no. 2220. Bhandarkar's List, no. 1522. (109) SS. II, v, 23. (110) *Surathotsava*, XV, v. 20. (111) *Prithvirājaviṇaya*, V, vv. 76-78.

Dr. D. C. Ganguly noticed this verse of the *Prithvirājaviṇaya* (*Paramāras*, 131) but stated that Chāhamāna Durlabha helped Udayāditya. Dr. H. C. Ray did not notice this verse and stated that the 'tradition in the *Hamīra-Mahākāvya* that he (Karṇa) was killed by Chāhamāna Dussala (i.e. Durlabha) may therefore have some foundation in fact.' (DHN1, II, 965). But the statement of the *Prithvirājaviṇaya*, which is a far more reliable work than the *Hamīra-Mahākāvya*, is unambiguous. It states that Durlabha died fighting, after which his brother Vighararāja became king (ibid, V, vv. 70-71); and it was Vighararāja who helped Udayāditya to defeat Karṇa. There is no reason to suppose on the evidence of *Hamīra-Mahākāvya* that Karṇa died fighting Dussala.

(112) Jainad Stone Inscription; Ed. by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, EI, XXII, 54-63. Jagaddeva claims to have won a victory over the Gūrjara warriors near the Arbuda mountain (v. 10) and from verse 12 we learn that he conquered king Karṇa. The inscription mentions that Jagaddeva 'subdued the king Karṇa and produced the only fitting lake . . .'. In verse 11, a Jayasīṃha is mentioned, but the verse may mean either that Jayasīṃha was a friend or an enemy of Jagaddeva, and most probably the Paramāra king was intended. As none of the inscriptions of Udayāditya or his sons—except the present one—mention Jayasīṃha, it may be reasonably inferred that Udayāditya and his successors attempted to obliterate the name of Jayasīṃha from the list of Paramāra kings. Evidently they were not friends of Jayasīṃha.

(113) D. C. Ganguly: *Paramāras*, 127-8; MM. V. V. Mirashi has accepted this reconstruction by Dr. Ganguly, though he maintains that Karṇa was the Kalachuri Lakshmi-Karṇa.

(114) *tato ripu-traya-skandair-magna Mālava (-medinim)*, v. 5 Dongargaon Stone Inscription, of Jagaddeva of Śaka 1034, Ed. by V. V. Mirashi, EI, XXVI, 177-85.

(115) *tasmin Vāsava-bandhutām-upagatē rājye cha kulyā-kule magna srāmīni tasya bandhur Udayādityo'bhavad-bhūpatih*

"When he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods (or crowded with nobles) in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāta, was like the mighty ocean, this prince indeed acted like the holy boar." (Nagpur-*prāśasti*, v. 32, EI, II, 192) Kielhorn, who edited this inscription, pointed out (ibid, 192, f.n. 69) that *kulyā-kula* would also mean 'crowded with nobles.'

(116) Surat plates of Trilochanapāla, IA, XII, 196; Naosari Grant of Karṇa, JBGRAS, XXVI, 250 (117) Kalyan plates, EI, XIX, 71-2; Udayapur-*prāśasti*, v. 19, EI, I, 235.

(118) Kalyan plates. R. D. Bannerjee read the name of the place as Svetapāda, but according to D. R. Bhandarkar (*List* no. 2085) the reading should be Svetapāṭa and it refers to a Jaina temple. It is evident however, that Yaśovarman was ruling near Kalyan, which is situated in Svetapāda country.

(119) *Memoirs A.S.I.*, No. 23, 130-33. (120) The Ganderi Stone Inscription of the Kadamba king Shashṭha II, of Śaka year 964 (A.D. 1042). (ARAB, 1938-39, 12). The

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main object of this inscription was to record the construction of a *maṇḍapikā* in the Śaka year 964.

The genealogy of Shashṭha II given in this inscription differs from that given in the known grants of the Kadambas of Goa, but this inscription definitely mentions Shashṭha's voyage to Somanātha which is also recorded in other Goa Kadamba inscriptions.

(121) *tat Karṇ-Arjuna-yor-vairam pūrva Karṇa smaranniva*

Arjunam gamayāmāsa Yaśo deśāntarāṇi yoh. KK, II, v. 22.

The Kalachuris have traditionally claimed descent from Kārtavyiryārjuna; according to grammatical rules that epic hero may be referred to as Arjuna, and as a matter of fact Hemachandra refers to the Kalachuris as 'Arjuna'. DV, IX, v. 39.

(122) JBBRAS, XXVI, 250. (122a) *New Dynasties of Gujarat History* by A. Pandey, 14. (123) Sundha Hill Inscription, vv. 10-11, EI, IX, 72. (124) PCT, 80; PCJ, 55. For Bardic tale, *Rās Mālā*, I, 103. (125) S. N. Das Gupta and S. K. De: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 472. (126) DV, IX, vv. 99-101; 153.

From verse 99 Abhayatilaka Gaṇi locates *Chandrapura* in the south (DV, Vol. I, p. 715). For a long time *Chandrapura* was not identified. Fleet stated that Hemachandra's *Chandrapura* 'has not been identified, - unless perchance, the name is a Sanskritised form denoting Chandgad, the chief town of the Mahal of that name in the Belgaum District.' (DKD, 568) Moraes, following Stuart Gomes (*Chandrapura nao sera Chandor, Boletim Do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 7, pp. 41-2, IA, VIII, 45) has identified *Chandrapura* with modern Chandor.

(127) DV, IX, v. 134. Karṇa entered the bower (*latāgrīha*) because he felt tired after inspecting the elephant. In v. 150 Hemachandra compares the situation with that of Hara and Gaurī. (128) DV, IX, vv. 89-172.

(129) Subhakeśin according to Merutuṅga was alone. How then could the news of the heroic manner of his death reach the outer world? These small considerations never deterred Merutuṅga when he had a nice story to interest his listeners.

(130) PCT, 79-80; PCJ, 54-55. According to Merutuṅga, Karṇa out of remorse wanted to embrace a red hot copper effigy of a woman as a penance, when the minister told him the truth. A similar story is related of Kumārāpāla by Muhammad 'Awfi ('Awfi calls him Gurpal Rai of Nahrwala, *Jami'u-l Hikayat*, E & D, II, 168-169). (131) Moraes: *Kadambakula*, 179-187. Another daughter of Jayakeśin was married to Vikramāditya VI. EI, XIII, 310.

(132) Merutuṅga states that one day at the time of taking his meal, Jayakeśin called for his pet parrot to come out of the cage. As if afraid the parrot uttered the word 'Puss', but the king, looking around and not seeing the hidden cat, solemnly assured the parrot that if it were killed by the cat, he would follow it to the next world. It was a rash promise, for as soon as the parrot came out of the cage it was killed by the cat. The king immediately stopped eating and paying no heed to the counsel of his ministers ascended a funeral pyre with his parrot. (PCT, 112-13; PCJ, 74).

Practically the same story is related by Buzurg ibn Shariyar in his *Ajāyah ul-Hind* (Tr. by L. M. Devic: *Libre des Merveilles de l'Inde*; Story No. LXIV, p. 115) about an unnamed Indian king. In ibn Shariyar's version the king roamed for two years with the dead bird's body, and becoming conscious that he had not kept his vow burnt himself.

This story⁵⁶ as well as that by 'Awfi noted above (r.n. 130) shows, that Merutuṅga was appropriating into his work some stories that were current during his time, only he introduced historical characters to make his stories more effective. Of course 'Awfi or his informer did the same, for it is apparent that the stories related here by 'Awfi, Buzurg ibn Shariyar and Merutuṅga were fables.

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- (133) SS, II, v. 36. (134) Moraes : *Kadambakula*, 171, 176. (135) PCT, 80; PCJ, 55. For details of the temple building activities of Karna, see the chapter on religion.
- (136) *Rās Mālā*, I, 103-4.
- (137) *Sri-Gūjaracāraro drishtvō tivrām malaparishaham*
Sri-Karṇo birudaṁ yasya maladhārity-aghoshayat. v. 5
nātham Saurāshṭra-rāshṭrasya Kheṅgārām pratibodhya yāh
Ujjayanta-tirtha-patham khilibhūtam-avivahat. v. 6 Peterson MSS., 1887, 274.
- (138) Peterson MSS. 1886-92, p. ex. IA, XI, 248. (139) IA, VI, 196; Prachi Ins. of Kumārāpāla, PO, I, no. 4, 38. (140) *Ratnamālā*, JBBRAS, IX, 38. (141) Sunak Grant of Karna, EI, I, 316-18.

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Siddharāja

(1) DV, X, vv. 1-90. (2) Forbes wrote that the earlier part of Canto XI was unfit for publication. (IA, IV, 234). The first thirteen verses of this canto describes the delicate condition of Mayanallādevī from the end of Karna's *pūjā* to the birth of Jayasimha; these verses might appear to be crude when translated into English, but such description was very common in Sanskrit literature. Hemachandra did not write anything that was not in the best taste.

In verse 39 (Canto XI) Hemachandra states that Jayasimha was named by the old ladies : *Nāma vṛiddhāḥ kumārasya Jayasimh-ety atha vyadhuḥ*. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that these *vṛiddhās* were *kulasthvirās*.

(3) The week-day has been found to be correct. JRAS, 1920, 339. (4) PCT, 80; PCJ, 54-55. (5) If Hemachandra had not written these cantos on Jayasimha, the history of the Chaulukyas would have suffered little if at all. (6) DV, XI, vv. 44-66. (7) DV, XI, vv. 109-10 (8) DV, XI, vv. 113-16. (9) BG, I, i, 171.

(10) According to Merutuṅga, after Karna's death, Madanapāla began to behave in an unbecoming manner. One day he enticed to his place the royal physician, Līlā, under false pretences and imprisoned him. Līlā had to purchase his freedom by paying a ransom of 32,000. "Then, the son of Karna, by a device of the minister Santū, killed the tyrannical Madanapāla." (PCT, 82; PCJ, 55).

(11) PCJ, 65; PCT, 95. KK, II, v. 25. (12) "The inscription of Sajjana which is dated A.D. 1120 (S 1176) is on the inside to the right in passing to the small south gate. It contains little but the mention of the Sadhu who was Sajjana's constant adviser." (BG, I, i, 177) Apparently this inscription has not yet been published. Regarding the Chūḍasama D. B. Diskalkar states : "... no inscription of the family is found, which belongs to the period earlier than that of king Maṇḍalika (V.S. 1350)." (NIA, I, 579). Burgess however was of the opinion that Jayasimhadēva of a Girnar Chūḍasama inscription was Siddharāja and he took the allusion to mean that Jayasimha had defeated Kheṅgara, who according to Burgess' chronology was Kheṅgara II. (A.S.W.I., II, 162). (13) PCT, 95; PCJ, 64-65.

(14) The bardic tradition recorded by Forbes does not merit any serious consideration. *Rās Mālā* describes a struggle between two intractable semi-independent zamindars of whom Jayasimha was the more powerful and certainly the villain. (*Rās Mālā* 150-64). This type of story shows that the quality of the story-tellers had sadly deteriorated since the days of Gujarat Chroniclers, who at least knew enough historical

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tradition to fit in their well thought out episodes with the general history of the king about whom they wrote.

(15) There were 12 Gadādhara and Mahāvīra was the 12th. The main text of the Jaina *śāstra* is divided into 12 *aṅgas*. The number of Tirthaṅkaras is 24, and many religious books are stated to contain 84,000 verses, that is a multiple of 12. Hemachandra's *Trishashtīśālākāpuruṣaḥcharita* gives the life of 12 paramount, kings and according to Jina Maṇḍana, his *Paṛiśiṣṭaparram* is said to have consisted of 36,000 verses, though it actually contained a lesser number. Merutuṅga also states that Siddharāja's campaign in Mālava lasted 12 years (PCT, 86; PCJ, 58). But though more credible in view of the strength of the Paramāras, this statement too is not free from suspicion. In the *Prabhāvakacharita* (XXII, v. 424) it is stated that Kumārapāla waged 11 unsuccessful campaigns against Arjorāja and through the intervention of divine help succeeded in the twelfth campaign. We know from Hemachandra that this statement is false and Kumārapāla had to undertake not more than two campaigns against Arjorāja.

(16) Sundha Hill Inscription, vv. 26-30; EI, IX, 76. (17) EI, XI, 32. (18) EI, XI, 39. (19) EI, XI, 304; ASI, 1936-37, 120. (20) EI, XI, 28; ASI, 1936-37, 120.

(21) DHNI, II, 1110-11. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that 'Āśārāja or Kaṭukarāja might have for some time lost the favour of their paramount sovereign and for that reason been replaced by Rāyapāla one of their relatives'. (EI, XI, 70). He probably, did not notice the Sevadi plates of Ratnapāla (EI, XI, 304) Āśārāja is also called Āśvarāja and Āśvāka (ibid, 69), but to avoid confusion he has been referred throughout the present work as Āśārāja.

(22) Edited by Kielhorn and Bhandarkar in EI, IX (158, 159) and EI, XI (34, 36, 37, 41, 42) respectively. One inscription was transcribed by P. C. Nahar in *Jaina Lekha-saṅgraha*, (I, 213-14) and another was noticed by Bhandarkar in PRAS, WC, 1908-09, 45.

(23) Sevadi Inscription of Kaṭukarāj, EI, XI, 30. Bali Inscription of Āśārāja, EI, XI, 32.

(24) DV, XVIII, vv. 84-6. Somesvara in *Surāhotsava* (XV, v. 22) says that Siddharāja taught the haughty king of Sapādalakṣa how to bow his head to Siddharāja's feet. Merutuṅga (PCT, 115; PCJ, 76) quotes a popular verse to the same effect.

(25) *grihitā duhitā tūrṇam Arjorājasya Viṣṇunā
datt-ānena punas-tasmai bhedo'bhūd-ubhayor-ayam*. KK, II, v. 28.

(26) *Prithvirājaviṇaya*, 187, 11. 32-5. (27) It is a very badly mutilated stone inscription found at Sambhar IA, LVIII, 234.

(28) In the Bijholi Rock Inscription of Somesvara I (EI, XXVI, 84-112, v. 17) it is stated that Arjorāja showed disrespect to one Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa and thus brought him to humiliation. One of the epithets of Naravarman was Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa (PRAS, WC, 1913-14, 59, Bhilsa Inscription of Naravarmanadeva alias Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa) and the epithet has been used here evidently because it is used in a pun.

(29) *Dhārā-praviṣṭam atha kaulaṭineyabudhyā
drāk chātakairam iva taṁ chātakaripakṣi
jagrāha Mālavapatim yudhi nartitāsi
nāṭṭrakṣaḥ sapulakaś-Chuluka-praviraḥ*. DV, XIV, v. 72.

The entire canto is given to a description of the Mālava campaign.

(30) DV, XIV, vv. 1-73. In verse 74 Hemachandra relates that Siddharāja captured several more kings on his way back from Mālava, but it is clear that all the proper names are fictitious and were invented to illustrate certain grammatical rules.

(31) Hemachandra does not really state that Siddharāja returned to his capital

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but it can be inferred from the beginning of canto XV where Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says that Yaśovarman was thrown into prison. (DV, XV, v. 1). (32) v. 11, EI, I, 296.

(33) *Mālava-svāminah prauḍha-Lakṣmī-parierīḍhaḥ śvayam*

saṁity-aparamāro yaḥ Paramārān mārjayat

kṣhītvā Dhārā-patim rāja-śukavat kāṣṭhapañjare

yaḥ kāṣṭhapañjare kirti-rājakaṁsim nyavivīṣat

ekaiva jagrihe Dhārā nagarī Naravarmaṇaḥ

dattā yen-āśru-dhārās-tu tad-vadhūnām sahasradhā. KK, II, vv. 30-2.

(34) *sphīta-balopī Mālava-patīḥ kārām cha dārānvitah.* XV, v. 22.

(35) *Vasantavilāsa*, III, vv. 21-2. (36) *yo Yogini-piṭham-akunṭha-śaktir-jittu.* *Ojjayanyāḥ svapuram nīṇāya*, *ibid*, v. 23. (37) SS, II, v. 34; VTP, v. 20.

(38) KBCH, I, v. 41. *Kumārāpalāprabandha*, 7.

(39) PCT, 86-7; PCJ, 59. It may be added here that Merutuṅga's story does not end with the death of the elephant. He states that the elephant having lost its life by its martial valour, returned to earth in the form of a Gaṇeśa, named Yaśodha-vala, in the village of Badasāra, being white with its own glory. This story is revealing in the sense that it shows that Merutuṅga was really concerned with entertaining his readers and not with writing a sober history, otherwise he could not have digressed in the midst of an important episode with such a stupid myth.

(40) PCT, 86-7; PCJ, 58-9.

(41) PCT, 88; PCJ, 60. PCT, 112; PCJ, 74. According to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja showed to Yaśovarman all the royal temples at Pattana and asked the Paramāra king's opinion about the millions of money spent on religious purposes every year. Yaśovarman warned Siddharāja from his own experience that the succeeding Chaulukya kings would be unable to maintain the religious establishments on such a lavish scale and would be forced to retrench grants for religious purposes (PCT, 89-90; PCJ, 61).

(42) This inscription was noticed by Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*Paramāras*, 163) where it was stated that the inscription was unpublished.

(43) In the Sundha Hill Inscription (vv. 26-30, EI, IX, 76) it is stated that Āśārāja helped Siddharāja against the Mālava king. In an unpublished inscription (ASI, 1936-37, 120) it is stated that Naravarman took to his fortress in fear of Āśārāja. For Arjorāja's fight against Naravarman see above r.n. 28.

(44) PRAS, WC, 1913-14, 59. (45) IA, XXII, 143.

(46) The Ingonda Stone Inscription of Vijayapāla (IA, VI, 55) mentions the names of three kings with the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*; they are Prithvipāla, Tihunapāladeva, and Vijayapāladeva. Tihunapāladeva is called a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* as well. The inscription was issued from Īṇanapadra, which has been identified with modern Ingonda, where the inscription was found, about 50 miles north east of Ujjain. It is dated V.S. 1190 (A.D. 1133-4). At Thakarda in the Dungarpur state in Rajputana, another inscription was found (*Rajputana Museum Reports*, 1915-16, 3) which in addition to the three names of the kings mentioned in the Ingonda inscription, mentions the name of Surapāladeva son of Vijayapāla. It however gives the title of *Mahārāja* to all the four kings, and refers to Vijayapāla's father as Tribhuvanapāla, which is the Sanskrit form of Tihunapala. It is dated V.S. 1212. These two inscriptions taken together clearly show that members of a petty dynasty took advantage of the decay of the Paramāras and asserted their independence. Probably they brought under their control territories in western Mālava, but were later driven out and forced to assume their humbler rank in their now obscure principality near Dungarpur. Who drove them out of Mālava is not known, but it is most likely that Siddharāja or Chandella Madanavarman forced them to retire from Mālava,

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and their assumption of the lower rank indicates that they were content to remain feudatories. The Virapura Copper plate (ASI, 1929-30, 187) was issued by a *Mahārājādhirāja* Amṛitapāla son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayapāla of the Guhiladatta family who was feudatory of Bhima II in the Vāgada country. This Amṛitapāla might have been a brother of Surapāla.

- (47) SS, II, v. 36 ; VV, IX, v. 23. (48) IA, XIX, 348. (49) *ibid*, 348-51.
 (50) D. C. Ganguly : *Paramāras*, 169. (51) Buhler : IA, X, 161-2.
 (52) *ājyasārāḥ karasthobhād-Gauḍo modakavan nṛipah*. KK, II, v. 37.

For the restoration of Someśvara, Kiradu Inscription, PO, I, no. 2, 47 Dr. D. C. Ganguly has discussed this inscription (before it was edited) but did not mention that Someśvara was helped by Siddharāja (JBORS, XVIII, 40 ; *Paramāras*, 347-8) Dr. H. C. Ray has accepted D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion (See *List* no. 312) and has further suggested that Someśvara's predecessor Udayarāja was a feudatory of Siddharāja. (DHNI, II, 973, f.n. 3).

- (53) KK, II, v. 33. (54) KBCH, I, v. 42. (55) *Kumārāpāluprabandha*, 7-8.
 (56) BG, I, i, 178.

(57) ASI (Cunningham), II, XXII, 86 ; JASB, XVII (1848), i, 318, 1.14. Chand is quoted by V. Smith : History and Coinage of the Chandella Dynasty, IA, XXXVII, 144.

(58) The following is the complete version of the story as given by Merutuṅga : 'Then the king of Dāhala, wrote at the end of an alliance the following couplet :

ā-yuktaḥ prāṇado loke vi-yukto muni-vallabhah

saṁ-yuktaḥ sarvath-ānistaḥ kevalaḥ strīshu vallabhah (PCJ, 64, PCT, 94)

According to Merutuṅga only Hemachandra could answer the riddle, which it is easy to see is 'hāra'.

(59) As usual this important statement is given by Merutuṅga as incidental to the narration of an anecdote. In the present instance Merutuṅga relates a dispute between the king of Banaras and the Gujarat diplomatic agent accredited to him regarding the impropriety of using the water of Sahasralinga lake which was an offering to Śiva. The irritated Gujarat ambassador silenced the Gāhaḍavāla king by the too obvious reminder, that the people of that city (Banaras, where the dispute is supposed to have taken place) used the water of the Ganges which issues directly from the hairs of Śiva. (PCT, 112, PCJ, 74).

- (60) Mau Inscription v. 15, EI, I, 204. (61) *Rambhāmañjarī*, Act, I, p. 5-6.

(62) It seems that Merutuṅga's mistaking the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king was owing to the fact, that to a literary man as he was, the name of the famous patron of Śrī-Harsha, Jayachandra, would be more familiar. Jayachandra is also mentioned in the *Rambhāmañjarī*, whereas Govindachandra had no literary fame. Merutuṅga was in good company when he calls the famous Gāhaḍavāla of Kanaui, 'Kāshipurīśvara', for Lakshmidhara the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Govindachandra in his famous treatise *Kṛityakalpataru* calls his king 'Kāshipati', 'Kāśyādhipa', but makes no reference to Kānyakubja. (*Kṛityakalpataru*, Dīnakāṇḍa, 48-9, G.O.S. 92). Rājasekhara, who took some pains not to repeat Merutuṅga, correctly states in his *Prabandhakośa* that Śrī-Harsha was the court poet of Jayachandra the king of Kanyakubja.

- (63) DHNI, II, 710. (64) *Paramāras*, 161. (65) IA, XVI, 202, and 207-10.
 (66) See above r.n. 46. (67) *Kumārāpāluprabandha*, 6. (68) DKD, BG, I, ii, 453.
 (69) *ibid*, 565. (70) BG, I, i, 173, f.n. 5. (71) DKD, BG, I, ii, 451 ; 'Lāla is a corrupt *tadbhava* form of Lāṭa'. (*ibid*, f.n. 1). (72) DKD, BG, I, ii, 453.
 (73) EC, VII, Sk. 137 : 'When he with anger knit his brows in a frown the king Vikramānka, Chola lost his boundaries, Pallavas held his hand full of sprouts,

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Andhra hunted for caves in the mountain, Sīṅghalas burnt heart was turned into a desert, Mālava was jumped over, Gūrjjara's arm was shattered : A dweller at his lotus feet was Anantapāla."

(74) In his records Vikramāditya VI is said to have conquered the following countries : Maru, Aṅga, Gaṅga, Kālīṅga, Magadha, Pāṅchāla, Nepāla, Barbbāra, Saurāshṭra, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Karahāta, Kāśmīra, Gūrjjara, Sindhu, Dravīla, Andhra, Mālava, Turushka. (EC, XI, Hk, 25, of A.D. 1100 ; Dg, 2 of A.D. 1124).

The inscription of Pāṇḍya-Bhūpāla states : "To break the pride of Chola, to harass Andhra, to cause Kālīṅga to fall, to frighten and attack the Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha kings to conquer Mālava in battle, to trample on the famous Gūrjjara,—Pāṇḍya-bhūpāla alone is sufficient,—such was the confidence in him of the Emperor Vikrama." (EC, XI, Dg. 3 of A.D. 1121).

Another inscription of the 29th year of Vikramāditya (A.D. 1105) states that one Maṅgarnadeva defeated the Cholas, the Mālavas, and the Gūrjjaras. (Huli Inscriptions, 'E', EI, XVIII, 189).

(75) SII, IX, 245 of 1918, 205 ; EC, VIII Sorab 325 states that he conquered Cholika, Lāḷa, Gaṇḍa, Maleyāla, Telīṅga, Kālīṅga, Vaṅga, Pāṅchāla, Turushka, Gūrjjara, Jajahuti, Mālava, Koṅkana.

(76) EC, XI, Dg. 2. (77) B. A. Saletore : An Unidentified Embassy To The Court Of King Siddharāja of Gujarat, IHC, X (1947), 222. (78) DKD BG, I, ii, 453. (79) DHNI, 972.

(80) EI, XVIII, 201. L. D. Barnett, who edited this inscription, identified Jayasīṃha with the Paramāra king of Mālava. But Jayasīṃha of Gūrjarāshṭra can only mean Siddharāja.

(81) 'Paramārdi' is a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese word *Permmadi* : *perme-hemme*, greatness and *mādi*, times ; hence *Permmādi* means greatness many times, a great ruler (Saletore op. cit.), (82) DHNI, II, 972.

(83) *asaṅkhyā hari-sainyena prakṣipt-āneka bhūbhṛtā raddhaḥ Sindhupatir-yena Vaidchi-dayitena vā*. (KK, II, v. 26. Erratum : p. 81, l. 6 for 'aris' read 'haris')

(84) According to Merutuṅga, when some ambassadors from the Mlechchha king arrived, a violent storm broke out and some *rākshasas* with messages from Vibhishana of Lāṅkā descended from the sky. The *rākshasas* told Siddharāja that Vibhishana desirous of a meeting with the Chaulukya king had sent them to enquire as to whether it would be necessary for Vibhishana to come to Anahilapātaka to see the king or would he be kind enough to go to Lāṅkā. Siddharāja replied : "We ourselves, borne on by a wave of full blown wonder, will come in due time to visit Vibhishana." Thereupon the two *rākshasas* making suitable obeisance departed through the air and were lost to view. The Mlechchha ministers perceiving this, forsook their bold attitude, and after humbly presenting a suitable present to Siddharāja, retired. Thus, according to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja prevented a Muslim invasion. (PCT, 110, PCJ, 72-3). It is only fair to add that Hemachandra had also introduced Vibhishana in his *Dvyāśraya* ; for no particular reason Vibhishana came to see Siddharāja and accompanied the king to Satruṅjaya, (DV, XV, vv. 56-60).

This story serves as a good illustration of the manner in which Merutuṅga blends facts and fictions, though there may be reasonable doubt as to whether the story contains a single grain of truth.

(85) The entire Canto XII of the *Dvyāśraya* and the first four verses of the following canto are devoted to describe this fight, which is obviously modelled after some epic story. Hemachandra compared Siddharāja with Rāma, and probably thought it fit that his description of Siddharāja's fight with this uncouth tribe should

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be a replica of the fight of Rāma when he fought some demons to save the hermitage of Viśvāmitra. In this encounter Hemachandra did not introduce any magical element, though he does so when he describes Siddharāja's nocturnal adventure with the Nāgas. As Hemachandra stated also that Siddharāja went to conquer Mālava being provoked by the *Yoginis* (DV, XV, vv. 12-14) he must be held responsible for the later fanciful stories which grew round this king. For example Bālachandra's story that Siddharāja brought from Ujjain a seat from the *Yoginis* (*Pañcaviṃśa*, III, v. 23) is a slight modification of Hemachandra's story, for he had said enough about the king's dealings with the *Yoginis* even in Ujjain, so that Bālachandra can easily take shelter under his great name. Bālachandra has called Barbara a *Vetāla* (a kind of goblin). This is undoubtedly due to the fact that Hemachandra left no clue to the identification of Barbaraka, and later Chroniclers simply took the advantage of Hemachandra's repeated assertions that Siddharāja was endowed with supernatural powers, hence they described Barbaraka according to their fancy, and can hardly be blamed for doing so.

(86) SS, II, v. 33.

(87) *śmaśāne yātudhānendram baddhvā Barbarakābhidham*

Siddharajeti rajendur-yo jajñe rājarājishu KK, II, v. 38. (88) KBCH I, v. 52. (89) IA, VI, 186. (90) BG, I, i, 174-5. (91) *Pañcavastuka*, end quoted in Kielhorn MSS, 1880-1, 25. (92) *Padmachariya*, Colophon quoted in *Catalogue of MSS. Jaisalmere Bhandar*, 17, no. 150.

(93) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 66.

kāraya prasaram Siddha hastirājam-aśaṅkitam

trasyantu diggajāḥ kiṁ tair-bhūṣ-tvayair-odhrītā yataḥ.

Prabhāvakacharita, XXII, v. 67.

(94) PCT, 87, PCJ, 59. The verse is also given in *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 72. *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, p. 16.

(95) KBCH, I, vv. 274-79; *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 16. (96) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 74-115.

(97) PCT, 88-9; PCJ, 60-61. Here Merutuṅga quotes the verse which appears at the end of the first *pāda* of the *Siddha-Hemachandra* and which begins with : *Haririva Balibandhakera*. (See above, Ch. III, r.n. 11).

(98) *ibid*; *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 106-9. (99) *ibid*, XX, vv. 100-1.

(100) PCT, 89; PCJ, 61. (101) Bühler : *Life of Hemachandra*, 18. (102) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 184. *Kumārāpālāpratibodha*, p. 474. (103) PCT, 105-6; PCJ, 70. The same story is repeated in KBCH (I, vv. 266-322) and *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 13 but both the authors add new details. (104) *Peterson MSS*, 1887, 274, vv. 8-10.

(105) DV, XV, vv. 15-7. (106) DV, XV, vv. 42-43. (107) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 311-58. (108) PCT, 91-2; PCJ, 63. This incident and the one related by 'Awfi is discussed in full in the chapter on religion. (109) Muhammad 'Awfi : *Jami 'ul Hikayat*, E & D, II, 163-4. (110) *Veraval-prāśasti* of Bhāva Brihaspati, WZKM, III, 1.

(111) ARAB, 1934-35, 8; PRAS, WC, 1912, p. 16.

(112) PCT, 96; PCJ, 65. *Prabhāvakacharita* also states (*Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 328-29) that Sajjana the minister repaired the old temple of Neminātha and the king accompanied by Hemachandra visited it and was pleased.

(113) DV, vv. 114-15. Neither Hemachandra nor Abhayatilaka Gaṇi mentions the *Kirtistambha*, but it has been recently excavated. ARAB, 1934-35, 8. Fragment of a large inscription was found attached to a well in Pattan. Probably it formed part of an inscription which according to Merutuṅga was inscribed on the *Kirtistambha* which stood on the edge of the lake. The inscription gives some information

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about the lake. It mentions a teaching house for teachers (*upādhyāya-śikshāgriham*). Of Siddharāja it is stated :

viśrāma-dhāma bhuvanatraya-svedabhājāḥ
Śrī-Siddharāja(ja)-paramēśvara.

(An abode of rest (for) the destroyer of the miseries of the three worlds Śrī-Siddharāja). According to Merutuṅga an inscription on copper was written by Śrīpāla, and he has quoted a verse (PCJ, 64). The verse translated by Tawney (PCT, 93) is found only in Dinanātha's edition and is from *Kirtikaumudī* (II, v. 78).

(114) DV, XV, v. 119. (115) *Kumārāpālprabandha*, 15. (116) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 353 : *antardinaḥ sut-ābhāva-prajā-piḍana-śaṅkitaḥ*.

(117) *ity-āchushā tena sahān ŪjJayantam nripo chalat*
grāmata-janatām paśyan vatsalyād-bandhutām iva. DV, XV, v. 60.

(118) Mangrol Inscription of V.S. 1202. Bh.Ins. 158.

APPENDIX

Bühler rejected all the versions of the Jaina Chroniclers regarding the first meeting of Hemachandra and Siddharāja. But it seems that he was unduly severe on Prabhāchandra for the latter's not having recorded a continuous narrative of the intercourse 'that must have taken place' between Siddharāja and Hemachandra between their first and second meetings. Hence Bühler concluded : "The story (of *Prabhāvakacharita*) might well have been invented as a historical setting to the famous verses of Hemachandra addressed to king after the real facts leading to the former's introduction into the court of his lord had been forgotten." (G. Bühler, *Life of Hemachandra*, 14-5). With great hesitation we beg to differ from the great Indologist whose masterly work on the Jaina monk's life will remain the standard work on the subject for years to come. It is possible, as Bühler suggested, that the rise of Hemachandra in the royal court was due to minister Udayana, but about the first meeting between the Monk and the King, it seems that a pious Chronicler like Prabhāchandra would only record a real tradition. Elsewhere Bühler has accepted the authority of Prabhāchandra for the dates of Hemachandra's birth, death, education and other matters. To suggest that Prabhāchandra did not know under what circumstances Hemachandra first met Siddharāja would be depriving him of much of his authority; for, it was not only one of the most important events in the life of Hemachandra, but had no small importance on the subsequent history of the Svetāmbara Jainas in Gujarat.

Another defect in the *Prabhāvakacharita*, according to Bühler, is that the verses recorded there on the occasion when Hemachandra first met Siddharāja are not found in the existing works of Hemachandra. The explanation may be that all the works of Hemachandra have not yet been discovered, or that while writing at a later period Hemachandra changed or did not record what he uttered as a young man on the spur of the moment.

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Kumārāpāla.

(1) Hemachandra does not mention the name of Mularāja, the eldest son of Bhīma, but Abhayatilaka Gaṇi commenting on DV Canto X, verse 73, states that Mularāja, the elder brother died, and then the throne was offered to Kshemarāja

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by Bhima. Merutuṅga also states that Mūlarāja the eldest son of Bhima died during his reign. (PCT, 77-8, PCJ, 53).

(2) DV, IX, vv. 72-74. In DV, XVI, v. 1 Hemachandra states that Kumārāpāla ascended the throne of his grandfather (*pitāmaha-rājyam-alāṅchakāra*), but Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that Tribhuvanapāla was the nephew of Jayasīnha.

(3) *Kumārāpālapratibodha*, I, vv. 54-58.

(4) *itaḥ Śrī-Karṇa-bhūpāla-bandhuḥ kṣhatra-śiromaṇiḥ*
Devaprasāda ity-āsit prāsāda iva sampadām
tat-putraḥ Śrī-Tribhuvanapālaḥ pālita-sadbrataḥ
Kumārāpālas-tat-putro rājya-lakṣhaṇa-lakṣitaḥ.

Prabhāvakacharita, XXII, vv. 354-55.

(5) PCT, 116 ; PCJ, 77. (6) KBCH, I, vv. 35-39 ; II, vv. 1-11. (7) *Kumārāpālaprabandha*, 3, 17. (8) All the Chroniclers, except Hemachandra, mention this. For reference see below. (9) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 430. (10) PCT, 116 ; PCJ, 77. (11) DV, XVI, v. 1.

(12) *eko yaḥ śakalaṁ kutūhālitayā babhrāma bhūmaṇḍalān*
prītyā yatra patinivarā samabhavat sāmājya-Lakṣmīḥ svayam
Śrī-Siddhādhipa-viprayaogo-vidhūrām aprīṇa yadyaḥ prajān
kasy-āsau vidito na Gūrjarapatiḥ-Chaulukya vaṁśadhvajah
Moharājaparājayam, Act I, v. 28.

(13) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 356-417.

(14) In support of this incredible story, Merutuṅga states later (PCT, 142 ; PCJ, 91) that after becoming king Kumārāpāla built the 'Mūshika-vihāra' or the 'Temple of the Mouse' for expiating this sin.

(15) Tawney's translation has 'Rāja Kānhaḍadeva' (PCT, 118), but the text has 'Rājakula Kānhaḍadeva' (PCJ, 78). Durgasankar Sastri's edition of the text (126) has *Rāja Śrī-Kānhaḍadeva*.

(16) PCT, 119 ; PCJ, 78. (17) KBCH, III, vv. 23-475. (18) *Kumārāpālaprabandha*, 17-34. (19) E & D, II, 168-69. (20) *Ain-i-Akbari*, II 268 (1949 Ed.).

(21) *Srimān-Udayanas-tasya dīkṣ-otsavam akārayat*
Somachandra iti khyātān nām-āsya guravo daduḥ.

Prabhāvakacharita, XXII, v. 34.

In some chronicles it is stated that Hemachandra was very fair hence his name on initiation was Somachandra, and later Hemachandra. Curiously enough Merutuṅga does not mention that on initiation Hemachandra received the name of Somachandra.

(22) Lest anyone should form a poor opinion of Prabhāchandra for not having included a fuller history of Kumārāpāla's reign in his biography of Hemachandra (*Hema-Sūri-Prabandha*, *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, pp. 183-212) it is necessary to recall in this connection that Bühler who had all the materials for writing the history of Kumārāpāla's reign followed Prabhāchandra in this respect. As a matter of fact some additional details given by Prabhāchandra did not meet with Bühler's approval. (Bühler : *Life of Hemachandra*, Note, 60).

(23) *Kumārāpālaprabandha*, 25. Jina-maṇḍana wrote many absurdities, but Sri S. Banerjee writes : "The biographical portion of this work (Jina-maṇḍana's) is no guess work but a true historical account, so at least the Jaina scholars think". (S. Banerjee : *Jina Maṇḍana, Ordeal of Kumārāpāla before accession*, IHC, II, 229). From his article, which is a good translation of part of Jina-maṇḍana's work, relating to the wandering of Kumārāpāla it seems that Sri Bannerji is entirely in accord with the unnamed Jaina scholars, who, according to him, have explicit faith in the merits of Kumārāpālaprabandha. If a modern scholar to whom Bühler's *Life*

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of Hemachandra was available could be so uncritical, how can we blame Jina-maṇḍana or any other Gujarat Chronicler for blindly believing all that they read or heard.

(24) Bühler states that Hemachandra had prophesied (according to *Prabhāvakacharita*) that Kumārapāla would ascend the throne in the 17th year (*Life of Hemachandra*, 26). But the text has 'abhutaḥ saptaṃ vārṣe prithvipālo bhaviṣyashi' (*Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 385).

(25) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 394. (26) *PCT*, 12, 115 ; *PCJ*, 8, 74. KBCH, III, vv. 464-65. *Kumārapālāprabandha*, 35.

(27) *Mahāvīracharita*, XII, vv. 45-46. (28) B. A. Saletore : *Medieval Jainism*, 7. (29) *Mahāvīracharita*, XII, vv. 47-58. (30) Bühler : *Life of Hemachandra*, 34-5. (31) See below n.n. 108.

(32) *PCT*, 119 ; *PCJ*, 78. This story and the following one are repeated by Jayasīṃha Sūri, III, vv. 476-516 and by Jina-Maṇḍana : *Kumārapālāprabandha*, 27.

(33) *ibid.* It appears from the Veraval inscription that Kumārapāla treated his sister's son Bhoja with kindness. This induced Bühler to observe that the story of chastising Kānhaḍadeva might have been invented by Merutuṅga. (*WZKM*, III, 7). We shall see later that Kumārapāla, according to Hemachandra, had to chastise one of his generals called Kṛṣṇadeva, who had betrayed him. Can these two be identical ?

(34) *PCT*, 120 ; *PCJ*, 79. This Āliga is certainly not the potter, for Merutuṅga informs us later that the potter Āliga received the Jaigir of Chitrakūṭa containing 700 villages after Kumārapāla had defeated Āṇaka, where his descendants came to be known as Sagaras. (*PCT*, 121 ; *PCJ*, 80. Tawney spells the name as Āliṅga, but the text has Āliga). Jayasīṃha Sūri mentions that Bhimasīṃha was made his body-guard, Devaśrī was given a village, Sajjana was given Chitor, Bosari was given Lāṭa, and the man who had given Kumārapāla gram was given Vāṭapadraka ; for the services rendered by Udayana his son Vāgbhaṭa was made minister. (KBCH, III, v. 475 & 519-527). Jina-maṇḍana (*Kumārapālāprabandha*, 35) practically repeats Jayasīṃha Sūri, but adds that Śrīdevī (i.e. Devaśrī) obtained Dholka. An insight into the minds of the Chroniclers is afforded by Sri S. Bannerjee (op. cit.) who writes : "Although Jina-maṇḍana is silent about Sajjana, I think he was appointed as Chamberlain of the Imperial Palace by the king". This guess has been made on the supposition that Kumārapāla had deputed Sajjana to take his family to Ujjain and there to remain in charge of it. "So it seems that to look after the household affairs of the king was his chief duty." Probably Jayasīṃha Sūri also believed passionately, that Kumārapāla must have compensated his benefactors. Jina-maṇḍana went a step further, and stated that Udayana was promoted to be the *Mahāmātya*.

Regarding Śrīdevī, it may be noted that Merutuṅga, who first started the story of the kind lady who gave the famished Kumārapāla food, did not mention her name. Jayasīṃha Sūri calls her Devaśrī, and Jina-maṇḍana, Śrīdevī. Merutuṅga does not mention the subsequent history of the kind lady. The version of Jayasīṃha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana has a strange resemblance to the story Merutuṅga relates of the first Chāpotkaṭa king, Vanarāja, who promised (under different circumstances) his benefactress and received 'bhagīni-tilaka' from a merchant's sister called Śrīdevī. (*PCT*, 17 ; *PCJ*, 12)

(35) Hemachandra calls Chāhaḍa, 'the lord of Kanthagrāma and Śivapura', and an expert in the management of elephants. (*DV*, XVI, v. 14). Most of the names of Kumārapāla's allies given here are fictitious.

(36) *Sapādulakṣha-bhūmīṣam Arṇorājān mad-oddhatam
vīgrahitumanāḥ senām asāvenām asajjayat.*
Prabhāvakacharita, XXII, v. 417.

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(37) In PCT (120), it is stated that the prince who joined Arjorāja was called Bāhaḍa, and that he was the son of the minister Udayana. Apparently Tawney's manuscripts were faulty. (See PCJ, 79, f.n. 6). It is, however, clear that the Prince Chāhaḍa or Bāhaḍa was not the son of the minister. According to Prabhāchandra, Chārubhaṭa that is Chāhaḍa, was the (adopted) son of Siddharāja : *tathā Chārubhaṭaḥ Śrīmān Siddharāṣya putrakāḥ Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 522. Jayasinhha Sūri calls Chāhaḍa the *dharmaputra* of Siddharāja. (See below r.n. 45).

(38) KBCH, IV, vv. 172-212 ; *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 39, *Prabandhakośa*, 52.

(39) The Sanskrit sentences within parenthesis are from the *Prabandhakośa*. (Erratum : p. 104, line 31, for *Muṇḍikān* read *Muṇḍikān*).

(40) DV, XIX, vv. 1-126. (41) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 423-4, 522.

(42) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 417-462. (43) PCT, 121 ; PCJ, 79. (44) Tawney calls the potter Ālinga, but in the text he is called Āliga.

(45) *Siddheśa-dharmaputro'tha bhaṭaś-Chāraubhaṭo bali Chauluky-ājñām-avajñāya bheje'rjorāja-bhūbhujam*
KBCH, III, v. 518.

(46) *kṛipāṇaś-ch-ākṛitajñāś-cha prāyaś-Chaulukya-nāyakaḥ viraktāḥ santi ten-āsmin sāmāntāḥ Kelhaṇādayaḥ*

KBCH, IV, v. 298. Jina-maṇḍana has quoted the last verse (III, v. 518) verbatim and has paraphrased this verse. *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 34, 41.

(47) KBCH, IV, vv. 213-421. *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 39-41. *Prabandhakośa*, 51-52.

(48) IA, LVI, (1927), 10. Noticed by Kilehorn, EI, IX, 149. (49) KBCH, IV, vv. 17-24. (50) *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 42.

(51) *sapt-ottare-Sūrya-śate Vikrama-samvatsarete-Ajayamerau darge Pallibhaṅge truṭitam pustakam-idam grahitadānu alikhya-svayam-atra gatam Śrīmaj-Jinadatta-Sūri-śiṣyālayaḥ Sthirachandrākhyo Gaṇir-īha karma-kshaya-hetum-atnanaḥ*

Catalogue of MSS. Jaisalmere Bhandar, p. 6, no. 46. *Pañchāśakavṛitti*, by Abhayadeva, colophon.

(52) H. B. Sarda : *Kumārāpāla and Arjorāja*, IA, XLI, (1912), 194. Other scholars who have supported this view are : G. S. Ojha : *Rajputana ka Itihas* (2nd Ed.) 195-96 ; Dasaratha Sarma : *Kumārāpāla Chaulukya's War With Arjorāja*, *Bharatiya Kaumudi*, II, 875 ff. ; R. B. Halder : Yaśodhavalā Paramāra and his inscription, IA, LVI, (1927), 11. Sri Sarma's article is very informative and he had access to some unpublished Chronicles, on the basis of one of which he states that Kumārāpāla had only one sister, hence the story of the Gujarat Chroniclers who assert the contrary must be wrong. Unfortunately Sri Sarma does not give the date of composition of the chronicle, hence it is not possible to come to any conclusion.

(53) DV, XVI, v. 14. (54) The elephant driver Śyāmala told Kumārāpāla : "When Śri Jayasinhadeva died, a pair of shoes reigned for thirty days. (Then) the kingdom was begged by Chāhaḍa the Prince of Mālava (*Mālaviya-rājaputrena Chāhaḍakumārena*) from the *Pradhānas*. But the *Pradhānas* did not give him (the kingdom) as he belonged to another dynasty. Thus angered, Chāhaḍa became the servant (*sevaka*) of Āṇaka (Arjorāja)." (*Prabandhakośa*, 52).

(55) *Prithvirājaviṣṇaya*, (Ojha and Gulari Ed.) VII, v. 11. (56) See above r.n. 52. Dasarathi Sarma op. cit., 879, r.n. 1. (57) Bijholi Rock Inscription of Chāhamāna Someśvara, v. 20, EI, XXVI, 84, 111. (58) *Ibid*, 95. (59) KBCH, IV, vv. 213-262, 435-453 *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 40 and 42 ; *Prabandhakośa*, 52. (60) See above, 70. (61) EI, XI, 304. (62) *Ibid*, 37. (63) *Ibid*, 34-42. (64) D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 70. DHNI, II, 1115. (65) EI, XI, 34. (66) *Ibid*, 70. (67) EI, IX, 63. (68) Nadlai Inscription, EI, XI, 47. (69) See above r.n. 46.

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(70) P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, pt. i, 251. An abridged translation is given in *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 312. Ed. by B. N. Reu, *Id*, LXI (1932) 135; D. B. Diskalkar, *PO*, I, no. 2, 51.

(71) *DV*, XIX, v. 13 Commentary. (72) *ibid*, v. 36, v. 50. (73) *ibid*, v. 39. (74) *ibid* v. 50.

(75) *kṛityau bibheda sāmantau nāmnā Vijaya-Kṛishṇakau*, *ibid*, v. 98. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains : *esha cha Ballālo nāmnā Vijaya-Kṛishṇakau te tava sāmantau bibheda*.

(76) Both Jayasinhha Sūri and Jina-maṇḍana state, that during the absence of Kumārapāla in Śākambhari, the king of Mālava attacked Gujarat and broke a temple. Kumārapāla in retaliation attacked Mālava and broke a machine for extracting oil (*tila-pidanayantra*) *KBCH*, IV, v. 431-434; *Kumārapālaprabandha*, 42. Probably the two Chroniclers wanted to emphasise the piety of Kumārapāla.

(77) *IA*, LVI, 10. (78) Quoted by Indrajī, *BG*, I, i, 183. (79) *Kumārapālaprabandha*, 35. (80) See note at the end of this chapter. (81) *DV* (Prakrit), VI, vv. 40-72. (82) *Kirtikaumudi*, II, vv. 47-9. (83) *SS*, I, v. 43.

(84) *kshatriyāḥ samara-keli-rahasyaṁ jānate na Vaṇijo bhrama eshaḥ*
Āmbaḍo Vaṇigapi pradhane kiṁ Mallikārjuna-nṛpaṁ na jaghāna
Vasantavilāsa, V, v. 43.

(85) *Prabhākacharita*, XXII, v. 726. (86) *PCT*, 122-3; *PCJ*, 80-1. (87) *KBCH*, IV, vv. 455-529. Jina-maṇḍana relates that in Satānandapura surrounded by water lived the king Mahānanda whose queen was named Madanadevī. Madanadevī saw her husband infatuated with other women, and in order to regain his love secured some charms, but reflecting that administration of such charms was unlawful, threw it into the sea, with the result that the sea god became enamoured of her and used to visit her at night. Then a son was born to Madanadevī named Mallikārjuna. (*Kumārapālaprabandha*, 37). (88) *Prithvirājavijaya*, VII, v. 15 (Ojha and Gulari Ed.). One MS. (*ibid*, f.n. 8) and the B.I. ed. has 'Kuñjarendra' instead of *Kuñkurendra*.

(89) *krodh-ākṛānta-pradhano-asudhā-nīschale yatra jātās-chyotan netr-otpala-jala-kanāḥ Koṅkaṇādhiśa-patnyah*. 36 *EI*, VIII, 211.

(90) These two inscriptions are : (1) The Chiplun Stone Inscription and (2) the Bassein Stone Inscription (*BG*, I, i, 186). In the *BG* the date of the Chiplun inscription is given as Śaka 1078 (A.D. 1156), but Dr. Altekar, who saw the inscription at Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, read the date as Pausa *radi* 14, Monday of the Śaka year 1079 (22nd December, 1157). Dr. Altekar stated that although the inscription was badly damaged he could read the name of Mallikārjuna's foreign minister ; it was Prabhākara Nāyaka. Dr. Altekar stated that he could not trace the Bassein inscription. (A. S. Altekar : *Silāhāras of Western India*, IC, II, 415). The Bassein inscription has been edited by H. D. Sankalia and S. C. Upadhyaya who found it lying at the Prince of Wales Museum at Bombay. (Six Silahara Inscriptions in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay *EI*, XXIII, 269-81). The *Sāndhivigrahaḥ* Prabhākara Nāyaka is also mentioned in the Bassein inscription, dated Śaka 1083 (A.D. 1162). For a discussion of this disputed date see *EI*, XXIII, 275, f.n. 1.

(91) Altekar *op. cit.* 415. Tagarapura has not yet been properly indentified. Fleet proposed its identification with Ter, 95 miles south east of Paithan *JRAS*, 1901, 537-52. See also *BG*, I, ii, 3, f.n. 6 ; 16 f.n. 4 ; B. C. Law : *Tribes in Ancient India*, 382 : Altekar *op. cit.* 395.

(92) The fate of Āmbaḍa, though not as tragic, reminds one of the sad end of Birbal the famous jester of Akbar. Birbal and the historian Abul Fazl were the only two persons holding distinguished position in Akbar's court who were without any military experience. At an advanced age both the courtiers felt the stigma of being civilians

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and begged the Emperor to grant them the favour of an active command. Akbar, the born soldier, not realising what he was doing, is said to have tossed a coin; Birbal's luck held out and the court jester was placed in command of an expedition against frontier tribes. To make matters worse Birbal was accompanied by another amateur general, Hakim Abul Fath, and both of them ignored the advice of the experienced soldier Zain Khan Kakaltash, whom Akbar had unfortunately placed under Birbal. The result was that the Mughal army was trapped and Birbal killed in action or captured. Zain Khan extricated the army with great difficulty, but Akbar, disconsolate over the loss of his favourite, refused for a long time to see the face of Zain Khan. (*Muntukhab ut-Twarikh*, II, 361; *Akbar Nama*, III, 719, 732). Abul Fazl's chance to command an army came later; he did much better than Birbal, but one day, disregarding the advice of his officers, started with an inadequate escort and was ambushed and killed. The attempt of Āmbāḍa to cross a flooded river with the enemy well posted on the other bank, is somewhat similar to the tactics adopted by Birbal who wanted to cross a difficult mountain pass during the night with the enemy well posted all around.

(93) *PCT*, 134 ; *PCJ*, 86. (94) *KBCH*, VIII, vv. 475-543. *Kumārāpālaprabandha*. 71. (95) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 441-444. (96) *BG*, I, i, 186.

(97) *yat khaḍga-hata-bhīti-kampa-taralair-Ābhira-viraiḥ sthitaḥ*.

Prachi inscription of Kumārāpāla, *PO*, I, no. 4, 38.

(98) *EI*, IX, 77, v. 32. (99) *PCT*, 146 ; *PCJ*, 93.

(100) *Kumārāpālaprabandha*, 99. Jina-maṇḍana alone mentions another incident in which we find that once news came that the Śaka king of Garjana (i.e. Muslim king of Ghazni) had prepared an attack on Gujarat. As a Jaina, Kumārāpāla could not fight, hence Hemachandra applied his magical powers and after a while there came a palanquin through the air in which lay sleeping the king of Ghazni. The Sultan was released only after he promised to maintain peaceful relations with Gujarat, and to protect in his kingdom all living beings during six months in the year. (*ibid*, 86). (101) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, 701-07.

(102) "If the story that Mallikārjuna was slain is true, the war must have taken place during the two years between A.D., 1160 and 1162 (Śaka 1082 to 1084) which later is the earliest known date of Mallikārjuna's successor, Aparāditya". (*BG*, I, i, 186). But in the 'History of Konkan' (*BG*, I, ii, 20 f.n. 2) the inscription of Aparāditya dated Śaka 1084 is not mentioned nor is any reference given in *BG*, I, i, 186. Dr. Altekar is of the opinion that Aparāditya began his reign in A.D., 1170. (103) *DV* (Prakrit), VI, vv. 72-96.

(104) *sa Kauberim-āturushva(kam)-aindrim-ātridaśāpagam
Yāmyām-āvindhyam-āvārdhi paśchimām sādhaishyati.
Mahāvīracharita*, XII, v. 52.

(105) The verse quoted by Jina-maṇḍana (*Kumārāpāla-prabandha*, 36) from Jayasīnha Sūri (*KBCH*, IV, v. 117) is the following :

*āgaṅgam-aindrim-āvindhyam yāmyām-āsindhu paśchimām
āturushkam cha Kauberim Chaulukyaḥ sādhaishyati.*

("Upto the Ganges in the east (river of gods in the region of Indra) Vindhya in the south (region of Yama) Sindhu in the west and upto the Turushka (land) on the north (region of Kubera) will the Chaulukya (king) conquer".) It is evident that Jayasīnha Sūri was using Hemachandra as his authority, for in the preceding verse (v. 116) he states :

Kumārāpāla-bhūhartuś-čaturdig-vijaye' pyadāḥ

proche pramāṇam Śrī-Vīracharitre Hema-Sūriṇā.

(106) *SKK*, v. 60. (107) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 426-477, 581-601 ; *PCT*,

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129-133 ; *PCJ*, 84-5. Prabhāchandra states that after the battle with Arjorāja was over, the king heard of Hemachandra from Vāgbhaṭa and begged him to bring Hemachandra to the palace. Hemachandra came and gradually converted the king. Merutuṅga states that Hemachandra met Kumārapāla when he went to the king to make a complain. Thereafter they met regularly and after Hemachandra showed him Śiva, the king became a Jaina.

(108) For *Mahāvīracharita* see above r.n. 29. *Kumārapālapratibodha*, pp. 6-115.

(109) *DV*, XX, vv. 90-97 ; Veraval Inscription of Bhāva Brīhaspati, also states that Kumārapāla rebuilt the temple at Somanātha. (*WZKM*, III, 1 ff.). Merutuṅga also corroborates this statement. *PCT*, 129 ; *PCJ*, 84. (110) *DHNI*, II, 997.

(111) For a discussion of this topic see the chapters on religion and society.

(112) *DV* (Prakrit), VI, v. 38. (113) *DV* (Prakrit), Cantos 1 & 2. (114) *Kumārapālapratibodha*, 423.

(115) *Kumārapālaprabandha*, 57.

(116) *pādāgnair-mahīpālāḥ paśubhiś-cha tṛṇānanaiḥ
yāḥ prārthita ivātyartham-ahiṃsā-vratam-agrahit
Kirtikaumudī*, II, v. 51.

(117) *KBCH*, X, vv. 107-267.

(118) *Kumārapālaprabandha*, 113-14 ; *Prabandhakośa*.

(119) *Kumārapālasya Chulukya-bhartur-aṅgāni Gaṅgā-salile nidhāya
Śrī-Sarvadevena Gayā-Prayāga-vīprāḥ pradānena kṛitāḥ kṛitārthāḥ*

Surathotsava, XV, v. 29.

A Note on Ballāla.

Regarding Ballāla, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi like all other chroniclers have assumed that Ballāla was a king of Mālava, for he assumes that Pārā was a river in Avanti. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's assertion is supported by the Veraval inscription where Ballāla is called the king of Dhārā. (Veraval ins. v. 10). As Bhāva Brīhaspati was for years a chaplain of the Paramāras of Mālava his testimony on this point would have been conclusive if he had called Ballāla a Paramāra. But as he does not do so, the question of Ballāla's identity remains open.

Ballāla's name has not so far been found in any Paramāra record and it may therefore be doubted whether he belonged to the Paramāra dynasty. It has been shown above, (p. 38) that writing of Vallabharāja's conquest, Hemachandra stated that Vallabha reached the confluence of the Pārā and Sindhu rivers, from which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi concluded that Vallabha had attacked Mālava. In the present instance also Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's identification of Ballāla as the king of Mālava rests on Hemachandra's calling that king 'the king of east on the shores of Pārā.' (*DV*, XVI v. 8) on which Abhayatilaka comments that Pārā was in Avantideśa i.e. Mālava. Commenting on another verse Abhayatilaka Gaṇi calls Ballāla 'Avantipati' (*DV*, XIX, v. 13) and adds that just as after the defeat of Yaśovarman by Siddheśa Jayasinha, his orders were followed in the eastern countries, so Kumārapāla should defeat Ballāla, the king of Avanti, so that his orders may be similarly followed. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi is justified in his conclusions to the extent that Hemachandra has called the troops of Ballāla 'the Mālava troops.' However neither Hemachandra calls Ballāla the king of Avanti nor does Brīhaspati calls him a Paramāra, indeed even Abhayatilaka Gaṇi does not call Ballāla a Paramāra. It may be that for the period of which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi had knowledge, the river Pārā was inside the Mālava territory, and he might have concluded from other sources such as the Veraval inscription that Ballāla was the king of Dhārā, hence

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of the whole of Mālava. Hence it is necessary to point out that the river Pārā was not always included within the dominions of the Paramāras of Mālava. From a verse in Bhoja's *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* (above, Ch. IV, ref. no. 22) it follows that the place was under some Nāga king (*Phaṇipaticanam*) at one time, and this is proved by the numerous Nāga coins that have been found in the place (PRAS. WC., 1915, 68) Excavations carried out at Pawaya which stands at the apex between the two rivers Sindh (Sindhu) and Parvati (Pārā) has revealed the existence of a very old city which has been identified with Padmāvati of the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*. (M. B. Gadre : The site of Padmāvati, ASI, 1915-16, p. 102) It is not known when the city was destroyed or whether the Nāgas lived there during the reign of the Paramāra Bhoja, but according to an old tradition preserved by the villages at Pawaya, it was once ruled by a house of powerful princes who were next succeeded by the Paramāras. A different legend, it would seem, assigns the building of the fort at Pawaya to a Paramāra prince Punnapāla. According to a late chronicle Kumārapāla married a princess Padmāvati of Padmapura. (BG, I. pt. i, 188). If this Padmapura is taken to be a mistake for Padmāvati of the *Mālatīmādhava*, then we may take that Kumārapāla actually defeated a prince of that place, who might have been Ballāla for no other king defeated by Kumārapāla is known to have lived there.

Dr. D. C. Ganguly has suggested that as the name Ballāla was very common among the Hoysalas of Mysore, this Ballāla might have been a scion of the Hoysala dynasty who gained his fortune when Jayavarman was overthrown by the combined forces of the Hoysalas and the Chālukyas. (*Paramāras*, 173). It seems however more probable that between the death of Siddharāja (c. V.S. 1200), and the reconquest of Mālava by Kumārapāla (c. V.S. 1208) Ballāla who might have been a local prince or former feudatory of the Paramāras in Mālava took the opportunity to seize the throne. From the way in which Hemachandra puts it, there is some ground for supposing that the original seat of his power was near the river Pārā, though at the time he was attacked by Kumārapāla, Ballāla was in occupation of Dhārā.

CHAPTER VIII

Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II

(1) In the *Dvyāśraya*, Abhayatilaka Gaṇi mentions the name of Ajayapāla while commenting on the following verse :

*supreyasī karuṇayā bahu-Vishṇumitra-
grāme'py-abhūt sasuta eva jano nripe'smin
su-bhrāṭri-putra-sahite kshata-nāḍi-kṛitta-
tantri-galāja-balim āpa na devat-āpi.* (DV, XX, v. 27)

"Out of compassion, people living with loving wives and children even in the village Vishṇumitra (so named because many people with the name of Vishṇumitra lived there), during the reign of this king (*Kumārapāla*) who was accompanied by one (*Mahipāla*) who had with him a son (*Ajayapāla*) (and) who (*Mahipāla*) had a good brother (*Kumārapāla*) ; (the villagers above mentioned) did not get meat of slain goats for even gods were not offered any sacrifice (i.e. any meat)". Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's commentary on *su-bhrāṭri-putra* is as follows : *śobhano bhrātā Kumārapālo yasya sa subhrātā Mahipāladevas-tasya putro'jayadevas-tena sahite.*

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For the grammatical importance of this verse see the chapter on 'Gujarat Chronicles'.

(2) J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, 155. (3) PCT, 151 ; PCJ, 96.

(4) *nicedy-āitam puras-tasya tad-dinād-Ajayaḥ kudhiḥ*
Sreṇike Konika ira deveshaṁ nihitavān ṇṇiṇe
KBCH, X, v. 122.

(5) *Rāhau grihit-oshṇa-kare Kumāraḥ Kumārapālasya sutena rājñā*
kṛit-oparodho'pi paraṁ purodhāḥ pratyagrahit tasya na ratna rāsim
Surathotsava, XV, v. 31.

(6) See Brahmanwada Plate of Mūlarāja II (*Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, I, 71) and the Kadi plates of Bhīma II (IA, VI, 193 ff.) and the Kadi plate of Tribhuvanapāla. In the Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Bhīma II (IA, XVIII, 110), Fleet read the epithet as *karādikṛita-Sapādalaksha-Lakshmapāla* and translated it as 'levied tribute from Lakshmapāla, the king of Sapādalaksha'. Though we have not been able to see a facsimile of the above plate, it seems that either the reading was wrong, or there was a spelling mistake. No ruler called Lakshmapāla ever sat on the throne of Sapādalaksha. See also below reference no. 27.

(7) SS, II, v. 44-5. (8) KK, II, v. 53. (9) VV, III, v. 32. (10) EI, VIII, 216, v. 38. (11) *Surathotsava*, XV, v. 32. (12) SKK, vv. 68-9. (13) Kumbhālgadh Inscription, vv. 150-51, EI, XXIV, 325. (14) PCT, 151-52 ; PCJ, 96-97. There is a significant line in the lamentation of Kapardin :—

I have played with kings rooted up and planted in, as if with chessman
I have done my duty ; if fate also appears as a petitioner,

for him I am ready. (PCT, 152)

But Merutuṅga has quoted many verses from other works to suit his stories. Hence it is not possible to attach any importance to this one without some corroborative evidence, particularly as Merutuṅga, on whom this line could not have been lost, does nowhere state the part played by Kapardin as a king-maker.

(15) Śrīdhara's *Devapattana-praśasti*, v. 21, EI, II, 442. (16) *Surathotsava*, XV, v. 30. (17) *Kumārapālapratibodhā*, Introduction, p. vii. (18) *Ajayadeva-chakravarti-charana-rājya-rājahansa*, *Moharājaparājaya*, 3.

(19) SKK, II, v. 45 ; VV, III, v. 31. *Sukṛitakīrtikallolīnī*, v. 67. (20) VTP, v. 27.

(21) *Kumārapāla-kṣhmāpāl-Ajayapāla-mahibhujau*
yaḥ sabhā-bhūṣaṇam chitraṁ jainam matam arochayat.

Māṇikyachandra : *Pārśvanāthacharitra*, v. 24

Peterson MSS. 1887, p. 161. For the date of Māṇikyachandra

See Peterson MSS. 1836-92, XCI.

(22) Even Merutuṅga did not believe that Ajayapāla murdered Kumārapāla ; for, otherwise he certainly would have recorded it. He was the first author to record the story that Ajayapāla was anti-Jaina, and Jayasīṃha Sūri completed the picture of villainy by asserting that Ajayapāla murdered Kumārapāla.

(23) PCT, 154 ; PCJ, 97. Tawney has translated *Pratihāra* as 'doorkeeper' ; but it seems better to leave the word untranslated. '*Pratihāra*' may here refer to a clan, or an officer of the government whose status may not correspond to the etymological meaning of the word.

(24) A colophon of a MS. of *Narapatiyajacharyā* states that it was copied on Tuesday, 1st of the bright half of Chaitra, V.S. 1232 when Ajayapāla was on the throne. The Brahmanwada plate of Ajayapāla's son and successor Mūlarāja II is dated Monday, 11th day of the bright half of Chaitra, V.S. 1232.

(25) BG, I, i, 195 ; *ibid*, ii, 548, 565, 567 ; Moraes : *Kadamba-Kula*, 198 ff.

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(26) EI, XVI, 273. (27) The first epithet is mentioned in the Kadi plates nos. 3, 6, 7, (all of Bhīma II), 4 (of usurper Jayantasinha), and 10 (of Tribhuvana-pāla). The second epithet is mentioned in the Kadi plates nos. 5, 8 and 9 all of Bhīma II. (IA, VI, 192 ff.) In the Royal Asiatic Society Grant of Bhīma (IA, XVIII, 110) Fleet read Nāgārjuna in the place where Garjanaka is inscribed in other records; Fleet was absolutely sure that his reading was correct and was of the opinion that Mūlarāja defeated Nāgārjuna. But the Royal Asiatic Society Plate of Bhīma besides being the only plate which uses the word Nāgārjuna instead of the regular Garjanaka, contains other orthographical errors some of which were noticed by Fleet himself. For instance, Bhīma II, the reigning monarch is referred to as *colo*, which Fleet corrected to *bāla*. Fleet is undoubtedly right; Bhīma II in later times came to be known popularly as *colo* which means a 'fool'. The last place where one would expect to find this disparaging sobriquet would be the royal charter; obviously the mistake was committed by the engraver. Another obvious misstatement found in this plate is that Ajayapāla defeated Lakshmapāla king of Sapādalaksha; this has been discussed above (reference no. 6). Hence no importance can be attached to the mention of Nāgārjuna in the Royal Asiatic Society plate.

(28) KK, II, vv. 47-8.

(29) *Śrī-Mūlarāja śiṣun-āpi yena Mlechchh-ādhipo'kalpata pāmśu-kalpah
bāle'pi tasmin kutukādīvaṅka nite kṛitāntena tadīya-bandhuḥ*
VV, III, v. 34.

(30) *yasmāi daṇḍam-akhaṇḍa-harshakṛitaye Hammīra-bhūmiruha-
prasveda-prabhavaṁ samarpitavatī māteva kantuhalāt
santāpam yat pratāpasya Turushkair-asahishnubhiḥ
āpāda-mastavaṁ chakre dhruvaṁ vāso'vaguṇṭhanam*
SKK, vv. 70-71.

(31) SS, II, v. 46, Bh. Ins. 210, v. 29. (32) PCT, 154; PCJ, 97. (33) *Rās
Malā*, I, 199; IA, VI, 187; BG, I, i, f.n. 4; Hodivala: *Studies In Indo-Muslim
History*, 202; Habibullah: *Foundation Of Muslim Rule In India*, 53. (34) Kiradu
Stone Inscription of Bhīma II, EI, XI, 72; PO, I, 41. (35) DHNI, II, 1004-05.
(36) IA, VI, 186.

(37) *Prithvirājaviṃaya*, (Ojha and Gulari Ed.) X, v. 40. In this verse is related the occupation of Ghazni by the Ghoris who are called *Gauris*. The story told here is that Prithvirāja hearing some atrocious conduct of the Ghoris became very angry and promised to extirpate them. While he was in this frame of mind a messenger from Gujarat came and told him about the defeat of the Ghoris at the hand of the king of Gujarat. Prithvirāja became exceedingly happy on hearing the news. *ibid*, XI, v. 9.

(38) TN, I, 114.

(39) "Vers 1150 un clan d'Afghans Souiri se révolta contre les sultans ghaznévides..." Rene Grousset: *L'Empire Des Steppes* (1948) 223. But according to Wolseley Haig, "they (the Ghoris) have usually been described on insufficient grounds, as Afghans, but there is little doubt that they were, like the Samanids of Balkh, eastern Persians". (*CHI*, III, 38). As eastern Persians at this period hardly signified any ethnic group or race, I have followed Grousset.

(40) Gornal pass was at this time the normal route from Ghazni to India, (Habibullah, *op. cit.* 5) but Mu'izz ud-Dīn had to leave this route and direct his attention to the capture of Peshwar in A.D. 1179 and Sialkot in 1185.

(41) TN, I, 451-2. (42) *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Tr.) I, 36.

(43) *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, (Tr.) I, 66. Apparently the later Muslim historians found their authorities for this period somewhat confusing. For, about twenty lines

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further down from where we have quoted, Badauni notes a disagreement amongst two authorities regarding the date of the building of Sialkot by Mu'izz ud-Din and the exasperated historian writes: "God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies".

(44) *Ferishta* (Briggs), I, 170. Muslim historians sometimes had to accept statements of their predecessors without being able to verify such statements. In the present instance, Badauni, Nizam ud-Din and *Ferishta* being almost contemporaries, their statements are not corroborative; it shows that they were utilising the same source.

(45) *Prithvirājarījaya*, X, v. 50. (46) Sundha Hill Inscription, vv. 34-6; *EI*, IX, 72. (47) *Surathotsava*, XV, vv. 36-38.

R. G. Bhandarkar, who first discovered the manuscript of *Surathotsava* printed the last canto (XV) (*Bhandarkar MSS.* 1883-84, p. 340) where, in the above verse, instead of Vindhya-varman he read *viddha-charmaṇi*. By substituting Bhandarkar's reading the verse would mean that the king of Dhārā, though he was swelled with pride which had (hitherto) never been fruitless, had to leave the battle field because (some weapon had) pierced his skin. This rendering seems to be better so far as the meaning of the verse is concerned, otherwise there would be no ostensible reason for the king of Dhārā's leaving the battle field.

(48) *Surathotsava*, XV, v. 33. (49) *drutam unmūlite tatra dhātrā kalpadrum-āṅkure*. *KK*, II, v. 59.

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Bhīma II and Tribhuvanapāla

(1) Ahada Grant of V.S., 1262, AIOC, VII, 643. (2) Colophon of a MS. dated V.S. 1247 written at Broach mentions Bhīma as the reigning monarch. Peterson MSS., 1887, 51. (3) Virapura Copper Plate, ASI, 1929-30, 187; Diwara Image Inscription, PRAS, WC, 1915, 35, no. 5.

(4) How long Taila III reigned is a matter of some controversy. Bijjala as king is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1157, and Taila is mentioned in some later inscriptions but not later than A.D. 1161. (*EC*, VII, Sk. 162; *EC*, VIII, Sb. 131).

(5) Sewell and Iyengar: *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*; K. A. N. Shastri: *A History of South India*, 190.

(6) *KK*, II, v. 61; *VV*, III, v. 37. (7) *KK*, II, vv. 63-66; *VV*, III, vv. 38-40. (8) *EC*, V, Hn. 19; *EC*, VI, Kd. 4, 136; *Ak*, 71. (9) *EC*, V, *Ak*. 62. (10) *Mysore Inscriptions*, 104. (11) *EC*, VI, Kd. 156. (12) See above reference no. 2. (13) *EI*, XV, 37-39. (14) Ganguly: *Paramāras*. (15) *Rās-Mālā*, I, 201-21. (16) D. Sharma: *The Age and Historicity of Prithvirāja Rāso*, *IHQ*, XVI, 738-49. (17) *Vyāoga Pārthaparākrama*, 3.

(18) D. Sharma: *Gleanings from the Kharataragachchha-pattāvali*, *IHQ*, XXVI, 226. Errata: Page 141, line 14, for *Kaharatara-gachchha* read *Kharataragachchha*; line 26, for *Danḍanāyaka* read *Danḍanāyaka*.

(19) E & D, II, 217-8; *Ferishta* (Briggs), I, 191-2. (20) *ibid*, 194. There the name is given as 'Jeewun Rae', but in the lithograph text the name is written as 'Jatwan', which has been used throughout the present work.

(21) Not Mehrs. Here Briggs' translation has: "The Raja of Nagore and many other Hindu Rajas"; this is not found in the text.

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- (22) "After having been frequently dismounted in action, and having received six wounds, he still fought with his wonted courage, till being forced at length by his attendants off the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmere." (*Ferishta*, Briggs, I, 196). Raverty's corrected translation of this passage is as follows : "But his horse, having received a wound, came to the ground. The army of Islam became heart broken, and they, having by main force, placed him on another horse, took him to Ajmir." (TN, Tr. by Raverty, 521 f.n.).
- (23) "The battle is said to have taken place on Sunday, the 13th of *Rab'iu-l-awwal*, 593 A.H. The Julian equivalent of 13th Rab'i I. *Hisabi*, 3rd February 1197, was a Monday. The date given may have been the 18th according to the Hilali', the 'Ruyyat' or orthodox system, as it was a Sunday." A. H. Hodivala : *Studies In Indo-Muslim History*, 183.
- (24) "About fifty thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen on the field besides twenty thousand who were taken prisoners." *Ferishta* (Briggs), I, 197.
- (25) "*tataḥ Ajayamerau vihāraḥ ; tatra cha Mlechchh-opadrave mahā-kashṭam sthitaḥ*". IHQ, XI, 780, f.n. 10.
- (26) IHQ, XI, 780 ; IHQ, XXVI, 227. (27) E & D, II, 217 f.n. (28) CHI, III, 41. (29) Hodivala, op. cit., 179 ; A. B. M. Habibullah : *The Foundations of the Muslim Rule in India*, 60. (30) IHQ, XXVI, 225.
- (31) The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, which devotes only about two sentences to Qutb ud-Din's conquest of Gujarat, mentions only the invasion of A.H. 593. Similarly, the *Tarikh-i-Fakhra ud-din Mubarakshah*, states that Nahrwala was conquered in A.H. 593.
- (32) Hodivala op. cit., 182 ; D. F. Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 72. It is clear that Bhandarkar means that Kirtipāla took part in the battle against Mu'izz ud-Din in A.D. 1178.
- (33) Dabhoi-*Prasasti*, vv. 15-17, EI, I, 22. (34) Peterson Mss., 1887, N. 220, p. 37-45.
- (35) In the *Surathotsava*, Someśvara says that his father Kumāra defeated Vindhya-varman, the lord of Dhārā (*Surathotsava*, XV, v. 36 p. 103). But as Gogasthāna is explicitly mentioned as the place where Vindhya-varman's palace once stood, it appears that he occupied Dhārā at a later date, and Someśvara in referring to him as *Dhārādhiśa* was either anticipating events, or was using a term, which, at the time he wrote, was practically interchangeable for the Paramāras of Mālava, as it had been previously.
- (36) EI, IX, 108. (37) JASB, V, 378, vv. 12-13 ; JAOS, VII, 26, vv. 12-13.
- (38) *Sagara Dharmāmṛita* of Āśādhara, 1. First noticed by Peterson, Peterson MSS. 1884, p. 85, f.n.
- (39) EI, IX, 108, v. 12. (40) See above reference no. 34. (41) PCT, 154 ; PCJ, 97-8.
- (42) *Sri-Vaidyanātha-sadanāt-kila Mālaveśo Darbhāvati-bhuvi jahāra suvarṇa-kumbhān Sri-keli-veśma-sachivaś tu sa bhūmipālas-tasmin dadhau dinapati-pratim-ātviśastān*. SS, IX, v. 33.
- (43) *Sri-Vaidyanātha-vara-veśmani Darbhavatyaṁ yān durmado Subhata-varma-nṛipo jahāra tān, viṁśatim dyutimatā-tapaniya-kumbhān āropayat pramudito hṛidi Vastupālaḥ*. Narendraprabha's *Prasasti*, v. 48. *Sri-Mālavendra-Subhaleṇa suvarṇakumbhān uttārītān punar-āpi kshiti-pāla-mantri Sri-Vaidyanātha-sura-sadmani Darbhavatyaṁ ekona-viṁśatim api prasabhaṁ vyadhatta*. SKK, v. 175.

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(44) Śrīdhara's *Devapattana-praśasti*, v. 42, (45) KK, II, v. 74. (46) Dabhoi-*praśasti*, v. 18, EI, I, 27.

(47) *ekatas-tridaśa-murttibhīr-Arjorājā-sūnubhīr-upetyā vāgnaiḥ
Mālava-kṣitidharaṁ bāṭa madhye-kṛitya kṛitya-viduṣā 'nyata eva
Śrībhāṭena balin-aikātamen-olloḍitāḍ yad iha vīgraha-vardhaiḥ
kālakūṭaṁ udagād Yadu-sānyāṁ tan-nyavaratayad ayaṁ nanu bhīmaḥ*
VV, Canto V, vv. 29-30.

(48) PCT ; 154 ; PCJ, 97 (49) EI, VIII, 99 ff. ; JAOS, VII, 39 ff. (50) JASB, V, 377-82.

(51) JAOS, VII, 32-4. It is remarkable that all the discovered grants of Arjunavarman record gifts to the priest, Govinda, on the occasions of religious festivals. The Bhopal grant, which records the grant at Bhṛīgukachchha, opens with another grant at Ujjain, presumably made on another occasion. It may not be therefore too much to assume that the grant at Bhṛīgukachchha was the prior grant which was being recorded for the first time along with another grant after Arjunavarman had returned to Mālava.

(52) Peterson MSS., 1887, 51 ; *ibid.* no. 249, 74-77. ((53) *Cat. of MSS. in Sanghvi Bhandar* : MSS. No. 84. (54) HMM, Act, I, p. 4. (55) *ibid.* 4. (56) VV, Canto V, vv. 29-30. See above reference no. 47.

(57) HMM, Act II, p. 21, v. 31. As will be shown later, Śaṅkha defeated the Yādavas twice. The defeat of Jaitugi in VV (reference no. 56 above) and Siṁhana in HMM.

(58) KK, IV, vv. 42-66 ; Bālachandra (VV, Canto V, v. 15) states that Viradhavala went north to put down the rebellions of the kings of Marwad, who were fighting king Lūṇasāka. This Lūṇasāka is undoubtedly Lavaṇaprasāda. Jayasīṁha (HMM, Act I, p. 5) states that Śaṅkha acted as the general (*senāpati*) of Siṁhana.

(59) *Lekhapaddhati*, 52. (60) KK, IV, vv. 69-91 and Canto V which is called *Yuddhavarṇanam* ; VV, Canto V, vv. 16-111.

(61) Śaṅkha attacked Gujarat in alliance with Siṁhana twice ; for, Viradhavala first says : "Yatas-tadā mayi Maru-narendra-nīgraha-vīgraha-vyagre tat pitṛi-vairamanusmaratāḥ smar-āri-pauruṣasya Sindhurājā anujanmano Lātadeś-ādhipa-Siṁha-bhrātṛīrvyasya samāriṣṭa-Siṁhana-senāpatitāḥ Saṅgrāmasiṁhasya mat-pārshṇi-grāha-sāhasika-manaso'nudhāvataḥ krudhāvata tena yuddha-sannaddhena skhalitam-archyata sachiva-Chāṇakyaena". (HMM, Act I, p. 5) Viradhavala then continues ; "Adhunā tu sachiva-pati-rachita-parābhva-prajvalita-pūrva-virodhena Saindhurājāṇā janit-otsāho'smān-prati prayāṇakāya praguṇita bhūva bal-āmbuddhi-magn-āneka-bhū-bhṛīd-ābhogoḥ Sri-Siṁhana-bhūpatiḥ". (*ibid.* p. 6). The Dabhoi-*praśasti* composed by Someśvara also contains reference to two attacks by the Yādavas and Paramāras defeated by Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala. (EI, I, 23-4). But the portion containing these verses is badly damaged.

(62) HMM, Act, I, p. 6. According to the Dabhoi-*praśasti*, the Yādavas and the Mālavas were in alliance, but it is not clear which attack is being referred to.

(63) HMM, Act, II, 23-4. (64) *ibid.*, Act, II, p. 11. (65) *ibid.*, Acts II-V. (66) Viradhavala, HMM, Act, V, p. 48. (67) EI, V, 28-31. (68) See above reference no. 47. (69) ASWI, III, 85. (70) DHNI, II, 1023-25 ; 1031-32. (71) Dabhoi-*praśasti*. (72) BG, I, ii, 242, 525.

(73) HMM, Act, II, p. 15. This probably shows that at this period the river Tapti formed the boundary between Gujarat and Mālava.

(74) *Cat. of MSS. Sanghvi Bhandar*, MSS. no. 84. (75) KK, IV, vv. 42-53.

(76) *atha Godruha-Lāṭa-deśa-nāthau Maru-nāthair-nibhṛitāṁ nibaddha-sandhi.* KK, IV, v. 57.

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- (77) BG, I, ii, 241.
- (78) The treaty runs as follows : *Samvat 1288 varsho Vaisākha Sudi 15. Some'dyeha Śrīmad-vijaya-kaṭake Mahārājādhirāja-Śrīmat-Simhaṇa-devasya Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇaka-Śrī-Lāvaṇyaprasādasya cha. Samrāja-(Sāmrajya or Samrāt, Bhandarkar) kula-Śrī-Śrīmat-Simhaṇadevena Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇa-Śrī-Lāvaṇyaprasādēna pūrvārūḍhyā "tmīyātmiya deśeshu rahanīyam. Kenāpi-kasyāpi bhūmī n-ākramanīyā. Ubhayor-madhyād yah ko'pi bālīshṭha-śatruṇā-grīhyate tadā tasya śatoro upary-ubhābhyām api kaṭakam kartavyam. Atha cha śatru-daṇḍādhipo grīhātī tadā dalena samvāhanā kārya. Yady-ubhayor api deśayor-madyhāt ko'pi rājaputraḥ kim api rināśy-āparadeśe praviśati tadā svadeśe ken āpi sthānam na dātavyam. Anyatra cinash-tam samār-opanīyam....Likhita-vidheḥ pālanāya vyabhichāra-rakshanāya datta-prati-bhūḥ datt-āntaram deva-Śrī-Vaidyanātha-patram utpālita. (Lekhapaddhati, 52).*
- (79) See below p. 346. Probably Simhana was also forced to come to an understanding with Lavanaprasāda, because he was faced with a Kākatiya invasion. It is known that Simhana suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati-deva, though the exact date of the defeat is not known. EI, IX, 165 ; M. Rama Rao ' The Kākatiyas and the Yādavas, AIOC, X, 423-23.
- (80) See above reference no. 61. (81) See above reference no. 73.
- (82) *khyātah Saṅgrāmasimho vā Saṅkha vā Sindhurājabhūḥ*. SKK, v. 139.
- (83) VV, Canto V, vv. 25 and 39. (84) KK, IV, vv. 75 and 87. (85) EI XII, 197. (86) HMM, Act, II, p. 11.
- (87) The forged letter begins thus : *Seasti Śrī-Mahārāja-Devapāladevaḥ Saṅgrāma-simha Maṇḍaleśvaram samādiśati*. (HMM, Act, II, p. 17).
- (88) VV, Canto, V, v. 16 (KK, IV, v. 57).
- (89) S. R. Bhandarkar : *Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, II, Report, 22. (90) HMM, Act I, p. 6.
- (91) Virādhavala :
"Dūr-ākriṣṭa-prakriṣṭ-ottorala-Yadu-mahipāla senā-bhayārta-trasta-Śrī-Mālar-orci-dhavalā-śīthilā-suhrich-chakra-sāhāyya-śaktiḥ Śrī-Simho'nena ninye mayi kṛitaka ripur-Lāladeś-ādhināthah prajānā-samprīkta-tejas-trina-gaṇita-jagach-chakravalo'pi maitrim HMM, Act I, p. 4.
- (92) HMM, pp. 5 and 17. (93) HMM, Act, II, p. 21. (94) KK, IV, v. 69 ; VV, Canto V, v. 41. (95) See above reference no. 61. (96) PCT, 162 ; PCJ, 102.
- (97) The Muslim merchant is only mentioned by Merutuṅga. For Saṅkha's defeat at the hands of Vastupāla see KK, IV, vv. 73-88 and Canto V. VV Canto V, vv. 47-111.
- (98) The dissolution of an unstable alliance through the instrumentality of a forged letter of this nature as shown in HMM, may not be as preposterous as it seems. Aurangzeb played the same trick with success, when his son Akbar joined the Rajputs against him. J. N. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 363-64.
- (99) HMM, Act II, 24. Vastupāla remained in Cambay at least upto V.S. 1289. when he received Jineśvara Sūri there. IHQ, XI, 780.
- (100) *"Samvat 1293 varsho Āsrina sudi 10 Ravau Bhṛigukachchhe Mahārāṇaka-Śrī-Viśaladeva....."* (Cat. of MSS. Sanghvi Bhandar, MSS. no 84).
- (101) HMM, II, p. 11. (102) SKK, v. 75. (103) ASI, 1906-07, 185. (104) EI, IX, 78, v. 46. (105) *Medāpaṭa-prithvi-vilātā-maṇḍalam Jayatām* (HMM, III, 27).
- (106) Eklingji Stone Ins., *Bh. Ins.*, 96 f.n. ; HR, II, 471, f.n. 11. (107) EI, XXIV, 312.
- (108) Peterson MSS., 1887, 52 ; HR, II, 471, f.n. 2. (109) DHNT, II, 1020, f.n. 3.
- (110) SKK, v. 149. (111) RLARBP, 250 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 731.
- (112) *"Itaś-cha Mahitāṭākhyā-deśe Godhura nāmā nagaram.....tatra Ghughulo*

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nāmā Maṇḍalikāḥ." (*Prabandhakośa*, 107). It is then related that Ghughula siezed the goods of the merchants who came to trade with Gujarat. Remonstrances by Vastupāla and Tejahpāla resulted in Ghughula sending a box of collyrium and a pair of women's clothes to Viradhavala. Tejahpāla offered to avenge this insult. In the battle that followed, Ghughula was taken prisoner after a duel with Tejahpāla. Ghughula was then sent to Viradhavala, who had him paraded through the streets dressed in women's dress with the box of collyrium tied round his neck. Unable to bear this insult, Ghughula committed suicide by biting off his tongue.

(113) Kamalaka : "Hā tāya, hā taṇaya, hā piya, ha mahacāchhi
hā bhāya, hā bhagiṇī, hā bhāḍa, hā suṇāha
eram janāṇa vihurāṇa parapparammi
kolāhalchi phudiyam hiyayam na kasya

Viradhavala : "(sa-bāshpa-kaṇṭha-gadagadekshvaram);"

"Tatatah." (HMM, Act III, 30).

(114) Sighraka : "*Sayala-Milichchha-jādi-narinda-nādhasya Bagdādi-visaya rasuhāhi-rassa Khalipa-namadheyasya*..... (HMM, Act IV, p. 34). This shows that Jayasimha Sūri did not have the least idea about his contemporary Islamic world, when the Caliph's power was limited within a very narrow sphere. Probably Jayasimha derived his knowledge about the Caliph from the Muslim merchants at Cambay, who naturally read their *kutba* in the name of the Caliph, and thus gave the Sūri an exaggerated notion of the Caliph's importance in the temporal sphere.

(115) *Gulavāla-Pulāpasīha-pabhidi-Gujala-maṇḍaleśala-samuhe.* HMM, Act IV, 35.

(116) HMM, Act IV, 38. (117) HMM, Act V, 55. (118) PCT, 164; PCJ, 103,

(119) *kechid-anantaram angulīm griṇhanti; apare tu tobām kurvanti, tathāpi na chhuṇṭanti.* (*Prabandhakośa*, 117).

(120) This story of Rājasekhara is extremely doubtful as will be shown later. We give here an example which will show Rājasekhara's propensity to glorify Vastupāla at the cost of truth. Merutuṅga, after describing the people's sorrow at the death of Vastupāla, epitomises the people's feeling in a verse which begins : *āyānti yānti cha pare ṛitavaḥ krameṇaḥ* (PCJ, 104, v. 132) Rājasekhara appropriated this verse from the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, and stated that Vastupāla composed the verse after the death of Viradhavala.

(121) The utter unreliability of Rājasekhara's stories is shown by the one which precedes the present one, where we are told that a certain Sādhu Punaḍa, son of Sādhu Dehala was friend of the queen of Sultan Mojadina. (*Sā. Punaḍaḥ Sri-Mojadina-Suratṛāṇa-patnī-bibi-pratipanna-bāndhavo*). One MS., which seems to have been copied by a very enterprising man, gives the name of the queen of Mojadina as 'Bibi Premakamālā' ! (*Prabandhakośa* 118-20). (122) *Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. 126.

(123) *Chaulukya-nṛipa-chakreṇa Mudgalān sa nirargalān
vijitya jagati scāsthyam vyatonodvyakta-vikramāḥ
Jagaducharita*, VI, v. 66. (*Sitzungsberichte*, Bd. 126).

(124) E & D, II, 162. Al-'awfi the historian in his work states : "Muhammad Awfi, the compiler of this work had once been in Cambay," where he acted as Kadi or judge. (E & D, II, 162). As Dr. M. Nizamuddin cites no evidence I suppose that he concludes from this statement of 'Awfi that," he ('Awfi) was sent as Chief Judge at the behest of Qabacha to the recently acquired country of Gujarat of Nahrwala, as it was then called.....We gather that he was a judge of the place (Kambayat) in the province of Nahrwala.....then a dependency of Malik Nasir ud-Din Qabacha." (Nizamuddin : *Jawami 'au-l-Hikayat*, 14; Gibb Memorial Series, VIII.) Qabacha was a son-in-law of Qutb ud-Din, after whose death, Qabacha occupied Multan and Lahore. But he was a weak man. He was dispossessed of Lahore by Taj ud-Din Yalduz.

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After Chenghiz Khan had driven 'Ala ud-Din Muhammad Khwarizm Shah from his kingdom, the latter's son Jalal ud-Din Mangbarani came to India as a fugitive, and denied asylum by Iltutmish, fell upon Qabacha and extorted a large sum of money from him. Later Qabacha was defeated by Iltutmish and died, or according to some Muslim historians, committed suicide. It is hardly likely that a man with Qabacha's record would have the temerity to attempt successfully, what Mu'izz ud-Din and Quthb ud-Din, two of the best generals of their time, had failed to accomplish. Hence we accept the following suggestion of Hodivala, who also rejected Nizamuddin's unsupported assertion about Qabacha : "'Awfi was sent as a judge only to decide cases amongst Mussalmans who had resorted for commerce and trade to the country, which was still held firmly in the grasp of its Hindu kings. His functions were like those of Consuls of our times.....The *Kitab-ul-Ajaib al Hind* informs us that if the thief is a Mussalman, he is judged by the Behernan of the Mussulmans, who pronounces sentences according to the laws of Islam. The Behernan takes the place of a Kadi in a Mussulman country. He can only be chosen from those who have made a profession of Islam. (*Book of the Marvels of India*, 40)". Hodivala op. cit., 172-73.

(125) Rājasekhara relates a few incidents of Bhīma's reign which are not mentioned by any other Chronicler. One of these, namely Tejahpāla's fight with Ghughula has been mentioned above. (fn. 112) According to the same Chronicler, Viradhavala had to fight with his wife's brothers, Saṅgama and Chāmaṇḍa of Vāmanasthali. As the effort at mediation of Viradhavala's wife, Jayataladevi, proved fruitless, there was a fight in which Viradhavala killed both the brothers. (*Prabandhakośa*, 106-07. For a possible identification of Saṅgama, see Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 76). Rājasekhara also describes another fight of Viradhavala, this time with king Bhimasimha of Bhadrēśvara. (*Prabandhakośa*, 104-05).

(126) Jayantasiṃha's inscription : IA, VI, 198; Bhīma's inscription of V.S., 1283 : IA, VI, 199. Formerly it was argued that Jayantasiṃha of the Dhār-*prasthi* was no other than Bhīma II, on the following grounds :—(1) *Abhinava Siddharāja* being one of the epithets of Bhīma II, he might have popularly been called a second Jayasimha also; (2) if so there would be a taunting appositeness in Arjunavarman's choosing to give him this name, dropping the qualification 'second', since the real Jayasimha conquered Mālava, took Dhārā by storm, defeated Arjuna's predecessor Yaśovarman, and carried him captive to Anahilapātaka.

It is now correctly held that Jayasimha of the Dhār-*prasthi* was no other than the usurper, who in his plate is called both 'Jayasimha' and 'Jayantasiṃha.' As several inscriptions of Bhīma were issued during the period Jayantasiṃha has been assumed to have ruled, it would follow that he occupied little more than the capital and the surrounding territories. (127) Peterson MSS. 1887, N. 220, p. 37-45.

(128) *ye mantriṇo ye'tra cha maṇḍalikās-teshu kramo nāsti parākramo'sti pratikriyā kōstu tato'sti yeshām kāmō mayi svāmi-parigrahepi*. KK, II, v. 95.

(129) The following is an abstract translation of the relevant passages of KK (II, vv. 66-115) by Bühler : "Now there was one Arjorāja who belonged to another branch of the Chaulukya race. That royal saint was unable to bear the destruction of the country. He began to cleanse the kingdom of 'thorns', and gained great victories and immortal fame in the three worlds. His son is the illustrious Lavaṇa-prasāda, a warrior of the greatest bravery. He slew the chief of Nadula. In his well ordered kingdom, thieves are unknown; he himself takes only their glory from the hostile kings. Rebellious *sāmantas* are unable to check him. Before him the ruler of Mālava, who had come to invade the country turned back; and the southern king also, when opposed by him, gave up the idea of war. His son, the illustrious Viradhavala, has gained splendid victories in battle. He resembles his father so

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closely that he reflects, as it were, his image in a mirror. These two, the father and the son, make the family unconquerable. Now it happened once that Lavaṇa-prasāda awoke at the end of the night, and at once sent for his *purohita*, Someśvaradeva by name, the son of Kumāra, as he wished to tell that *śiṣṭa* (a person who knows the results, in this case of dream), a dream which he had during the night. The priest came, made his obeisance, gave his blessings to the chiefs, and sat down on a mat. Then Lavaṇaprasāda, who was attended by his son Vira, began to narrate as follows:—‘It seemed to me that I ascended the mountain of Śiva and worshipped the god, who appeared visibly before my eyes. Then, after I had finished my worship and was sunk in pious meditation, I saw standing before me a moon-faced maid, beautiful like Rākā, dressed in white garments, anointed with white unguents, and holding a chaplet in her white hands. Wondering, I asked her who she was and why she came. Then she addressed me thus: “O hero, know that I am the Fortune of the Gūrjara king, who is sorely tormented by crowds of enemies. Alas! those Gūrjara princes are slain who were able to destroy their foes, in whose arms I used to rest. The young or foolish wheel-king (*Yo varṭate samprati cakravartī padē'tra bālah*; Bhīma the *saptama cakravartī* is meant), who now reigns in their stead is unable to subdue the armies of his enemies. His *mantris* and *maṇḍalīkas* possess neither wisdom nor valour. They even raise their eyes to me, though I am their lord's lawful wife. The *purohita* (*sauvastika*) Aṁśuvarman is dead, who used to protect me. Gone is the son of Muñjala, who humbled rebellious Rajputs. Pratāpamāla, the Rāthor, is no longer, who could not bear even the smell of a hostile elephant. My own people have brought me so low, excepting Jagaddeva, who kept the enemy from entering the capital. No lights shine now at night in the capital of Gūrjara-land; it resounds with the howl of the jackal; its walls are broken. Therefore do thou, together with thy son Viradhavala, rescue me, and save the country.” After the goddess had spoken thus’, Lavaṇaprasāda continued, ‘she threw her garland on this chair and vanished together with my dream. Now tell me what this means.’

“Hereupon Someśvara addressed the chief, declared him to be the happiest of all Rajputs, since fortune wooed him of her own accord, and he exhorted him to accept the charge laid upon him and to engage able ministers. Then Lavaṇaprasāda appointed Viradhavala ‘to save the country’, and he began to consider whom he should appoint his *mantri*.”

(130) VV, III, vv. 35-92. The same story of the appointment of Vastupāla and Tejapāla is told by Rājasekhara (*Prabandhakōśa* 101-2).

(131) “Bhīma, the husband of the earth, whose entire riches had disappeared through continual and too liberal gifts,—whose brilliant glory had departed, whose kingdom was bit by bit violently devoured by the barons,—ate his inmost heart in long accumulated cares. All at once the prince, whose whole possessions had become small, saw in a dream at the end of the night a glorious and splendid god. Thereupon the god poured upon the lord of the earth, who was, as it were, the root of the creeper of love, the nectar waves of his eloquence as follows: ‘I thy grandfather, king Kumārapāla, who have won the bliss of heaven through the laws of Arhat, am come because I love thee in thy misfortune. Son, I will give thee a proud governor of the kingdom, through whom thou obtainest great glory, as fire does by the wind. The great armed Arṇorāja, son of the illustrious Dhavala, was an elephant in the forest of the Chaulukya stem, an eagle for the serpents, his enemies. This man of adventurous spirit, who was the cause of my glory, was made by me, whose heart he won by courage, the lord of the city of Bhīmāpallī. When evil counsellors opposed thee, this strong one made thy accession the means of repaying my favour for ever. His

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son is Lāvāṇyaprasāda, whose arm brandishing the sword prepares to destroy his enemies in fight. If thou make him lord of all (*sarveśvara*) thou wilt become the husband of Fortuna and rest in happiness like Viṣṇu in the Ocean. He has a son, Viradhavala, who for the sake of the battle wishes to perform again the oath of the descendant of Bhṛigu to destroy the Kshatriya race. Give this strong-armed one, whose shining toe nails have become jewels on the heads of hostile kings, the rank of heir to the throne (*yauvarājya*), and thyself wilt rule yet a long time. Still more! save thou the Jaina faith which helped me to attain unhindered to the fields of heaven.' Bhīma then made obeisance to the vision which blessed him. When in the morning the sound of trumpet announced the sunrise to the ruler of the world, sleep, which closed his lotus-eyes, departed, like the night which closes the eye-like water-lilies. Then the husband of the earth, who had accomplished the duties of the morning, visited his hall, whose thick buttresses of jewels streamed forth rich splendour. The ruler caught sight of the devoted nobles among the company amongst whom were the father and the son whom the god had pointed out. Thereupon the king directed joyfully this gracious speech before the nobles to Lāvāṇyaprasāda:—'Through thy father, the terror of enemies, I was set up (as king) in this kingdom; do thou therefore increase my diminishing prosperity. Accept from me, thou great in war, the rank of a lord over all; Viradhavala, who shines in virtue, shall be my successor.' Thus requested by the king, entreated in a matter in which they ought to have been suppliants, the two spoke joyfully:—'Your Majesty's command is law to us.' Viradhavala then folded his hands together and begged in a suppliant manner for an adviser, who would be distinguished by extraordinary virtues, acquainted with the use of weapons, with books, with the acquisition of wealth, and with battle. Greatly delighted by the speech of Viradhavala, Bhīma then recommended Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla after reciting their genealogy." (SS, II, v. 51 and III, vv. 1-62).

(132) About this *prasaṁsti* it has been stated, that this poem "seems to have been inscribed on a slab of stone in the Śakunikāvihāra in order to commemorate the gifts of Tejaḥpāla to the temple." (Introduction to VTP, X). (133) VTP, vv. 35-51.

(134) SKK, vv. 74-75. (135) KK, II, vv. 60-61. (136) RLARBP, 283-300.

(137) *bhāṣat-prabhāvam-adhūrāya nīrantarāya-nīrantarāya nīrantarāya nīrantarāya Gūrjar-āvani-mahīpati-Bhīma-bhūpa-mantrindrat-āprabaśatram api prapade. Naranārāyaṇānanda XVI, v. 35.*

(138) DHNI, II, 1028-29. (139) It may be noted that in the latest biography of Nadir by Lockhart, this division of kingdom is not mentioned. (140) IA, VI, 194; EI, IX, 73; IA, VI, 206. (141) Kadi plate no. 10, IA, VI, 210. (142) JBBRAS, IX, 157; *Bhandarkar MSS.*, 1883-84, 11-12, 150. (143) Both Somasiniha and Vayajaladeva are mentioned in the Kadi grant no. 9 of Bhīma. Somasiniha alone is mentioned also in Kadi grants nos. 5, 7 and 8. (144) Kadi grants nos. 7, 8 and 9. (145) *Dātāṅgada*, Prologue. (146) DHNI, II, 1035, f.n. 5; EI, XXII, 288; IA, LVII, 33.

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(1) Cambay Inscription: Bh. Ins., 214. (2) After describing the Chaulukya kings up to Bhīma II, Someśvara states.

atha tatr-aiva Chaulukya-vamśo śakh-āntar-odgataḥ

Arṇorājah sa rājārshis-tan-nām-arshat viplavam.

KK, II, v. 62.

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(3) That Dhavala was the father of Arjorāja is known from *Kirtikaumudī* (II, v. 63). Merutuṅga says that Ānāka, the father of Lavaṇaprasāda was the son of Kumārāpāla's mother's sister. *PCT*, 149; *PCJ*, 94. (4) *SKK*, v. 74. (5) *PCT*, 154; *PCJ*, 98. (6) *PCT*, 149; *PCJ*, 94. (7) *SKK*, v. 74. (8) *PCT*, 154-55; *PCJ*, 98. (9) *Catalogue of MSS Pattan Bhandar*, p. 33.

(10) That Pratāpamalla was the elder brother is apparent from the Cambay inscription of Śāraṅgadeva (Bh. Ins., 227, v. 8). The Muralidhar temple inscription of Karna II (*Buddhiprakasa*, 1910, 17) also states that Viśvala (Viśala) was the younger brother (*anuḥjanmā*) of Pratāpamalla. This relationship is also known from the Cintra-*prāśasti* of Śāraṅgadeva (EI, I, 271). While editing the Cintra-*prāśasti*, Bühler mistook the compound *Pratāpamalla-avarajāḥ*, an epithet given to Viśvamalla (Viśala) in verse 8, as *Bahurīhi*, and stated that Pratāpamalla was the younger brother of Viśala. In fact the compound in this case is only *Tatpuruṣa*, *Pratāpamallasya-avarajāḥ*, showing that Viśala was the younger brother of Pratāpamalla.

(11) *Prabandhakośa*, 124-25. According to Rājasekhara, Virama after reaching Jāvalīpura was taking rest, and had opened his outer garments (*aṅgarakṣikā*). Some archers appointed by Udayasīnha took advantage of his unpreparedness and struck with hundreds of arrows till his body resembled a sieve (*jarjjaraś-śālānī-prāyākāyāḥ kṛita*).

(12) *Prabandhakośa*, 101. According to Rājasekhara, Viradhavala ruled jointly with his father. (13) *Catalogue of MSS. in Jesalmere Bhandar*, p. 35, no. 282.

(14) *Lūṇapāsaka* is mentioned in Kadi grants nos. 4 and 6, IA, VI, 196-203. Virama is mentioned in Kadi grant, IA, VI, 205-6. For the meaning of the abbreviation *U*, see H. Lüders, *Jaina Inscriptions at the Temple of Neminātha on Mt. Abu*, EI, VIII, 204. Cambay Inscription, Bh. Ins., 214. (15) Kadi grants nos. 8 and 9, IA, VI, 205-06. (16) Kadi grant no. 11, IA, VI, 211.

(17) *varshe harsha-nishanṇa-shaṇ-ṇabatike śrī-Vikram-orvibhṛitaḥ
kālād-dvādaśa-saṅkhyā-hūyaṇ-śatāt mase'tra Magh-āhvaye
Pañchamāyān cha tithau dīnādi-samaye vāre cha bhānos-tavo-
dvodhuṁ sad-gatimasti lagnamasam tattvayatām tvaryatām.*
(VV, XIV, v. 37).

This works out to be 5th day of the bright half of Magha, V.S. 1296.

(18) See above ref. no. 13. (19) Sundha Hill Inscription, v. 50; EI, IX, 78. For D. R. Bhandarkar's opinion, EI, XI, 76. (20) Muralidhar Temple Inscription, op. cit. (21) *Cat. of MSS. in Pattan Bhandar*, p. 33, no. 37. (22) In the colophon of the *Kalpasūtra* dt. V.S. 1247 written at Broach, it is definitely stated the *Danḍā(dhipati)* of Lāṭa was appointed by Bhima. *Peterson MSS.*, 1887, 51. (23) *Cat. of MSS. Pattan Bhandar*, p. 60, no. 84. (24) For a discussion of this date see the chapter on Chronology.

(25) *tasy-ānuḥjanmā prathitaḥ prithivyaṁ śrī-Viśvalākhyo nripatiḥ prachandāḥ
Dhār-ādhināthaṁ samare vijitya purīm viśālam sa babhāṇja Dhārām*

Muralidhar Temple Ins. v. 9.

(26) See above chapter on Bhima and BG, I, ii, 242, 525. (27) *JBBRAS*, XII, 38; EI, XIX, 27.

(28) *yen-ākari viśāla Viśala chamū saṁhāra kāl-ānāle
hel-onmālita mūla rāja-samare nirvram-urvi-talam
Hemādri : Vratakhaṇḍa-prāśasti.*

(29) *garjad-Gūṛjara garva parvata-bhidā dambhoḥi dorvikranāḥ* (ibid). See also Sangur Ins. of Mahādeva, EI, XXIII, 194. (30) IA, XIV, 316.

(31) The theory that kings of Gujarat at this time held sway over Koṅkan, was first put forward by A. K. Nairne: "In the thirteenth century," Nairne wrote,

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while the Devagiri Yādavas held the inland part of the district, it seems probable that the Anāhilavāḍa kings kept a hold on certain places along the coast. *Rās Mālā*, 188, 189). They seem to have had considerable power at sea. Bhimdev II (1179-1225) had ships that went to Sindh, and Arjundev (1260) had a Mussulman admiral. Tod's *Western India*, 207; *Rās Mālā*, 161). At the close of the thirteenth century Gujarat, according to Rashid ud-Din (1310), included Cambay, Somnath, and Konkan Thana. But his statements are confused, (*Elliot*, I, 67. In another passage of the same section he makes Konkan Thana separate from Gujarat.) and according to Marco Polo, in his time (1290) there was a prince of Thana who was tributary to no one. The people were idolators with a language of their own.....There were other petty chiefs on the coast, *nāiks*, *rājās*, or *rāis*, who were probably more or less dependent on the Anāhilavāḍa kings." (*History of Konkan*, BG, I, ii, 25) Nairne obviously meant the defeat of Mallikārjuna at the hands of Kumārapāla's army, for his reference to *Rās Mālā* (1856 ed.) shows that he was referring to Kumārapāla. Hence it cannot be the thirteenth century unless he means the Vikrama era. As for his other reference, that Bhima II had ships, I fail to find it; it is neither in the *Rās Mālā* nor in the *Western India*. Further I cannot find Nairne's authority for stating that Arjunadeva had a Muslim admiral. The last sentence in Nairne's passage quoted above is his personal opinion, for which I cannot see any justification, for Konkan was definitely incorporated in the Yādava kingdom by A.D. 1270. (BG, I, ii, 247, 530; Wathen Plates, JRAS, (O.S.), V, 177).

Unfortunately R. S. Panchamukhi has again given currency to this theory. He begins by stating that Konkan was annexed by Kumārapāla and was later lost under his successors. Then he adds: "According to Marco Polo (A.D. 1290, *History of Konkan*, p. 25), the chiefs of the west coast of north Konkan were dependent on Anāhilavāḍa kings. Rashid ud-Din (*ibid*) (A.D. 1300 sic) states that Gujarat included at the close of the thirteenth century A.D. Cambay, Somnath, and Konkan Thana. Thus it is evident from these references that the Paramāra hold on the northern part of Konkan was dislodged and the Gūrjara sway established in the latter half of the 13th century A.D." (EI, XXIII, 192) Marco Polo however says just the contrary as was correctly noted by Nairne, (see above, and Yule: *Marco Polo* ed. by Cordier, (1903, II, 395). As for Rashid ud-Din, Panchamukhi has not taken into account his contradictory statements noted by Nairne. Rashid ud-Din (1310 A.D.) undoubtedly says, "Guzerat is a large country within which are Kambaya, Somnat, Kankan, Tana and several other cities and towns;" but in the next passage he states: "Beyond Guzerat are Tana and Konkan." (E & D, I, 67).

Rashid ud-Din is hardly a reliable authority. His work is mostly an unacknowledged adaptation of al-Beruni's great work, but as the passages relating to Gujarat and Konkan quoted above does not occur in al-Beruni's work, it has to be presumed that Rashid ud-Din borrowed it from some other authority. The contradictory nature of his statements shows that he was following two authorities written at different periods, or had gathered his materials from some sailors. Unless those authorities and their dates can be established, it cannot be said that Konkan during any part of the 13th century A.D. formed a part of the Gujarat kingdom. For all we know, the first statement of Rashid ud-Din might be valid for Kumārapāla's reign, and the second part for that of his successors.

(32) *jite cha labhāyate Lakshmīr-mṛite ch-āpi surāṅganā*
kṣhaṇa-vīdhvaṁśinī kāyā kā chintā maraṇe raṇe

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Prabandhakośa, 127. It is interesting to compare this verse with the following :

*hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṃ jītvā vā bhokshyase mahim
tasmād-uttishṭha Kaunteya yuddhāya kṛta-niścayaṇ*

Bhagavadgītā, II, v. 37.

In the *Bombay Gazetteer* (I, i, 202) it is stated : "The author Someśvara describes how he twice came to the aid of his friend Vastupāla. On one occasion he saved Vastupāla from a persecution from peculation. The second occasion was more serious. Simha the maternal uncle of king Visaladeva whipped the servant of a Jain monastery (Kathvate, *Kirtikaumudi*, xx)." Someśvara never described these incidents. Kathvate, in his introduction to *Kirtikaumudi*, gave an abridged version of these stories, but he made it clear that he was quoting from the *Prabandhakośa*. (33) *Prabandhakośa*, 125-27.

(34) *prerito bhūpatis-tena pāpēna piśun-ātmanā
mudrā-ratnam-upādāya Tejapāla-kar-āmbujāt
Nāgaresya garasy-eva loka-saṃhāra-kāriṇaḥ
nyudhat prāsādamādhāya pāṇau Nāgaḍa-mantriṇaḥ*

Jina-harsha Gaṇi : *Vastupālacharita*, vv. 78-79; See also vv. 75-77.

(35) *Prāchīna Jaina Lekha Saṅgraha*; Ins. no. 66. (36) See above ref. no. 23. (37) *Peterson Mss.*, 1883, App. I, 41. (38) *VV*, Intr. by C. D. Dalal, p. viii, f.n. 1. But according to a Paṭṭāvali, Vastupāla died in V.S. 1298 and Tejapāla 14 years later. (*Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar* II, 80). (39) *Cat. of MSS. in Pattan Bhandar*, 218; *ibid*, p. 33, no. 40. (40) *Porbandar Ins.*, P.O., II, 225; Kadi plate, IA, VI, 212. (41) Jina-harsha Gaṇi : *Vastupālacharita*, vv. 41-3. (42) *Amarachandrar-kari-prabandha*, *Prabandhakośa* 61-3. (43) *Cintra-prasasti*, EI, v. 9, EI, I, 274. (44) *Bhandarkar, MSS.*, 1883-84, 15, 323; *Jagaducharita*, VI, vv. 67-137. The account of relief afforded by Jagadu as related in his biography is exaggerated. (45) See above ref. no. 10. (46) For references see above ref. no. 10. (47) *Paithan Plates*; IA, XIV, 314; *Furushottamapura Plates*, EI, XXV, 199. (48) *BC*, I, ii, 525, f.n. 4. (49) *ibid*, 239. (50) *Mysore Arch. Survey Report*, 1929, 143. (51) *EI*, XIII, 198. (52) *Bhandarkar, BC*, I, ii, 247; *Fleet*, *ibid*, 529. (53) *Kathāratnākara, Cat. of Mss. Pattan Bhandars*, p. 14, no. 15. *Daśavaikālikātikā*, *ibid*, p. 135, no. 204. (54) Undated Cutch Inscription, PO, III, 22. (55) *Kantela Inscription of Arjuna*, PO, III, 21. (56) *Girnar Inscription of Arjuna*, PO, III, 21.

(57) The Colophon of a MS. of *Abhidhānachintāmaṇināmamālāṭikā* (*Cat. of MSS. Pattan Bhandars*, p. 74, no. 111) mentions the name of *Mahārājakumāra-Śrī-Sāraṅgadeva* along with that of *Mahārājādhirāja Arjunadeva*. This is unusual, and I have not come across another example in the Chaulukya records, except one, where a prince is mentioned along with the reigning king. The manuscript is stated to be dated V.S. 1337, but this date must be wrong (may be printing mistake) as both inscriptions and colophons prove that Sāraṅgadeva was reigning in V.S. 1332.

(58) *Cambay Stone Inscription*, *Bh. Ins.*, 227. For a discussion of the possible date of Rāma's accession, see the chapter on Chronology.

(59) *tasy-āṅgaḥ sampṛati rājate'sau Śrī-Rāma-nāmā nṛipa chakravartī*. V. 11, *Muralidhar Temple Inscription*, *Buddhiprakas*, 1910 ASI, 1935-36, 98.

(60) *Sāraṅgadevaḥ śuśubhe dharāyaṃ Rām-ānujo-Lakṣhmaṇa-sanniveścha* v. 12, *ibid*. (61) *Amaran Stone Inscription of V.S. 1333*; *Puratatva*, I, i, 37; Ed. by *Diskalkar*, PO, III, 23.

(62) In the *Abu Vimala Vasahi Inscription of V.S. 1350* (PO, III, 69), Visala is described as the governor of 1800-*maṇḍala*, which was the same as Chandravatī. The *Patnarayana inscription of the Abu Paramāra Pratāpasimha of V.S. 1344* (v. 42, IA,

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XLV, 79), mentions Visala as reigning in Chandrāvati, and calls him the conqueror of the Mālavas and the Turushkas.

(63) *DHNI*, II, 1043. Dr. Ray is 'tempted to think' that Jayasinha of the Pathari inscription of V.S. 1326 (A.D. 1269) is identical with Jayavarman II. (ibid, 905, f.n. 2).

(64) D. C. Ganguly : *History of The Paramāra Dynasty*, 227. Dr. Ganguly is of the opinion that Jayavarman II and Jayasinha were two different persons.

(65) *Bh. Ins.*, 113; ASI, 1907-08, 214. This inscription has not yet been properly edited. (66) *Perishta* (Briggs), 361.

(67) Amir Khusrau : *Tarikh-i 'Alai or Khaza'in-ul Futuh*, E. & D, III, 76; Tr. by M. Habib, *JIH*, VIII, 365. Amir Khusrau : *Ashiqi*, E & D, III, 544-45.

(68) *Tazjiyat-ul Amsar Wa Tajriyat-ul Asar* by 'Abdullah Wassaf : E & D, III, 31.

(69) Abu Inscription of Samarasinha, v. 46, *IA*, XVI, 350. (70) R. B. Halder, *EI*, XXII, 287; A. C. Bannerjee : 'Struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the Thirteenth Century', *D. R. Bhandarkar Memorial Volume*, 89. (71) Zia ud-Din Barani : *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, E & D, III, 102. (72) *Ibid*, 122.

(73) The Muslim historians always refer to the Mongols of this period as 'heathens' or 'pagans'. Though the Chaghtai Mongols who were invading India at this time were converted to Islam before some other branches, one of their kings in A.D. 1327 bore the name, Tarmachirin, which is equivalent to Dharmaśrī. (R. Grousset : *L'empire des Steppes*, 414) Of Hulagu, the conqueror of Baghdad and destroyer of the Caliphate, Grousset states : "Nous savons qu'il (Hulagu) restait plutôt bouddhiste et, en particulier, dévot au bodhisattva Maitreya". (ibid, 432) Of Mongka (Mangu), the third great Khan and grandson of Chenghiz, Grousset writes : "En 1256 une sorte de concile bouddhique se tint à sa (Mongka) cour, à Quaraquorum". (ibid, 342.) Of Kublai Khan Grousset states that by an edict in A.D., 1279, "Koubelai s'opposa à la propagande musulmane en Chine". (ibid, 373).

(74) Abu Vimala Vasahi Inscription, in which Visala is mentioned as governor of 1800-*maṇḍalas* under Śaraṅgadeva is dated V.S., 1350. *PO*, III, 69. (75) *Ibid*.

(76) Jinaprabha : *Tīrthakalpa*, 95. This point is discussed fully below. Eratum : In the text Jinaprabha has been mis-printed as Jinaprabhā. (77) Vanthali Inscription : *PO*, III, 26. That Vijāyānanda was a grandson of Viradhavala is known from "An Incomplete Inscription at Rajakota Museum", Ed. by D. B. Diskalkar, *ABORI*, V, 171. (78) *PO*, III, 22; *IA*, XXI, 276.

(79) *Adināthacharita* : Colophon, *Catalogue of MSS. in Jesalmere Bhandar*, p. 42, no., 334. (80) *Uttarādhyāyana* ; Colophon : *Catalogue of MSS. Pattan Bhandars*, p. 327, no. 1. (81) *IA*, XLI, 20 ff. (82) *Bhandarkar MSS.* 1883-84, pp. 17-8 & 326. (83) Amaran Inscription, *PO*, III, 23. (84) Girnar Inscription of Arjunadeva, *PO*, III, 21. (85) *Bhandarkar MSS.* 1883-84, 17-8, and 326. (86) M.S. Nainar : *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of Southern India*, 53.

CHAPTER XI

Civilisation is Mortal

(In some pages the chapter heading has been mis-printed as *Civilisation of mortal*)
(1) For the date of Karṇa's accession see the chapter on Chronology. (2) The inscriptions of Karṇa merely show that his territory included Saurāshṭra (Mangrol

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Ins., PO, III, 73) and Idar, a state in Rajputana (ASI, 1935-36, 98.) (3) 'Alā ud-Din was crowned twice, once just after the murder of Jalal ud-Din, and again after entering Delhi on October 20th, 1296. (4) Garshasp Malik was the name of 'Alā ud-Din before he became king. (5) Wassaf : E. & D, III, 31.

(6) This placed the Muslim merchants at the mercy of the Mongols. When the Mongols attacked Lahore in A.D. 1241, the Muslim merchants of the city neglected to offer any resistance for they were afraid lest their safe conduct through the Mongol territories should be jeopardised. This civilian dissension was one of the reasons which prompted the Muslim governor of Lahore to evacuate the city. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Raverty), 655, f.n.2.

(7) According to the *Khaza'inu'l Futuh*, Ulugh Khan received orders on Wednesday, the 20th Jamadi-awwal, 699 A.H., to attack Gujarat. (E & D, III, 74; JIH, VIII, 357) The invasion of Gujarat is put by Barani (*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, Tr. Fuller, JASB., 1869, 190) and Nizam ud-Din (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Tr., I, 157) in the third year of his reign, that is A.D. 1299. Ferishta has 697 A.H., (*Ferishta*, (Briggs), I, 327), while Badauni gives the date of Ulugh Khan's invasion as 698 A.H. (Badauni, Tr. I, 255). Hodivala suggested that the correct date of the invasion should be 20th Jamadiu-l-awwal, 697 A.H., (5th March, 1298) which was a Wednesday, whereas the corresponding dates in A.H. 698 and 699 were Monday and Friday respectively. (Hodivala, op. cit., 249) But it seems that on the date suggested by Hodivala, Ulugh Khan received his orders from 'Alā ud-Din, (JIH, VIII, 357) so that it may be concluded that Ulugh Khan started later. An inscription at Somanath shows that fighting with Muslims took place there in June 1299. (NIA, I, 695) Hence it is certain that even if the invading force started in A.D. 1298, fighting continued till the middle of the next year, which might have misled the authors, who placed the invasion in the third year of 'Ala ud-Din's reign.

(8) Bühler : IA, XXVI, (1897), 194-5. (9) G. H. Ojha : *History of Rajputana* II, 476. (10) ASI, 1907-08, 214. (11) The Guhilots of Mevad were finally conquered by 'Alā ud-D in A.D. 1303, when he conquered Chitor from Ratnasimha, son and successor of Samarasingha.

(12) *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 242. The relevant passages from the *Futuh-us-Salatin* were kindly translated for me by Mr. K. M. Maitra. (13) See above r.n. 8. (14) NIA, I, 695; Ed. by Diskalkar.

(15) Surprise seems to have been complete. A contemporary Muslim historian writes : "At early dawn they surrounded Kambayat and the idolaters were awakened from their sleepy state of carelessness and were taken by surprise, not knowing where to go, and mothers forgot their children and dropped them from their embrace." (Wassaf : E & D, III, 43.)

(16) *Vichāraṅgī*, JBBRAS, IX, 155. (17) *Khaza'inu'l Futuh*, JIH, VIII, 357. (18) E & D, III, Appendix, 545-566. (19) *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 242. (20) *ibid*, 278. (21) JASB., 1869, 190 ff.

(22) *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, (Tr.) I, 157; Badauni, (Tr.) I, 233. Prof. K. R. Qanungo is of the opinion that mention of Devaladevi in the text of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* may be an interpolation. (IHC, III, 878).

(23) Even Ferishta could not swallow Khusrau's story that Karṇa agreed to send his daughter to 'Ala ud-Din with many presents.

(24) *Ferishta* (Briggs) I, 366-8. Ferishta gives the date of the beginning of southern expedition of Malik Kafur as A.D. 1308. Barani, however states that Malik Kafur started some time in A.D. 1301. K. S. Lal : *History of the Khiljis*, 189.

(25) Barani's silence is hardly conclusive. Of him it has been said that, he (Zia ud-Din Barani) "like many others is an unfair narrator. Several of the most

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important events of the reign he celebrated have been altogether omitted, or slurred over as of no consequence". (E & D, III, 95). (26) K. S. Lal, op. cit., 396.

(27) K. S. Lal states that Alp Khan was appointed governor of Gujarat and stayed there from 1300-1314 A.D. (ibid, 86, f.n. 21). He does not however quote any authority, and I am unable to find any for concluding that Alp Khan was appointed in A.D. 1300. (See also N. Venkataramanayya: *The Early Muslim Expansion In South India*, 28, f.n. 27) Lal has not noted Merutunga, whose evidence is, I believe, conclusive.

(28) Venkataramanayya: op. cit; 19 ff, 26 ff. S. K. Aiyangar: *South India And Her Muhammedan Invaders*, 92. ff.

(29) Rāmachandra had stopped sending his tribute about A.D. 1305, which was the cause—according to Khusrau, Barani and others—of resumption of hostilities against him. (K. S. Lal, op. cit., 188) Venkataramanayya, however, accepts 'Isami's version that Rāmachandra secretly sent a message to 'Alā ud-Dīn to help him against his rebellious sons who had imprisoned him. (Venkataramanayya, op. cit. 26) It is possible that his spirited sons gained the upper hand and stopped paying the annual tribute to Delhi, which frightened the craven hearted Rāmachandra who had sacrificed one of his daughters by giving her in marriage to 'Alā ud-Dīn (ibid 18-9), and probably felt no compunction in betraying his freedom loving sons to preserve his miserable crown.

(30) *Rās Mālā*, I, 266. (31) JBBRAS., IX 155. (32) IHQ, XXI, 98.

CHAPTER XI—Appendix I

(1) An excellent summary of all the objections raised against the historicity of *Ashūqa* will be found in Prof. K. R. Qanungo's article '*The Historicity of the Love Romance—Daul Rani Wa Khizr Khan*' (*I.H.C.*, III, 877-79). Prof. Qanungo has rejected the opinion of Sri Jagan Lal Gupta and others who believe that Devaladevi had no existence as "nothing but prejudice running amock".

For a discussion of the historicity of the *Ashūqa* see K. M. Munshi: *Glory That was Gūrjara Deśa*, II, (Appendix, 2nd Ed).

(2) No great value can be attached to Barani's silence. See above ref. no. 25 *Karnā II* (Chapter XI).

(3) Nizām ud-Dīn quoted from the *Futuh-us-Salatin* (Intr. to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Tr. p.v). Badauni also mentioned *Futuh-us-Salatin* as a historical work. (Badamni, Tr., I, 314).

(4) It should not be supposed that the Muslim historians were insensible to the dishonour of a princess captured by her enemies. But when the girl happened to be a Muslim, another type of story was invented to protect her honour for posterity. Thus, Minhaj relates, that after the sack of Baghdad, Hulagu, who shared his spoils, sent a daughter of the Caliph to Mangu Khan. On her way to Mongol emperor, the princess arrived a Samarkand, where was a mausoleum of one of her ancestors. Having obtained permission to visit the tomb the girl went there and prayed: "O God! if this Kusam, son of Abbas (whose mausoleum it was), my ancestor, hath honour in Thy presence, take this Thy servant unto Thyself, and deliver her out of the hands of these strange men". Immediately she transmitted her soul to the Most High God. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Tr. by Raverty, 1257-58).

Similarly a story developed that while fleeing before the Mongols, Jalal ud-Dīn Mangbarani drowned his family in the Indus lest they should fall in the hands of the Mongols. Another version of the same episode states that Jalal ud-Dīn escaped alone and presumably had to leave his family captives in the hands of the Mongols. The precipitate flight of Jalal ud-Dīn and the fact that he married in India renders

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the second version more believable. Naturally the Muslim historians were anxious to hide the fact that the ladies of the Khwarzm Shah's harem were captured by the barbarian Mongols and shared the usual fate of women captives in those days.

(5) E. & D., III, 544-45. (6) Hodivala, op. cit., 368. (7) *Badauni*, (Tr.) I, 275; *Ferishta*, (Briggs), I, 390. (8) *Ashiqi*, E. & D., III, 345.

(9) A typical example of the manners among contemporary Muslim princes is afforded by the abortive rebellion of Ikit Khān, a nephew of 'Alā ud-Dīn. Barani relates that one day Ikit Khān nearly succeeded in having 'Ala ud-Dīn assassinated by several archers. Before ascertaining carefully whether the Sultan had really died or not, Ikit ran to the royal pavillion where after announcing 'Ala ud-Dīn's death, he immediately rushed to take possession of 'Ala ud-Dīn's harem. But the custodian of the harem, Mālik Dīnār, refused to let Ikit enter unless the severed head of 'Alā ud-Dīn was produced. While the foolish Ikit was parleying with Dīnār, 'Alā ud Dīn, whose wound had been superficial, returned, and Ikit took to flight. (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Tr. JASB, 1869, 211-14).

(10) CHI, III, 124. The words within inverted comma are from Thomas (*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 177, note) who first started the canard.

(11) Hodivala op. cit., 369.

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(1) BG, I, i, 206. Indrajī did not give any reference for this statement. (2) ARB, 264. (3) MM. H. P. Sastri: *Catalogue of MSS. In The A.S.B.*, VII, No., 5598.

(4) This genealogy was first brought to light by Dr. H. D. Sharma (*K. S. Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 52). Prof. A. H. Nizami first utilised this manuscript to trace the genealogy of the Vāghelās of Rewa. (*I.H.C.*, IX (1945), 151).

(5) *Virabhānūdaya-kāvya*. Text and translation by Lele and Upadhyaya with critical analysis by Shastri.

CHAPTER—XII

Chronology

(1) *Vichārasreṇi*: JBBRAS., IX, 159 ff. (2) *Bhandarkar MSS.*, 1883-84, pp. 9 and 12. (3) K. Madhava Krishna Sharma: *Rulers of Anahilavāda*, IHQ, XXI 98.

(4) JBBRAS., IX, 155. (5) *'Ain-i-Akbari* (Tr. 2nd Ed.), II, 265. (6) R. Sewell: *The Dates in Merutuṅga's 'Prabandha Chintāmaṇi'*, JRAS, 1920, 333-41.

(7) *Bhandarkar MSS.*, 1883-84, 12. (8) IA, XVIII, 185.

(9) Ibid. Bühler criticised these documents in the following words in course of his review of Bhandarkar's *'Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscript in the Bombay Presidency During the Year 1883-84'*: "A full account of the contents of the historical fragment is given in pp. 9-14 and App. III, L. The piece is certainly very interesting. But I doubt that it deserves the great confidence which Dr. Bhandarkar places in it." IA, XVIII, 185.

(10) Sharma op. cit. (see above r.n. 3). (11) 'Abul Fazl op. cit.

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- (12) *Vasu-nandanidhau varshe vyatite Vikramārkatah Mūladeva nareśas-tu (chudāma)ñir-abhud-bhuvī*
v. 9; Sambhar Stone Inscription, IA, LVIII, 234.
- (13) Balera Plates, EI, X, 76.
- (14) "In the year 993 V.S., on the 15th day of bright fortnight of Ashādhā, being a Tuesday, in the *nakshatra* of Āśvini, in the *lagna* of Leo, at twelve o'clock in the night, in the twenty-first year from his birth, Mūlarāja was crowned a king." (PCT, 23, PCJ, 16) Only in two manuscripts out of ten consulted by Jina Vijaya Muni, Mūlarāja's year of coronation was given as V.S. 998 without any other details. Curiously enough, it is found in his edition (PCJ, 19) that Mūlarāja reigned 55 years from V.S. 998. As no variations are given, it is to be assumed that the editor came across this statement in all the manuscripts he consulted, excepting the two which he specifically mentions. I, however, am unable to reconcile this statement (of PCJ, 19) with that given in the preceeding page (PCJ, 46), and have taken as authoritative the first statement.
- (15) PCT (p. 29) gives V.S. 1050 and 1055 as the years which marked the accession and the end of the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja, and then states that he reigned for 13 years and was succeeded by Vallabha in V.S. 1065. Here Tawney was following Ramachandra Dinanatha's printed text. In PCJ we find that excepting three manuscripts consulted by Ramachandra Dinanatha, and one Poona MS., all the other MSS. state that Chāmuṇḍarāja ascended the throne in V.S. 1053, and reigned for 13 years. But the details of the date of Chāmuṇḍarāja's accession are found only in the MSS. of Ramachandra Dinanatha and the Poona MS., which I believe were the earlier ones, or at least faithful copies from the earlier MSS., whereas the others, which omit the details were modified versions of the original of PC, when the copyists found out the errors of Merutuṅga.
- (16) To be absolutely correct, GS assigns him a reign of 5 months and 29 days.
- (17) *Peterson MSS.*, 1884, p. 65; *Bhandarkar MSS.*, 1882-83, p. 45 Klatt's List, IA, XI, 248; *IHQ*, XI, 779-81. (18) IA, VI, 193; *JBBRAS*, XX, 49. (19) Palanpur Inscription, EI, XXI, 171.
- (20) Nausari Grant, *JBBRAS*, XXVI, 252. The date of Karna's accessison is given in PC (PCJ, 53-4, PCT, 78-9) as Monday, the 7th day of the black fortnight of Chaitra, in the *nakshatra* of Hasta, in the *lagna* of Pisces, in the year V.S. 1120. According to K. N. Dikshit, this works out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March, 1065 (Southern V.S. 1121). (EI, XXI, 171-2). See also Sewell (op. cit.) There is hardly any reason, therefore, to prefer PC, to Bhi, which gives V.S. 1130 as the last year of Bhīma's and the first year of Karna's reign. (21) EI, I, 316.
- (22) The earliest inscription of Siddharāja's reign is the Ladol inscription dated V.S. 1156. (Journal of Oriental Institute (Baroda) II, 1953, 368. Atru Stone pillar inscription dated Sam. 14 does not belong to Siddharāja. (*Bhandarkar's List*, no. 554, p. 78).
- (23) *Catalogue of MSS. Pattan Bhandars*, p. 203, no. 334.
- (24) EI, XI, 32-3. The date V.S. 1202 in the Dohad Inscription (IA, XX, 158), should be taken to refer to the reign of Kumārapāla (Bühler, *IA*, XX, 161) The Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla is also dated V.S. 1202. (*Bh. Ins.*, 158)
- (25) A⁶ verse from Hemachandra's *Mahāvīracarita* was probably responsible for the mistakes of later writers. (See above Chapter on Kumārapāla, ref. n. 27). After the discovery of the Bali inscription of Siddharāja dated V.S. 1200, Dr. D. C. Ganguly wrote: "The Bali stone inscription (EI, XI, 32) records that Jayasinha was ruling in Sam, 1200. It is obvious from this that Merutuṅga was wrong in fixing Sam. 1199 as the date of the death of Jayasinha. This leaves no ground for

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doubt that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription, containing the date Sam. 1202, was issued during the reign of Jayasimha." Dr. Ganguly therefore concluded that Kumārapāla must have ascended the throne in V.S. 1202, which is the earliest known recorded date of his reign. (Mangrol Ins.) Regarding the later part of the Dohad inscription, the grounds on which Bühler ascribed it to Kumārapāla's reign seems to be still valid. Only Bühler was misled by Merutuṅga and other Chroniclers to assume that Kumārapāla ascended the throne in V.S. 1199, which the Bali inscription proves to be wrong. The testimony of Hemachandra is conclusive, until he can be proved to be wrong by some fresh epigraphical evidence. Hemachandra in *Mahāvīracharita*, (XII, V. 45) definitely states that Kumārapāla would be crowned king after the expiry of 1669 years from Vikrama. Evidently like other Svetāmbaras, he put the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvira 470 years before the Vikrama year, so that 1669 years after *Nirvāṇa* is equal to V.S. 1199. After V.S. 1199, can only mean in the present context, V.S. 1200. Merutuṅga, also quoted another prophecy to the same effect :

"When a thousand years are fulfilled, and a hundred and ninety-nine

There shall be a king, Kumārapāla by name, like thee,
O Vikramāditya.

(PCT, 12, 118; PCJ, 8, 78) Apparently the real significance of the verse was lost on Merutuṅga, for he states that Kumārapāla was crowned in V.S. 1199, on the second day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika, on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* of Hasta. (PCT, 118, PCJ, 78).

(26) EI, XI, 47. (27) *Catalogue of MSS. in Pattan Bhandars*, p. 105, no. 149. (28) Udayapur Stone Inscription, IA, XVIII, 344. (29) *Bhandarkar MSS.*, 1882-83, 220.

(30) This date was not examined by the editor of the Brahmanwada plates. (*Imp. Ins. from the Baroda, States*, I, 71). Sri P. C. Sen Gupta, who kindly examined the date for me, tells me that the weekday is wrong, for V.S. 1232, 11th Chaitra *sudi* was a Sunday. If it was a Monday, then the date ought to have been 12th Chaitra.

(31) Kiradu Stone Inscription, EI, XI, 72. "H. H. Dhruva, in his book 'Barda delegates, etc.' (p. 126) refers to an inscription of 1234, now untraceable." (D. B. Diskalkar, AIOC, IV, 158) I have not seen the book of Sri Dhruva. Unless this inscription, apparently of Bhīma is discovered, the last date of Mūlarāja II should be taken to be V.S. 1235. Sri Diskalkar is of the opinion that Mūlarāja II reigned from V.S. 1232-1234.

(32) Kadi Grant, IA, VI, 206-8. (33) Kadi Grant, IA, VI, 208. (34) Ahmedabad Pillar Inscription, EI, V, 102. (35) Kadi Grant, IA, VI, 212. (36) *Peterson MSS.*, 1883, App. p. 40, no. 62. (37) *Catalogue of MSS. Pattan Bhandars*, p. 14, no. 15.

(38) *PO*, III, 21. A MS. of *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* is said to have been copied in the reign of Arjunadeva in V.S. 1337. (*Catalogue of MSS. Pattan Bhandars*, p. 74, no. 111). But this date must be wrong—may be a printing mistake—for an inscription of Śaraṅgadeva is dated V.S. 1332. (Khokhra Stone Inscription, IA, XXI, 276). (39) *Ibid.* (40) *PO*, III, 69.

(41) Can it be a mistake or copyists error for 1353? Merutuṅga was a contemporary of Karṇa, and it is most unlikely that he should commit such a palpable error.

(42) The unit figure of the given year in the Mangrol inscription (*PO*, III, 73) is missing, but the weekday given corresponds to V.S. 1353. As the Muralidhar Temple Inscription of Karṇa's reign (*Buddhiprakas*, 1910) is dated V.S. 1354, the proposed date of the Mangrol inscription is not at all improbable.

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Administration and Revenue

- (1) JBBRAS, XXVI, 250 ; *Bh.Ins.* 205. (2) *Kielhorn MSS.*, 1880-1, 25. (3) CII, III, 32. (4) *ibid.*, 59. (5) IA, VII, 16 ; VIII, 74. (6) IA, VIII, 79. (7) IA, XIII, 213. (8) PO, III, 20.
- (9) H. D. Sankalia : *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnology of Gujarat*, 33.
- (10) LP, 5 ; MS. of *Sagara Chakravarti-charita*, *Patan MSS.*, 183.
- (11) *Catalogue of MSS. Pattan Bhandar*, p. 327, no. 17. (12) LP, 107. (13) LP, 5. (14) IA, XI, 337, 11. 16.
- (15) With the exception of *Ashtādaśasata*, *Ghṛitapadi*, *Kachchha*, and *Ṭimvāṇaka maṇḍalas*, the identification of other *maṇḍalas* are taken from H. D. Sankalia, *op. cit.* 34.
- (16) IA, VI, 192 ; HIG, II, 17. (17) WZKM, V, 300 ; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, II (1953), 368. (18) IA, VI, 194, 196, 203. (19) JBBRAS, XXVI, 250. (20) LP, 54.
- (21) The identification of most of these *pathakas* are taken from Sankalia *op. cit.*
42. (22) DV, XV, v. 98.
- (23) Sandhyākaranandin : *Rāmacharita*, *Kaviprasasti*, v. 1. 'Pratibaddha' has been used in the same sense in an Orissa inscription, EI, XXIX, 89.
- (24) *Bharatiya-Vidya* (Hindi-Gujrati), XI, 73.
- (25) *Śri-karaṇa-Vyaya-karaṇe rājño Dharmādhi-karaṇa-Maṇḍapike Velākula-Jalapathaka-Ghaṭikāgrīha-Ṭaṅkaśālāś-cha Dravy-Āṇśuka-Bhāṇḍāgāro Vārigriha-Devaveśma-Gaṇikānām Hasty-Aśva-Kalabha-śālā-Sreṇi-Vyāpāra-Tantra-karaṇāni Koshṭhāgāra-Opakrama-Karmakara-Sthāna-Deva-karaṇāni Sandhir-Mahākshapaṭalām Mahānasaṁ Jayanaśālā cha Satrāgār-Antahpura-suvarṇa-karaṇam cha Koshṭhikā chaiva dvātrīṁśat karaṇīnām niyoginaḥ śuddham atayaḥ syuḥ.* (LP, 1).
- (26) EI, I, 271. (27) *Periplus*, p. 40. (28) IA, XVIII, 112.
- (29) Moti Chandra : *Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Figs. 193 and 198. (30) PCJ, 20 ; PCT, 29. (31) AIOC, VII, 649. DV, XV, vv. 120-1.
- (32) LP, 41. There are many references to the mint at Śrīmāla in LP.
- (33) H. C. Ray Chaudhury : *Political History of Ancient India*, 563.
- (34) EI, VIII, 36. (35) CII, III, 56. (36) PCT, 78. (37) *Rās Mālā*, I, 104.
- (38) A. S. Gadre : *Archaeology in Baroda*, 1934-1947, 8. (39) AIOC, VII, 643. (40) EI, II, 438. (41) EI, XI, 28. (42) CII, III, 81. (43) *Catalogue of MSS. in Pattan Bhandar*, p. 33, no. 40.
- (44) *Arthaśāstra*, II, 34. The officer was designated *mudrādhyaksha* because he had to stamp some papers after receiving his dues with his seal or *mudrā*. Therefore, 'Mahāmātya in charge of seals cannot be said to be a mistranslation of *mudrā-vyāpāre-mahāmātya*, but in English the word 'seal' when used along with a minister has the connotation of the seals of office of a British minister, or the Great Seal of England. As those English seals have nothing to do with passports, it is better not to translate *mudrā*.
- (45) PCJ, 53. (46) IA, XXXIX, 211-12. (47) *Peterson MSS.*, 1887, 51.
- (48) *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, 149. (49) PO, I, no. 2, p. 44. (50) IA, XLI, 20.
- (51) The meaning of *Jayanaśālā* as department of armour is suggested by the editor of LP. (52) IA, XLII, 258.

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- (53) *Catalogues of MSS. in Jesalmere Bhandar*, p. 37, no. 301, (5) ; *Catalogue of MSS. in Pattan Bhandar*, 218.
- (54) *ibid*, p. 33, no. 40 ; PO, II, 225 ; IA, VI, 212. (55) IA, XI, 241 ; PO, III, 20 ; PO, III, 23. (56) JBBRAS, XXV, 322. (57) PO, I, no. 2, p. 40. (58) EI, XI, 44 ; IA, XLI, 202. (59) EI, IX, 151-2. (60) EI, II, 437. (61) PO, II, 227.
- (61a) *Amātyaḥ śachiva mantridhīśakha samavāyikāḥ Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*.
- (62) *Catalogue of MSS. in the Pattan Bhandar*, p. 105, no. 149.
- (63) IA, X, 158. (64) *Peterson MSS.*, 1887, 97. (65) *Arthaśāstra*, I, 19. (66) IA, XLI, 20. (67) *Arthaśāstra*, II, 7. (68) *Bh. Ins.*, 158. (69) IA, VI, 210. (70) PO, I, no. 4, p. 40. (71) EI, VIII, 219.
- (72) *Cat. of MSS. in the Pattan Bhandar*, p. 32, p. 37 ; IA, XVIII, 80.
- (73) Jinavijaya Muni : *Prāchīna Jaina Lekha Saṅgraha*, II, 326 ; P.C. Nahar, *Jaina Inscriptions*, I, 218.
- (74) PO, I, no. 2, p. 44. (75) Bhandarkar's *List of Inscription of Northern India*, p. 45, f.n. 2 ; DHNI, II, 981, f.n. 1.
- (76) The other possessor of this dignity was Tejaḥpāla, an officer under Mahārājaputra-Sri-Madanabrahmadeva a feudatory of Bhīma II. But that inscription has *Mahāpañchaśabda*. PO, I, 41.
- (77) PO, II, 227. (78) *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*. (79) *Cat. of MSS. Pattan Bhandar*, p. 335. (80) *Peterson MSS.*, 1887, 51. (81) IA, XIV, 160. (82) EI, VII, 91 ; JBORS, V, 588. (83) IA, XXXIX, 211-2.
- (84) N. G. Majumdar : *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, Ins. Nos. I, II, VI, XI, XIV, XVI. Banskera plate of Harsha, EI, IV, 211 ; Sevadi plate of Chāhamāna Ratnapāla, EI, XI, 310.
- (85) EI, V, 102. (86) EI, V, 27. (87) EI, XV, 36. (88) EI, XV, 343, 354. (89) IA, IX, 35. (90) IA, XVIII, 82. (91) EI, XV, 127, 138. (92) PO, III, 25. (92a) *Bh. Ins.*, 158. (93) IA, XLI, 20. (94) *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2. (95) LP, 35, 36. (96) Jolly : *Hindu Law and Customs*, 206 ; P. V. Kane : *History of the Dharmasāstras*, II, 502-10.
- (97) The meaning of *hiṇḍipaka* and the following words in old Gujarati is given in the glossary of *Lekhapaddhati*. These words are, *hiṇḍipaka*, *pratisāraka*, *rolāpika*, *maṇḍavi*, *pathakiyaka*, *uparahiṇḍiya*.
- (98) IA, XI, 220. (99) *Cat. of MSS. in Jesalmere Bhandar*, p. 37, no. 301(5) ; *Cat. of MSS. in Pattan Bhandar*, 218. (100) IA, XVIII, 110. (101) PO, II, 225. (102) PO, III, 21 ; QJMS, XIV, 242. Palha is mentioned as a *Deśādhiḥkāri* in an inscription of Śāraṅgadeva's reign. (PO, III, 25). (103) *Cat. of MSS. Pattan Bhandar*, p. 33, no. 37. (104) *ibid*, p. 60, no. 84. (105) IA, XVIII, 84. (106) IA, XVIII, 344. (107) EI, XXII, 97. (108) EI, I, 173. (109) EI, XI, 57. (110) BG, I, i, 480, no. 12. (111) EI, XI, 58. (112) EI, XI, 50. (113) Nahar : *Jaina Inscriptions*, 248. (114) IA, XII, 193-4. (115) JBORS, V, 588. (116) EI, XV, 113-145. The meaning of *prathama-kulika* is discussed in *ibid*, 131, f.n. 6. (117) EI, XX, 62.
- (118) *Vaṇijāḥ* : "Deva! niyujyatām pañchakulam, yena tat samakṣaṁ grīha-niyogināḥ Kuberaśvāmī-sarvaśyam upanayanti."
Rājā : (Kṣhaṇaṁ sthitrā) Bhadrāḥ ! kim pañchakulena ? yūyam evātra pramāṇam. (*Moharājaparājaya*, III, p. 57).
- (119) PCT, 18. (120) *Ibid*, 26. (121) *Ibid*, 84. (122) *Ibid*, 126, 129. (123) *Ibid*, 133, PCJ, 86. (124) PCT, 143 ; PCJ, 91. (125) PCT, 190 ; PCJ, 117. (126) *Arthaśāstra*, II, 9. (127) McCrindle : *Megasthenes, Fragments*, XXXIV, p. 86-8. (128) DV, III, v. 2. (129) LP, 8.

* The meanings of words followed with an asterisk are from the glossary of the LP.

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- (130) IA, XIII, 69. (131) Hultsch who edited the inscription translated the passage as follows: "And money is to be given (to the grantees) in three portions; first in Bhādrapada, secondly in Kārttika, and thirdly in Māgha." (132) LP, 10. (133) LP, 16. (134) EI, XV, 137. (135) LP, 23. (136) LP, 25. (137) *Gautama*, X, 25; *Apastamba*, II, 26, 9; *Vaśishtha*, XIX, 37. (138) LP, 14.
- (139) PO, III, 69. Another instance of the villagers' being made responsible for the theft committed within their villages is found in the post-script of a Kadi grant of Bhīma (no. 10 IA, VI, 208) which states that the possessors of (*satka-bhoktā*) two villages are responsible for the robberies committed within their boundaries. As these provisions are specially mentioned it is to be presumed that such arrangements were exceptions and not the rule. Probably these were punitive measures.
- (140) PCT, 84. (141) *Moharājaparājaya*, ix. (142) *Sakuntalam*, Act, VI. (143) Fleet: Belgamve Inscription of Vinayāditya, IA, XIX, 145. (144) EI, XX, 64. (145) IA, VI, 200, 201. LP, 35. (146) LP, 35. (147) P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, pt. ii, 865.
- (148) *Gautama*, X, 43-45; *Vaśishtha*, III, 13-14; *Manu*, VIII, 35-39; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 34-35; *Nārada*, VII, 6-7. The subject has been discussed in detail by U. C. Ghoshal, op. cit. 118-122 and Kane op. cit. III, 175.
- (149) Bühler, EI, I, 75, f.n.; Ghoshal op. cit. 237. They are supported by *Manu*, VII, 118. (150) EI, I, 88; CII, III, 171. (151) CII, III, 189, f.n. 4. (152) Jolly: *Hindu Laws and Customs*, 268, 270. (153) EI, IX, 47, f.n. 1.
- (154) U. C. Ghoshal, op. cit. 220. Unfortunately Dr. Ghoshal has not given the exact reference to the inscription of Nepal which formed the basis of his contention, but there is hardly any doubt that he is referring to the *Inscription du Yag Bahal* of Śivadeva (S. Levy, *Le Nepal*, III, 138), which states as follows: *chaura-paradāra-hatyā-sambandh-ādi-pañch-āparādha-kārinām śarira mātram rājakulā. Tad-griha-kshetra-kalatr-ādi-sarva-dravy-ārya-saṅghasy-ety-anena-cha sampannah*. This was translated by Levy as follows: "En cas de vol, d'adultère, de meurtre, de complicité, etc., les cinq crimes capitaux, le personne seul de delinquent reviendra aux fonctionnaires royaux; sa maison, ses champs, ses femmes, tous ses biens enfin reviendront au venerable clerge". (Ibid. 144). Thus we see that only the body of the guilty person (*śarira mātram*: la personne seule) will belong to the king and the property of the criminal to the donee, in other words the king did not abdicate his criminal jurisdiction of inflicting corporal punishment, though he gave up his right to collect the fines.
- (155) Ghoshal op. cit., 260. (156) *ibid*, 256. (157) EI, III, 263. This inscription also gives the donee the right to enjoy *aputrika-dravya*. (158) Ghoshal op. cit. 256. (159) T.P. Taswell-Langmead: *English Constitutional History*, (9th Ed.) 322. (160) EI, I, 271-287.
- (161) '*Chāturjātakapādānām yah saṁmilitapottake*'. (v. 63) are the actual words used in the *Cintra-praśasti*, which Bühler tentatively explained as 'treasury' (EI, I, 278, f.n. 44). The same word occurs in the LP (25) which its learned editor translates as 'government money bag.' I do not know if the editor derives this meaning from any Old Gujarati word but '*Bhaṇḍāri-Narasimhasya potake*', (LP, 25) is I believe better translated as 'into the treasury of which Bhaṇḍāri Narasimha was in charge'. Incidentally, it may be observed, that small coincidences like this in the use of archaic words common to both inscriptions and LP, help to establish its genuineness as a collection of contemporary documents. The two documents in LP where *potaka* has been used, are dated V.S. 1288. Erratum: For Chaturjātaka read Chāturjātaka.
- (162) Ghoshal, op. cit., 244. (163) *ibid*, 42. (164) *ibid*, 65.

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(165) *Arthaśāstra*, I, 13 ; II, 15. *Manu*, VII, 127, 128. In his commentary on *Manu*, VII, 128, Kullukabhaṭṭa includes the agriculturists also as liable to pay *kara*, which he explains as paddy, and *aśṭabhoga* et cetera.

(166) Altekar : *History of the Rāshtrakūṭas*, 215. According to *Manu* (VII, 130, 131) the king might take the sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs, substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots, fruit, pot-herbs grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, earthen vessels and all (articles) made of stone. (167) PCJ, 53.

(168) In Kayadra and Abu inscriptions of Dhāravarsha (IA, LVI, 51) he is referred to as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and in Abu Inscription (II) of V.S. 1265 (IA, XXI, 221) he is referred to as *Maṇḍalika*. *Mahāmaṇḍalika* has been used in another inscription, IA, XLI, 202-3.

(169) Of the four known inscriptions of Chāhamāna Ālhaṇa of Nadol (EI, XI, 43 ; IX, 63, 66 ; JASB, 1916, 101) only the first gives the name of his suzerain. In all the inscriptions however, Ālhaṇa assumed the modest title of *Mahārāja* which shows that he never declared his independence. Of the eleven known inscriptions of Ālhaṇa's son Kelhaṇa dated between V.S. 1220-1249 the one dated V.S. 1228 (EI, XI, 47-8) mentions the name of Kumārapāla. Again, of the ten known inscriptions of Dhāravarsha dated between V.S. 1220-1276 only the one dated V.S. 1265 mentions the name of Bhima (IA, XI, 220). Two inscriptions, in one of which Dhāravarsha is called '*Mahārājādhirāja-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*' (IA, LIV(1924), 51) and in the other simply as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* (IA, LVI, 51), do not state the name of his overlord but the use of the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, proves his feudatory status. In the inscription in which Bhīma II is mentioned, Dhāravarsha is called a *Maṇḍalika*. (IA, XI, 220).

(170) PO, I, 47. (171) DV, XVI, vv. 61-2.

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Economic Life

- (1) *Tazjryatu-l Amsar wa Tajriyatu-l Asar* by 'Abdullah Wassaf, E & D, III, 31. (2) DV, XIX, v. 37. (3) *Pāmaddā, pādābhjōm dhānya-mardanam*, DN, VI, 40. (4) DN, VI, 32. (5) E & D, III, 31. (6) DV, XV, v. 49 ; XVIII, v. 30 ; III, v. 5. (7) DN, I, 52 ; DN, III, 50. (8) DV, III, vv. 4-5 ; DN, V, 7. (9) *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Tr. by W. H. Schoff), 39. (10) E & D, I, 85. (11) DN, I, 21. (12) DN, II, 110. (13) DN, I, 28, 79 ; II, 82. (14) DN, I, 117. (15) *Periplus*, 38. (16) *Marco Polo*, (Tr. by A Ricci, Ed. by and with an Introduction by Sir Denison Ross.) (1931) p. 332. (17) The *deśi* word for cotton tree was *karāñi* (DN, II, 18). (18) *Marco Polo*, 332. (19) DN, I, 89. The same word also meant thorn apple. (20) *Periplus*, 39. (21) All the vegetables mentioned in DN are common to-day. (22) *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 257 (2nd. Ed.). (23) DN, I, 15, 12 ; III, 7 ; VI, 48. (24) *Periplus*, 39. (25) *Marco Polo*, 334.

(26) *Relation de Voyages et Textes Géographiques, Arabes, Persans et Turcs, Relatifs a l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe Siècles*, Tr. into French by G. Ferrand, p. 394-5.

(27) PCT, 70 ; DV, III, v. 9. (28) DN, V, 16. (29) DN, IV, 45. (30) DN, VI, 51, II, 65.

(31) In his article on Sugar Industry in Ancient India, Sri Jogesh Chandra Roy

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Vidyanidhi, remarks on the absence of a Sanskrit word to denote a sugar press. Jogesh Ch. Roy : *Ancient Indian Life*, 85. But here we have an example.

(32) DN, II, 33. (33) *Marco Polo*, 332-3. (34) Ferrand : op. cit 95. (35) DN, III, 21 ; V, 22. (36) *Marco Polo*, 332-3. (37) *Ain*, II, 262. (38) *Bh. Ins.* 153. (39) PCJ, 70. (40) EI, I, 285, v. 50. (41) *Jambūdvīpaprāñapti*, 43, p. 193. (42) PO, III, 21. (43) PCT, 104 ; PCJ, 69.

(44) *Periplus*, 42. The goods of 'Ozene' (Ujjain) which according to the *Periplus* was sent to Broach for export must have meant the merchandise of Mālava generally.

(45) The earliest mention of Stambhatīrtha is perhaps in the Kavi grant of Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III, dated Śaka 749 where the king of Stambha is mentioned. A. S. Altekar : *A History of Important Towns in Gujrat*, IA, LIV, (Supplement), p. 47.

(46) "The reason why in particular Somanath has become so famous is that it was a harbour for seafaring people, and a station for those who went to and from between Sufala in the country of Zanj and China." *Al-Beruni* (Sachau), II, 104. For Abul Fida, Ferrand, *Textes Géographiques*, 203, f.n. *Marco Polo*, 335.

(47) *Marco Polo*, 332-3. (48) *ibid*, 334. (49) *Periplus*, 42. (50) *Marco Polo*, 334. (51) *ibid*, 335. (52) E & D, III, 33. (53) *ibid*, 33-4.

(54) *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine Rédigé en 851, Suivi de Remarque par Abu Zayd Hasan (vers 916)*. Tr. into French by G. Ferrand, p. 138.

(55) *Jamī'ul Hikayat* by Muhammad 'Awfī ; E & D, II, 200-1.

(56) *Marco Polo*, 332. Marco Polo calls them 'the worst pirates in the world.' But in those days it was difficult to distinguish between a pirate and commissioned vessel just as was the case during the age of great discovery by the Europeans. For example no one would call Vasco da Gama a pirate, yet the following fact is recorded about him. "A rich Muslim pilgrim vessel on its way to India from the Red Sea was intercepted by da Gama's fleet, plundered and sunk ; there were many women and children on board ; but to these no mercy was shown ; and we actually read that da Gama watched the horrors of the scene through a porthole." (CHI, V, 6) Compared to this barbarity the conduct of the Gujarat pirates seems to be extremely humane, for even Marco Polo does not bring against them any more serious charge than that of applying to their victims a powerful emetic prepared from a mixture of tamarind and sea water to evacuate the bowels of the merchants in order to find out whether the merchants had swallowed anything or not. I have sometimes wondered whether this was not an extraordinary practice of the customs officers of those days, whom in his anger Polo has designated pirates. From the history of a later period we know that Indian customs methods were considered unnecessarily stringent and vexatious by foreigners. (*The Rehla of Ibn Battuta* Tr. by M. Husain (G.O.S. (XXII 1953) 12-13. (*Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* : (Foster), 28-9. Tavernier, I, 7. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* : Ed. by S. N. Sen, 2-3.) It only remains to add that Marco Polo had heard the story of the pirates from some one, for he does not speak of having been molested himself.

(57) *Journal Asiatique*, 1918, 165. (58) *Rās Mālā*, (59) E & D, I, 87 ; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Vol. II, Pt. i, 373. (60) Numismatic Supplement, VII, (1907), 47 ; XI-VII, (1937-38), 348 XVI (1954) Part II, 283 ; 239. (61) IA, XLI, 209.

(62) The Kadi plate no. 8, IA, VI, 207-8. It consists of two plates, the first bears the sign manual, *Mahārājñi Śri-Sumaladevyā(śha)*, and the second *Śrīmad-Bhimadevasya*.

(63) *Voyage du Marchand Sulayman*, (Ferrand), 48. (64) Ferrand : *Textes Géographiques*, 103. (65) *Periplus*, 42. (66) Numismatic Supplement, II, (1904), 8. (67) Cunningham, ASR, IX, 21 ; Fleet, IA, XIV, 65. (68) *Bāṅgālir Itihās* (Bengali)

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by Dr. N. R. Roy, 842. (69) Knut Wicksell: *Lectures on Political Economy*, II, (Money), 98. (70) DV, XVII, vv. 94, 80-1. (71) DV, XVII, vv. 79 & 84. (72) DV, XVII, v. 84. Along with *Nishka* Hemachandra mentions *Bista*, which is explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as a measure of gold. (73) DV, XX, v. 10. (74) PCT, 8. From the commentary on the *Pṛithvirājaviṣaya* (Canto V, v. 90) we learn that *Rupaka* was a kind of *Dināra*. (75) PCT, 10. (76) PCT, 104, 121, 163, 167, 183-4. (77) PCT, 104.

(78) I have accepted the translation of Tawney and the reading in Dinanatha's edition where the word is given as '*rupyaka-dramma*'. Sri J. V. Muni has accepted the reading *paruthaka-dramma*, while two other MSS. have *parupyaka* and *parushaka* respectively. For golden *ṭankās*, PCJ, 15, PCT, 36.

(79) For *Vimśopaka*, EI, I, 166; EI, X, 19. For *Drammas*, IA, VI, 202, EI, I, 272, etc. For *Kāśhāpana*, Bh. Ins., 158. For *Rupaka*, IA, XLI, 202-3, IA, XI, 337.

(80) *Viśalaprīya drama*, EI, XI, 58; *Bhīmaprīya drama*, *ibid*, 59. See also Ladol Plates of Karpā J. Or. Inst. (Baroda, 1953) II, 368.

(81) B. J. Sandesara: *Weights Measures and Coinage of Medieval Gujrat*, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VIII, 138.

(82) *Arthashastra*, II, 12. (83) EI, XXIII, 140. (84) *Prākṛit Grammar* by Hemachandra, IV, 335. (85) LP, 20, 33, 34, 37. There are slight variations in the language of the formula, but the sense is practically the same. (86) LP, 20. (87) LP, 34, 33. (88) A. S. Altekar: *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, 364-5. (89) IA, XI, 337. (90) Altekar *op. cit.* 367. (91) PCT, 104; PCJ, 69. (92) Rik. VIII, 47, 17.

(93) MM. P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmasāstras*, III, 416.

(94) "A creditor should never lend money without having first secured a pledge of adequate value, or a deposit, or a trustworthy security; nor without a bond written (by the debtor himself) or attested (by subscribing witnesses)" *Bṛihaspati*, Tr. by Jolly, (S.B.E. XXXIII), p. 320.

(95) LP, 34-5. (96) Manu, VIII, 151; *Gautama*, XII, 31, 36; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 39. (97) Kane *op. cit.*, 423. (98) *Nārada*, IV, 114; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 93; *Viśṇu-dharmasūtra*, VI, 26. (99) *Nārada*, IV, 114 (Tr. by Jolly, S.B.E., XXXIII, p. 69). (100) *Nārada*, I, 115; *Bṛihaspati*, XI, 66 (S.B.E., XXXIII, pp. 69, 332). (101) LP, 36-7. (102) *Kātyāyana*, 516. (103) *Kātyāyana*, 522, quoted by Kane, *op. cit.* 431. (104) *Mānava-Dharma-Sāstra* (Ed. by V. N. Mandalik), II, 958. (105) *ibid*, see also Kane *op. cit.*, 429. (106) Prajāpati quoted in Parāśara's commentary by Mādhava, III, 242. (107) LP, 37. (108) Manu, VIII, 189. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 66. (Chowkhamba, ed.) p. 493. (109) LP, 38. (110) *Mitāksharā on Yājñavalkya*, II, 58. (111) LP, 19-21. (112) *Nārada*, I, 102-105; *Bṛihaspati*, XI, 4-11.

(113) *Bṛihaspati*, XI, 6. Vyāsa quoted by Kane *op. cit.* from *Smṛitichandrikā*, II, 154. *Nārada* (I, 129) says that "If a pledge for enjoyment has been given, (the creditor) must not take interest on the loan".

(114) *Yājñavalkya*, II, 62; *Nārada*, I, 115. (115) *Nārada*, 126-129; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 59; *Gautama*, XII, 39; *Bṛihaspati*, XI, 21. (116) *Nārada*, I, 120; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 55. (117) IA, XVIII, 80.

(118) *Yājñavalkya*, II, 58 sets out three provisions according to one of which, when a time is fixed for payment the thing pledged or mortgaged is lost to the debtor if the time fixed is allowed to pass without there being any repayment. Evidently the debtor retained his right to get back on payment the article mortgaged till the date had expired.

(119) *Arthashastra*, III, 12. (120) LP, 21.

(121) *Arthashastra*, III, II. The interest on paddy lent is called by Kautilya '*dhānya-vṛiddhi*'. According to Kautilya the maximum interest that could be charged

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on paddy lent was one and a half times, that is for 1 md. of paddy, the debtor could be made to pay 1½ mds.

(122) Quoted by Kanē, op. cit., 441. (123) *ibid.* 431. (124) LP, 55. (125) LP, 55-6.

(126) *Yājñavalkya*, II, 56 ; *Nārada* I, 121 : "Twice as much as the surety, harassed by the creditor, has given (to the creditor), shall the debtor pay back to the surety".

(127) *Yājñavalkya*, II, 57. (128) *Manu*, VIII, 49 ; *Bṛihaspati*, XI, 54 ; *Nārada*, I, 122. (129) EI, XI, 37. (130) E & D, I, 88. (131) PCT, 92 ; PCJ, 93. (132) PCT, 82 ; PCJ, 55. (133) E & D, I, 88. (134) *Marco Polo*, 313.

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Religious Life

(1) PCT, 25-6 ; PCJ, 17-8. (2) IA, VI, 191. (3) PCT, 26 ; PCJ, 18. (4) PCT, 29 ; PCJ, 20 : DV, VII, v. 31 ; IA, IV, 111. (5) PCT, 29 ; PCJ, 20. (6) *Veraval-Praśasti* of Bhāva Bṛihaspati, WZKM, III, 1 ff. (7) PCT, 78 ; PCJ, 55. (8) PCT, 80 ; PCJ, 55.

(9) *Rās Mālā*, I, 79. It means that it was still in existence during the time of Forbes.

(10) PCT, 80 ; PCJ, 55. (11) PRAS, WC, 1912, p. 16. (12) PCT, 90 ; PCJ, 61.

(13) "The Rudramahālaya temple at Sidhpur is one of the architectural gems of the state. Unfortunately a large portion of it including the great hall and the sanctum sanctorum is being used as a mosque." ARAB, 1934-35, p. 8.

(14) *Veraval-Praśasti*, WZKM, III, 1.

(15) DV, XX, vv. 91-94, and 99-101. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says that the temple of Kumārapāleśvara was at Anahilapura. (16) IA, VI, 204.

(17) Bhīma II issued two grants in favour of these temples. (Kadi Grants no. 6 and 7, IA, VI, 201, 203). Tribhuvanapāla granted a village to these temples. (Kadi grant no. 10, IA, VI, 208). The usurper Jayantasiṃha also granted a temple to these temples. (Kadi Grant no. 4, IA, VI, 196).

(18) Kadi Grants nos., 8 and 9 ; IA, VI, 205-8. (19) *Cintra-Praśasti*, EI, I, 272.

(20) WZKM, III, 1. Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II, EI, XXI, 1.

(21) PO, II, 227.

(22) Vedagarbharāṣi is mentioned in Kadi Grants nos. 5, 6 and 7. (IA, VI, 199-204). His son Someśvara is mentioned in Kadi Grant no. 7. (23) IA, XI, 220.

(24) Nakuliśa and Lakuliśa are interchangeable terms. (Bühler, EI, I, 274, f.n. 10). For Bhāva Bṛihaspati, WZKM, III, 1.

(25) Kārohana is modern Karvan on the Miyagam-Dabhoi Railway. (EI, I, 274). The Sanskrit form of the name is Kāyāvarohana : Kārohana : Kārvān. (D. R. Bhandarkar, ASI, 1906-7, p. 183).

(26) A summary of the *Kārvān Māhātmya* was given by D. R. Bhandarkar in his article 'Lakuliśa', ASI, 1906-7, 180-92.

(27) *Sārasvatī-Purāṇa*, 16, 162. Quoted by Sri Santimoy Bannerji, IHC, III, 491.

(28) R. G. Bhandarkar : *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, 116, 120.

(29) T. A. Gopinatha Rao gives a slightly different account of the origin of the Lakuliśa sect. Rao : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, pt. i, 17-8. For Kālāmukha Sect, EI, XXIII, 163

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(30) *Sarvadarśanasāgraha* : Tr. by Cowell and Gough, 103-11. An excellent summary is given by Rao, op. cit., 21-3.

(31) Hemachandra seems to have meant this sect whose manners he criticised in *Trishashṭīśālākāpurushacharita*, (Eng. tr. III, 88).

(32) IA, XI, 220. Dr. Sankalia is of the opinion that the Chapaliyas belonged to a different sect under *Nātana Mātha*. (H. D. Sankalia : *Archaeology of Gujrat*, 225). But I think that in view of the building activities of Kedarārāśi and his sister, *Nātana* did not signify a proper name, but was intended as an adjective, meaning a new monastery.

(33) Utpala's commentary on *Bṛihat Saṁhita*, LIX, v. 19. Quoted by Dr. J. N. Banerjea : *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 249-50, f.n.

(34) Quoted by T. N. Gopinatha Rao, op. cit., II, i, 29.

(35) S. M. H. Nainar : *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, 128.

(36) DV, XV, v. 119. *Sarasvatī-Purāṇa*, XVI, v. 162. "At present there stands the Darga of Syed Hossain." S. Bannerji ; The Sahasraliṅga Lake, *IHC*, III, (1939), 491. (37) WZKM, III, 9, v. 29. (38) IA, XLI, (1912), 20. (39) IA, X, 158.

(40) "Verse 44 informs us that Śrīdhara built in Somanāthapattana two temples of Rohiṇīsvāmin, sacred to Vishṇu, in memory of his mother, and a temple of Śiva called after his father Valla." Bühler and Ojha : Śrīdhara's *Devapattana-praśasti*, EI, II, 439). To this Dr. Sankalia observes : "I do not see how the editors got two temples. I interpret the broken line no. 34 : *Rohiṇīsvāmin-nāmnā Keśavādayah* as above", i.e., "a temple of Rohiṇīsvāmin containing the images of Keśava and others". (Sankalia, op. cit., 228, f.n. 6). It may be pointed out that several words between *Rohiṇīsvāmin-nāmnā* and *Keśavādayah* are missing.

(41) Sankalia op. cit., 149, 229, 154-5. (42) DV, VIII, vv. 42-44. See also v. 50.

(43) For Avatāras of Vishṇu, Sankalia, op. cit., 148-54. "Vadnagar possess several sculptures lying in the Sitalā Mātā temple compound and the Ajapāla or Ajayapāla *kuṇḍa*. Of these specially noteworthy are those which represent the various *avatāras* of Vishṇu, including the Buddha." (ARAB, 1935-36, p. 11).

(44) DV, III, v. 7. It is needless to explain that Hemachandra could not have meant Jayadeva the author of the *Gita-Govinda*, for the work was most probably written after Hemachandra's death.

(45) DV, III, v. 7. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi has explained the nature of the *sama* and the *riṣhama* metres, but for our purpose such explanation is unnecessary.

(46) Abhayatilaka Gaṇi states : *yato gopīgityā gopīnām śālyādirakṣhikāṇām strīṇām gānena hetunā hṛidā kṛitodbhṛāntaiḥ śūnyachittaiḥ*. (DV, III, v. 7) Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's explanation of *gopī* was not entirely unjustified. In a preceding verse (DV, III, v. 5) Hemachandra states that the *Gopikās* used to guard the crops, and they beguiled their hours of vigilance by singing, and later milked the cows. Hemachandra intended to convey that this song diverted the minds of the students. Evidently, Hemachandra was giving the derivations from the root *gup*.

(47) TSP, III, 88 (Eng. Tr.) (48) M. R. Majumdar : *The Gujrati School of Painting and Some Newly Discovered Vaishṇava Miniatures*, JISOA, X, 1-31. (49) Dr. S. K. De : *Early History Of The Vaishṇava Faith And Movement In Bengal*, 10. (50) CII, III, 81. (51) *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, IX, — *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat*, 88-9. (52) Dr. J. N. Banerjea : *Sūrya*, JISOA, XVI, (1948), 79. (52a) F. W. Hall : JASB, XXI, 112, f.n. (53) Ganeśa Inscription V.S. 1291, *ABORI*, IX, 179. (54) ARAB, 1935-6, p. 12. (55) *Buddhiprakas*, 1910, 77. (56) Sankalia, op. cit., 214. (57) PO., I, no. 4, p. 38; Rao op. cit., I, i, 265. (58) J. N. Banerjea : *Sūrya*, op. cit., 87-8. (59) Burgess op. cit. 88-9. (60) DV, VII, v. 43.

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- (61) PCJ, 20. (62) Sankalia op. cit. 146-7. ASWI, IX, 80. Cousins : *Somanatha*, 58. (63) *Rās Mālā*, II, 323. (64) *Sankalia*, op. cit., 197, f.n. 2. (65) PO, I, 46; PO, III, 69; *Jagaducharita*, II, v. 1. (66) ARAB, 1938, p. 4. (67) *PCT*, 151, 157.

(68) Rājasekhara : *Prabandhakośa*, 'Hema Sūri-prabandha,' 47. Jayasinha Sūri : *Kumārāpālabhūpālacharitra*, VII, vv. 609-10. The verse is :

*santi Kaṇṭheśvarī-mukhyā devatās-tava gotrajāḥ
tāsām pūjākrīte rājan saptamyādī-dina-traye
ajāḥ śatāni saptāśṭa nava sairabhakā api
sapt-āśṭa-nava-saṅkhyāḥ vitṛyante'nu vatsaram*

Jina-māṇḍana merely paraphrases this verse in prose. (*Kumārāpālaprabandha*, 61.)

To those who are not conversant with the worship of Durgā, the number of animals said to be slaughtered by the Chroniclers may appear to be grossly exaggerated. Hence it may be stated here that even a few years ago 3000 goats used to be sacrificed in one day in the Kali temple at Meher, a well known village in East Bengal. Svāmī Durgāchaitanya Bhārati in his work *Samādhān* (Bengali) writing on the worship of Durgā, both inside and outside Bengal, states that at Kathmandu a stream of blood of the slaughtered animals flows on the *Mahā-Navami* day, and he guesses that the total number of animals sacrificed at Kathmandu during the three days would be about one lakh. (*Samādhān*, 99). Hence I do not think that the Gujarat Chroniclers were in any way exaggerating the number of animals sacrificed to Kaṇṭheśvarī.

- (69) *Al-Beruni* (Tr. Sachau), I, 120. (70) *PCT*, 19; *PCJ*, 13. *PCT*, 21; *PCJ*, 15. (71) *DV*, XX, v. 27. (72) *DV*, III, v. 6.

(73) Practically more than half of the third canto of *Deyāśraya* is a description of the autumn when Mūlarāja was making preparations for advancing against Grāharipu. As Hemachandra describes the seasons including autumn in a later canto of *Deyāśraya*, the great interest both he and his commentator takes in describing the autumn, leaves one hardly in any doubt that it was the most important season of the year. The reason is not far to seek; Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says : *Saradī hi karṣhakāṇām dhānyāni nishpadyante*, and adds that from this paddy the farmers used to pay their revenue. (*DV*, Vol. I, p. 210). Hence both the cultivators and the landlords were well off. To this annual economic prosperity was added the further attraction of the coming new year which begun in Kārttika.

(74) The verse quoted by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi is from *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* v. 11, Ch. 92. (B.I. Ed. p. 481).

(75) *DV*, III, v. 6 Probably the Navarātri and Durgā-pūjā, though both worship the Mother Goddess, they were not exactly the same pūjā, so that while *navarātri* is still observed in Gujarat, Durgā-pūjā is obsolete.

On the celebration of Mahānavamī al-Beruni writes : "On the 8th Asvayuja (Āśvina), when the moon stands in the 19th station, begins the sucking of the sugar-cane. It is a festival holy to the Mahānavamī, the sister (sic) of Mahādeva when they offer the first fruits of sugar and all other things to her image which is called the Bhagavati." (*Al-Beruni*, ii, 179-80). The sucking of sugarcane as a part of the festival is interesting for Hemachandra mentions a similar festival in the *Deśināmamālā* (I, 32). But the importance of this passage is that al-Beruni does not say that any animal was sacrificed, though he says elsewhere that sheep and buffaloes were sacrificed during the worship of Bhagavati (Durgā) and Chāmunda. (*Al-Beruni*, I, 120). This is in conformity with the description of Hemachandra and other chroniclers, and explains why Hemachandra does not mention any animal sacrifice during *navāha*, while the other chroniclers do so while describing the worship of Kaṇṭheśvarī. Moreover it is clear that *navāha* (*DV*, III, v. 6) worship

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lasted for nine days beginning from the 1st day of the bright half of Āśvina, while Kāṇṭheśvarī was worshipped from the 7th to the 9th day only. Navāha was, as Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says, the *navarātra* festival, while the worship of Kāṇṭheśvarī was the Durgā-pūjā.

(76) DV, III, v. 39. (77) DV, III, v. 8. (78) TSP, (Eng. Tr.), I, 343. (79) DV, II, v. 106. (80) DN, III, 43. *Kāmasūtra*, I, iv, 43. (Chowkhamba Ed. p. 54). (81) PCT, 111; PCJ, 73. (82) Quoted by P. K. Gode: Some Notes On The History Of Divālī Festival, ABORI, XXVI, 237.

(83) Santimoy Bannerjee: The Sahasraliṅga Lake, IHC, III, 493. (84) Hemachandra states that Mularāja worshipped Mahālakṣmī before he left for his campaign (DV, III, v. 65). Hemachandra also devotes practically the whole of the 10th canto of the *Dryāsraya* to a description of Lakṣmī's worship by Kaṇva I to receive the blessings of a son. It is clear therefore that the worship of Lakṣmī and Mahālakṣmī was popular during Hemachandra's time. (85) *Al-Beruni*, II, 182.

(86) *śreyaś-chirāyuh kuśalan stātkāryaṁ siddhimetu cha putrebhyaś-cha snushānām ch-ety-ūchur-Balimahe striyaḥ*

The details are given by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi. (DV, III, v. 32) Vol. I, p. 230-1.

According to Forbes, during his time, that is during the last century, Bali's day was observed on the "fifteenth of the light half of the month of Sravan which was also called the Narali Purnima or Cocanut day." (*Rās Mālā*, II, 325) Dr. Sankalia does not state specifically about the Bali Pūjā but states that *divālī* was observed then as now on the last day of Āśvina and the first day of Kārttika. Dr. Sankalia then proceeds to observe that at present *divālī* consists of (1) the worship of wealth, (2) the celebration of Viṣṇu's victory over Naraka, a demon, (3) Lakṣmī worship, (4) the celebration of Viṣṇu's victory over Bali, and (5) the expression of sisterly and brotherly affection. Dr. Sankalia observes, without giving any specific detail, that some of these features "seem to be of a later growth brought about by subsequent contact with Deccan." (Sankalia, op. cit., 241) To this it may be pointed out that worship of the goddess of wealth and of Lakṣmī (they are almost certainly identical) was prevalent in Gujarat during the Chaulukya period, (See above r.n. 84) only we do not know definitely whether the worship of Lakṣmī formed a part of the *divālī* celebrations, though as we have said Siddharāja might have introduced it from Kolhapur. But from the garbled version of al-Beruni it is apparent that the worship of Lakṣmī was known in northern India during the 11th century A.D. Of the other parts of the festival celebrated in Gujarat, as stated by Dr. Sankalia, the celebration of Viṣṇu's victory over Bali was celebrated in Gujarat as has been shown above. As for "the expression of sisterly and brotherly affection shown during *divālī* in modern Gujrat," it may be pointed out here that in the commentary on the verse of *Dryāsraya* where the word *Balimaha* is used (DV, III, v. 32) Abhayatilaka Gaṇi says: '*bhaginy-ādi-striḥ prañamanti*' to indicate a part of the ritual which took place on the *Balimaha* day. This indicates separate ceremony like the *Bhāu-bija* day which according to P. K. Gode (*History of Divālī*, ABORI, XXVI, 238) is even to-day observed by the Gosāvis on Kārttika Suddha *dvitīyā*, i.e. on the day following the Divālī, which as we have seen was the Day of Bali's festival in Gujarat during our period. This *Bhāu-bija* festival is concerned at present with sisters who feed their brothers on that day. It is called *yamadritīyā* in Sanskrit, and Hemādri describes it in detail in the *Vrata-khaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi* where he quotes an extract from the *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa*, (*Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi*, *Vrata-khaṇḍa*, VI, B. I. Ed. p. 384-6) a work from which Abhayatilaka Gaṇi has quoted. It may therefore be reasonably expected that the *Yamadritīyā* as described in the *Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa* was observed in Gujarat. Hence the only difference

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between the ancient and modern festival of *divālī* seems to lie in the celebration of Viṣṇu's victory over Narakā, which is celebrated now, but there is no evidence to show that it was observed in ancient or mediaeval Gujrat.

(87) *Vināyaka-Skanda-guro puṇyairi Phālguna-Chaitrayaḥ*

Brāhmaṇa-Kṣhatra-vi-Śūdrāir prekṣhyase grishma-dolayoh DV, V, v. 141.

(88) Hemachandra in his *Deśināmamālā* mentions a festival called *Phaggu* which might have had some connection with *Dola*, but as Hemachandra has not given any such indication, *Phaggu* is described elsewhere.

(89) *Dhar-Prasasti* of Arjunavarman, or *Pārijātamañjarī-nāṭikā* by Madana, EI, VIII, 96. (90) DV, XX, v. 5. (91) *Al-Beruni*, II, 179-80; *Kāmasūtra*, I, iv, 43. Chowkhamba Ed. p. 54. (92) This festival continued at least till the time of Forbes. *Rās Mālā*, II, 319.

(93) Forbes described a festival held on the 15th day of Śrāvaṇa which he called 'Bulev' or 'Bulee's day,' and described it as the anniversary of the fight between Viṣṇu and Vāmana. (*Rās Mālā*, II, 325).

(94) *Al-Beruni*, II, 176, 179. (95) EI, I, 279. (96) *Al-Beruni*, II, 184. (97) *ibid*, 180. (98) DV, III, v. 17. (99) TSP (Eng. Tr.) I, 181. (100) DV, III, v. 35. (101) *Al-Beruni*, II, 177. (102) Pillar Edict No. 5. (103) DV, Vol. II, p. 307 Commentary on verse no. 69, Canto, XVI. (104) Karamdanda Inscription of Kumāragupta, EI, X, 70. (105) *Bharatiya-Vidyā*, (Hindi-Gujrati), I, 73. (106) *Bhandarkar MSS.* 1882-83, p. 45; *Peterson MSS.* 1884, p. 65; Klatt's List, IA, XI, 248; Dasaratha Sarma: The Kharatara-gachchha Paṭṭavali compiled by Jinapāla, *IIIQ*, XI, 779.

(107) *sa sādhan-ayajāt-tattvām jñānas-tat-prajñanataḥ*
apāvadiṣṭa ch-aikāntam samayacchhata śuddhatām
DV, VII, v. 64.

(108) EI, VI, 285. (109) EI, XXII, 64. ((110) Klatt's List, IA, XI, 248; Kielhorn, EI, IX, 149. (111) *Peterson MSS.*, 1887, p. 274. *Ibid*, 1886-92, p. cx.

(112) *Prabhāvakacharita* relies exclusively on the *Mudrita-Kumudachandra* for the description of this incident, and indeed summarises the drama faithfully. The verses beginning with the following words are common to both the works :

1. *Hañho śvetapoṭa kimesha* MK, Act, I, p. 8; Pch, XXI, v. 92.
2. *Kaḥ kañḥiravakanthakesara* MK, Act, I, p. 8; Pch, XXI, v. 94.
3. *Dantānām malamaṇḍali* MK, Act, III, p. 27; Pch, XXI, v. 166.
4. *Vimṛiṣa vimṛiṣāmbhobhiḥ* : MK, Act, III, p. 28; Pch, XXI, v. 168.
5. *Nāriṇām vidaghāti* MK, Act, V, p. 45; Pch, XXI, v. 207.

also copied by Merutunga, PCJ, 68.

The drama *Mudrita-Kumudachandra* is entirely concerned with the debate. The *Prabhāvakacharita* describes the debate in Canto XXI, vv. 81-251. Merutunga describes this debate in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, (PCT, 97-103; PCJ, 66-8).

(113) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXI, v. 195. (114) The celebrated verse which lent the drama *Mudrita-Kumudachandra* its name and has been quoted in the *Prabhāvakacharita* and *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* is as follows :

ittham varṇayato nabha-stava yaśo jātām smṛiter-gocharam tady-asmin-
āśrayate Śaśi maśakatām-āyānti yatr-ādrayaḥ
khadyuti-dyutim-ātanoti Savitā jṛṇ-ornanābh-ōlaya-chekhāyām-
bhramarāyate narapate ! vāchas-tato mudritāḥ

MK, Act, V, p. 45. Pch, XXI, v. 209; PCJ, 68, v. 159.

This verse has been translated by Tawney as follows :

The Sun sheds in it the lights of a firefly, the moon repairs to the shade
Of an old spider's hole, and the mountains are in it but gnats,
While describing the heaven in these words, thy glory came to my recollection

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That buzzes in it like a humble bee, henceforth my words are sealed up.

All the three authorities that have been quoted above refer to this unlucky verse uttered by a too courtier like monk to propitiate the king as the beginning of the monk's downfall.

It should be noted here that Tawney read the name of the Svetambara scholar as Śrīdeva from Ramachandra Dinanatha's edition of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*. But the majority of manuscripts consulted by Jinavijaya Muni has Devachandra, the drama *Mudrīta-Kumudachandra* and the *Prabhāvakacharita* has Devachandra. Hence the identification of the opponent of Kumudachandra leaves no doubt; he was Devachandra the preceptor of Hemachandra.

(115) Strange as it may seem, all the three authors state that the debate was decided by the ignorance of Kumudachandra of the use of a word which is expressed by two authors in the same verse:

*koṭākoṭiḥ koṭikoṭiḥ koṭikoṭiḥ riti trayāḥ
śabdāḥ sūdhutayā hanta sammataḥ Pāṇinerabhi*

MK, Act V, p. 47; Pch, XXI, v. 234. Merutuṅga does not quote the verse but states that the defeat of Kumudachandra was due to his ignorance of this usage sanctioned by Pāṇini. (PCJ, 68; PCT, 103). (116) DV, XV, vv. 60-96.

(117) The complete verse as given by three authors namely Merutuṅga, Jayasimha Śūri, and Jina-maṇḍana consists of two more lines:

*yatra tatra samaye yathā tathā yo'si so'syabhidayā yayā tayā
vīta-dosha-kalushaḥ sa chedbhuvāneka eva bhagavan namostu te*

These two lines which come before those already quoted are found in Hemachandra's *Mahāvīrasvāmīstotram* (No. 2, *Kāyaṃala*, *Saptama Guṇachha*, p. 107, v. 31) and is also quoted in *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, v. 347. For the complete verse see PCJ, p. 85, vv. 187-88; KBCH, Canto V, vv. 51-52; *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, p. 45. Tawney translates the verse thus: (PCT, 131)

At whatever time, under whatever condition
Whoever thou art, by whatever name known,
If thou art that one free from the stain of sin,
That only one,—honour to thee, O adorable being!
Whether he be Brahmā or Viṣṇu or Śiva, honour to that being
In whom passion, and the other feelings that produce the germination
of the seed of birth, are extinguished!

(118) O ! thou, Arhan (Jīneśvara), thou art the Iśa (Maheśvara), thou art the Viṣṇu, thou art the Aja (the creator, Brahmā). DV, I, v. 79.

(119) *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 49. (120) Thucydides: *The History Of The Peloponnesian War*, (Everyman's Ed.), 14-5. (121) *Bh. Ins.*, 205. The inscription is not dated. (122) *ibid*, 172; EI, XI, 44. (123) DV, XX, v. 27. (124) DV, XX, vv. 27-37. (125) *Mahāvīraccharita*, vv. 65-74. (126) PCJ, 82, PCT, 125. *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 174-183. *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 45. Amiga was the ancestor of Someśvara, the author of the *Kīrtikāumudī* (See *Surathotsava*, XV).

(127) Hoernle: The Paṭṭāvalis of Upakeśa-guṇachha, 1A, XIX, 234. (128) EI, XI, 54. (129) DV, XX, vv. 98-100. (130) *Mahāvīraccharita*, v. 91. (131) *Mahāvīraccharita*, v. 75. (132) Bühler: *Life of Hemachandra*, 45.

(133) *Prabhāvakacharita*, XXII, vv. 603-609 for Kumāravihāra; v. 701 for 32 temples for the sins of teeth; v. 688 for the temple of Tihunapāla; vv. 722-26 for an account of the temples of Śatruñjaya.

(134) PCT, 143; PCJ, 91. (135) KBCH, VII, vv. 587-603. *Kumārāpālāprabandha*, 60. Both the authors give the name of the offending merchant as Maheśvara.

(136) PCT, 133 : PCJ, 86. PCT, 143 : PCJ, 91. PCT, 146 : PCJ, 93. (137)

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Bühler : *Life of Hemachandra*, 46. (138) PCT, 151; PCJ, 96. (139) Girnar Inscriptions : ARBP, 283-302. (140) EI, VIII, 200-229. The name of Suhaḍādevī occurs in the last inscription (No XXXII, Dt. V.S. 1287). (141) Cousens; *Somanātha*, 73. Sankalia, op. cit., 107. (142) C. D. Dalal : *Vasantarilāsa*, Introduction, xvi. No basis for his calculation was given by the editor (Dalal) and I have been unable to find any. (143) *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, XVI, 37. (144) VTP, vv. 45-69.

(145) The reference to the building of *pausaḍha-śālās* shows that the *pausaḍha* vow was observed. Hemachandra in the TSP (I, 208) states : "The *posadharrata* is the observance of the *Chaturtha* fast et cetera on the four moon days in the month." The translator H. M. Johnson points out that the four moon days are the 8th, the 14th, the full moon and the day before the new moon. (Hemachandra, *Yogaśāstra*, 3.85) It may be remembered that two inscriptions record the prohibition of the slaughter of animals on the 11th, 14th, and 15th, day of each month, and the 8th, 11th, and the 14th day of each month. (*Bh. Ins.*, 172, 205). These days might have been the ones on which *Posadharrata* was observed.

(146) SKK, vv. 157-176. (147) Bühler : *Arisimha, Sitzungberichte*, Bd. CXIX, (1889). (148) EC, VII, Sh. 4, p. 6. See also Sh. 39 dated 1122 A.D. and Sh. 56 dated A.D. 1125. (149) A. S. Altekar : *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, 316. (150) Prakrit *Dvyaśraya* p. 600 (2nd Ed.). (151) See above, Chapter X, reference no. 32. (152) SS, I, v. 44. (153) Though we shall see later that Vastupāla at least once worshipped Śiva. Hence probably the epithet. (154) SS, VIII, v. 46. (155) *Mahāvīracharita*, v. 76. (156) Bühler : *Life of Hemachandra*, 45. (157) EI, XI, 51. (158) EI, VIII, 200 (Ins. no. 2). (159) IA, XI, 337. (160) P. K. Gode, ABORI, XXVI, 226. (161) Margaret Stevenson : *Jaina Festivals and Fasts*, 875-79. (162) IA, XLI, 20. (163) IA, XXXI, 491; SS, XI, v. 6.

(164) Dr. A. S. Altekar, op. cit., 291. Dr. Altekar is of the opinion that the word *raṅgabhogā* may refer to periodic celebrations of Paurāṇic dramas.

(165) DV, XVI, v. 50. (166) DV, XVII, v. 47. (167) DV, XV, v. 40. (168) TSP (Eng. Tr.) II, 272 and f.n. (169) DV, XV, v. 70. (170) *praviśya chāitya-garbhe'tha gomayāyita-kūṅkume* DV, XV, v. 75. (171) EI, VIII, 200 (Ins. no. 2).

(172) It is generally supposed that the Muslims brought roses with them, hence the taboo on their use in worships. But I have recently read in a Bengali book of travels that Kedāranātha is worshipped with roses which grow in that locality profusely as a wild flower. If this be correct, then it may be that at Kedāra, Śiva was worshipped with roses, and that Tripurāntaka, who in his wanderings had visited Kedāra, learned the custom there.

(173) Cintra-*prāśasti*, EI, I, 285, vv. 52-57. The verses 52 and 57 seem to be slightly contradictory. (174) PCT, 90-1; PCJ, 61-2. (175) *Skanda-purāṇa*, Pt. iii (*Brahmakhaṇḍa*), Bk. II, (*Dharmāranyakhhaṇḍa* Chs. XXXVI and XXXVII). (176) H. P. Sastri : *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the A.S.B.*, VI, p. lvii, MSS. nos. 3121-3123.

(177) *Kumārāpāla-kṣmāpāl-Ājayapāla-mahibhujau*
yaś sahbābhūsanam chitram Jainam matam arochayat
Pārśvanāthacharitra by Māṇikyachandra quoted in *Peterson MSS.*, 1887, p. 161, v. 24.
 (178) EI, II, 421. (179) KK, IX, vv. 70-71. (180) Harshagani, *Vastupālacharita*, VI, v. 536. (181) *Jagaducharita*, III, vv. 28-61. (182) Muhammad 'Awfi : *Jamī'ul Hikayat, E & D*, II, 163-64. (183) *Jagaducharita*, VI, v. 64. (184) IA, XI, 241. (185) Dr. M. A. Chaghtai : *The Earliest Muslim Inscription In India From Ahmedabad*, IHC, III, (1939) 647. (186) Al-Beruni, I, 22-23.

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Social Life

- (1) *Sprishṭ-āprishṭa-nishedhāya vidhāy-āvadhī-vedikām pure'smin vāritas-tena takra-vikraya-viplavah*. (*Kirtikaumudi*, IV, v. 17).
- (2) DN, II, v. 73; III, v. 54. (3) *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* by Fa-Hien, Tr. by I. Legge, 43. (4) *Nārada*, XIII, 36; *Bṛihaspati*, XXVI, v. 7. (G. O. S. LXXXV); Jolly.
- (5) *Yājñavalkya*, (*Yācāhāra*), v. 123 (Chowkhamba Ed. p. 587). Mitra Miśra the author of the *Vīramitrodaya* flourished much later than our period. He is quoted here to show that probably Gujrat was following an interpretation of Yājñavalkya, which was later codified.
- (6) *Manu*, IX, v. 118. *Yājñavalkya*, VIII, 117 (p. 576). (7) *ibid*. (8) LP, 47-49. (9) LP, 56. (10) PCT, 155-6; PCJ, 98. *Jaina Sahitya Sansodhaka*, III, 107. D. B. Diskalkar: *Some Unpublished Inscriptions of Vastupāla*, ABORI, IX, 174 f.n. (11) *Jagadūcharita* III, vv. 19-27. (12) TSP, III, 87-8. (13) *Nārada*, XII, 97 (S.B.E., XXXIII), *Arthaśāstra*, III, 3. (14) LP, 52. (15) Sir Gurudas Bannerjee: *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana* (4th Ed.) 189-90; Kane, op. cit., II, 620. (16) LP, 15. (17) PCT, 154; PCJ, 98. (18) PCT, 184; PCJ, 114. (19) *Ferishta* (Tr. Briggs), I, 169-70.
- (20) This statement of Ferishta is unreservedly accepted by Sir W. Haig (CHI, III, 38) Dr. Ishwari Prasad has apparently accepted this story as genuine, though he finds it "difficult to vouch for its accuracy." (Ishwari Prasad: *History of Mediaeval India*, 114). But Dr. Habibulla points out that this story is first related by Ibn'ul Asir (XI, 77) who himself admits later (p. 79) that his account of India is based on hearsay and is unconfirmed. Hence Dr. Habibulla rejects this story as a 'tainted account.' (A. B. M. Habibulla: *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 37, f.n. 1) The version of Merutuṅga shows that the story of a queen who betrayed the king to the Muslims was already current in India by the end of the 13th century, whence it probably reached the ears of Ibn'ul Asir, from whom Ferishta copied it.
- (21) *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, vv. 1-40. It may be mentioned here that Durlabha's mother, Anangalekhā, daughter, wife and mother of kings, was caught almost in *flagrante delectio* by her husband who excused her much the same as Lavaṇaprasāda excused his spouse. (*ibid*, III, vv. 495-592).
- (22) *ibid*, IV, v. 40. (23) TSP, III, 86-9. (24) *Devala*, vv. 47-51 (*Smṛiti-samuchchaya*, p. 87). *Rajasā suddhate nāri vikalaṁ ya na gachchhati*, *Purāṣara*, VII, 2. *Yājñavalkya*, I, 72. *Viśiṣṭha*, XXI, 12. (25) P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstras*, I, 121.
- (26) Al-Beruni's information, before he came to India, was that a Hindu taken away as a slave by the Muslims, after his return is made to fast, then buried in stale dung and cow milk for a certain number of days, and on coming out of it is made to eat the same stuff. Al-Beruni specifically asked the Brahmins if this account was true, and they replied in the negative maintaining that no expiation was possible for such an individual. Hence al-Beruni concluded, convinced of the veracity of his Brahmins: "And how should that be possible? If a Brahmin eats in the house of a śūdra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it." (*Al-Beruni* Tr. Sachau, II, 163).
- (27) *Moharājaparājaya*, p. 83. (28) *Prakrit Dryāśraya*, VI, v. 38. (29) *Al-Beruni* (Sachau), II, 157. (30) *Arthaśāstra*, *Adhyakṣhaprachūra*, Ch. XXVII. (31) Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstras*, II, i, 180-187. (32) LP, 44-7. (33) *Manu*, VIII, 145.

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(34) *Yājñavalkya*, XIV, (*Abhyūpetyaśuśrushā*), v. 1. (p. 660). (35) *Bṛihaspati*, VII, 29, (G.O.S. LXXXV, p. 73). Jolly's Tr. IX, 21 (S.B.E. XXXIII, p. 312 cf. *JBORS* VI, and VII. (Report of a case regarding the ownership of a slave) (35a) LP, 53.4.

(36) The phrase used is '*prishṭhau hastam dāvāpya*', which the editor of the LP has taken to mean, 'making the king give him a warning.' (LP, 124, glossary) As the king is nowhere mentioned in the document the editor's explanation does not seem at all likely. It may indicate something like branding.

(37) Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 388, III, 615.

(38) *Peterson's MSS.*, 1884, 26-8. The whole passage is quoted and translated by Peterson. (39) *Jagaducharita*, VI, vv, 71-90.

(40) Quoted and Translated by A. Barreidale Keith : *History of the Sanskrit Literature*, 235-6.

(41) LP, 35, 36, 37. All these documents either record a mortgage or sale of a house for which a written document was necessary.

(42) The actual word used is '*varaṇḍikāvṛitam*' (LP, 37), which has been translated by the editor as 'surrounded by a verandah': (LP, glossary, p. 115). But according to Hemachandra '*varaṇḍo*' was a *Deśi* word and meant a '*prākāra*', that is a compound wall. Similarly in a Jaina canonical work called *Nayadhamma-Kaḥāo*, it is stated that a palace was provided with *viḷaṇkas* which is explained in the commentary as *kapotapāli* or a kind of hole beneath the *varaṇḍikā*: *varaṇḍikādhovarti sūravīśesaḥ*. Dr. Moti Chandra has explained this as kind of hole beneath the verandah. (Moti Chandra : *Architectural Data In Jaina Canonical Literature*, JBBRAS, XXVI, (1951), pt. ii., 179). It is however clear that in this case too *varaṇḍikā* means a wall which as is stated had holes in the lower part undoubtedly in order that men might spy outside. There can be no conceivable reason for piercing holes through the lower parts of a verandah.

(43) DN, IV, v. 44. (44) LP, 47.

(45) The exact words are : '*paṭṭaśālā-rasavutī-samanvītaṁ*'. (LP, 37). According to the glossary of LP (p. 116) *paṭṭaśālā* (cf. Gujarati *padśāl*) means 'the first room in the house'. Dr. Moti Chandra thinks that *Paṭṭaśālā* means a dressing room. (JBBRAS, XXVI, 182). The word *paṭṭaśālā* occurs in the Mandhata plate of Jayasinha (EI, III, 47) where Kielhorn suggested that *paṭṭaśālā* (*paṭṭaśālā-Brāhmaṇabhya*) where the Brāhmins probably lived might have been analogous to *Brahmapuri*. However the meaning of *paṭṭaśālā* becomes clear from the following statement in another inscription : "To provide for the eight kinds of ceremonies of the god Mallinātha of the *paṭṭa-sāle* (*lā*) which they had made within the precincts of that Śāntinātha *bāsāḍi*." (EC, V, i. Belur, 129, p. 86). From the above it will be clear that *paṭṭaśālā* had a religious significance, and I think in the context of the document in the LP it means a detached room in which the deity was kept.

(45a) E & D, I, 87. (46.) *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Tr. by Bird, 103. (47) DN, II, v. 7. (48) DN, IV, v. 11. (49) DN, I, v. 129. (50) DN, II, v. 81 ; V, vv. 2 and 19. (51) DN, IV, v. 1. (52) DN, VIII, v. 22. (53) DN, V, v. 48. (54) *Anekārthasaṅgraha*, 29.

(55) DN, VII, v. 44 ; VIII, v. 39. The second act of the *Abhijñāna-Sakuntalam* begins with a long complaint from Viḍūshaka about the forest life in which he grumbles about a daily diet of '*sālla-māṃsa*'. Evidently during the days of Kālidāsa, meat roasted on a fork or spike was considered a rustic food and not a delicacy. Whether during the period under review the tastes had changed or not it is impossible to say. However in the DN no other meat preparation is mentioned.

(56) E & D, I, 87. (57) PCT, 200 ; PCJ, 122.

(58) Ferrand : *Textes Géographiques*, I, 238. Ibn Masah died in A.D. 1000.

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(59) DN, III, v. 41, 45 ; VIII, v. 4 ; I, v. 46 ; II, v. 2 ; IV, v. 4. V., v. 34, VI, vv. 35, 41, 50, 75 ; VII, v. 4.

(60) A collection of Muslim Geographers' accounts on the temperate habits of the Indians will be found in S. M. H. Nainar : *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, 101-2.

(61) *mandam gadyam slatham yamyā nivi madyam na cha tryā*. DV, XI, v. 13. See also v. 14 (cf. *Siddha-Hema*, XVII, 30). For drinking of women in Gupta Age and in the time of Harsha, Saletore ; *Life in the Gupta Age*, 120 ff.

(62) Nainar, op. cit., 102. (63) *Harshacharita*, (Tr. Cowell) p. 112-114.

(64) Moti Chandra : *Jaina Miniature Paintings From Western India*, 120. All the plates of painted manuscripts mentioned in the following discussions will be found in this book.

(65) Allan ; *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, 43. (66) SKK, v. 71. (67) PCT, 186 ; PCJ, 114. (68) *Prabandhakośa* (69) DN, I, v. 24. (70) Quoted by Moti Chandra op. cit. *Mānasollāsa*, II, 101. (71) DN, II, v. 93 ; II, v. 94. (72) DN, II, 107. (73) Sankalia : *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 118. (74) PCT, 186 ; PCJ, 114.

(75) DN, II, v. 18. *Kaṇṭhakuñchi* meant both the scarf and the Adam's Apple. Hence it seems that the scarf derived its name from its function which was to hide the unseemly growth.

(76) *Dattbaro hasta-śūlaka*, DN, V, v. 34. TSP, I, (Text) ii, v. 964.

(77) DN, VI, v. 36. (78) DN, III, vv. 32, 39 ; VI, v. 76, 87 ; IV, v. 13. (79) DV, IX, v. 30. (80) IA, IV, 232, f.n. (81) Ferrand : *Textes Geographiques*, I, 179. (82) *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* : Ed. by S. N. Sen, 205-6. (83) DN, IV, v. 42. *Doṅgili* also meant a betel-box. (84) *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, II, pt. i, 242. (85) DN, III, v. 56 ; IV, vv. 12-3. (86) TSP, I, 229. The list of 14 ornaments is given by the translator.

(87) *dāṇḍāyam giriṇā kāṇāḥ khaṇḍāḥ saṅkulayā mithaḥ grāmyā yuvata-yānūnā muṣṭībhiḥ kalahaṁ vyadhuḥ*. DV, III, v. 10.

The description of the game given here is practically a literal translation of Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's commentary with his sentences re-arranged.

(88) *tasyām cha kṛīḍakāḥ śreṇī-dvyam kṛitvā saṅkulābhīr-mithaḥ pratikulāṁ rivakṣhitā-sra-sīma-pāra-prāpaṇārthaṁ kaṇduka āhanvate*.

(commentary on DV, III, v. 10) vol. I, p. 215.

(89) *tathā saṅkulayā vakr-āgrayā kṛīḍana-yashtyā* (ibid).

(90) DV, VII, v. 10. (91) DV, Vol. I, p. 612 (Commentary on DV, VII, v. 44) ; *Trishashtīśālākā-purushacharita*, III, 68.

(92) *Mahāvīracharita*, v. 74. As usual this was also delivered in the form of a prophecy.

(93) "Gambling and betting let the king exclude from his realm ; these two vices cause the destruction of the kingdom of princes." Manu, IX, 220.

(94) *Nārada*, XVII, 1. (95) *Prihaspatī*, XXVI, 1 (S.B.E. XXXIII). (96) TSP, III, 279. (97) DN, VI, vv. 41-2. (98) *Mahāvīracharita*, v. 73. (99) DN, I, v. 53 ; III, v. 30. The game described by Merutuṅga in which princess Kāmalatā asked by her playmates to chose a bride-groom in a dark room, seems to have been a variation of the game of hide and seek. (PCT, 27 ; PCJ, 19). See also PCT, 139, PCJ, 89. (100) TSP, I, 150. (101) DN, I, 7. (102) DN, IV, v. 21. (103) TSP, I, 158. (104) *ibid*, III, 262. This is probably the *dulē-vasantiya* of the Sitabenga Cave Inscription, ASI, 1903-4, 125. (105) S. N. Das & S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* : 769.

(106) The *Dūtāṅgada* is a 'chhāyā-nāṭya' or shadow play. It may be mentioned here that shadow play made its appearance in Arabia in the 13th Century A.D., in a

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highly developed form (P. K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs*, 690). It might have been copied from the plays current in the Far East, but there is a possibility that the Muslim merchants who thronged the ports of Gujarat carried it back home from that country.

(107) Jalor Ins., EI, XI, 54; Anavada Ins. 1A, XLI (1912), 20. (108) PCT, 106: PCJ, 70-1. (109) TSP, III, 239.

(110) P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar: *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, 77, quoted by V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, : *Studies in Tamil Literature And History*, 266.

(111) *JAOS*, LIX(1939), 132. (112) *DN*, II, vv. 48 and 90.

CHAPTER XVII

Art and Architecture.

(1) Henry Cousens: *Somanath*, 8; AANG 29; N. K. Bose: A question about the Somanatha temple, *Vigil*, April 30, 1955, 8.

(2) J. Burgess: *Muhammedan Architecture of Broach, Cambay, Dholka, Champaner and Mahmudabad in Gujarat* (1896), (ASI. ; N.I.S. XXIII), 21, 26, 31, 32 Pls. II, XIX, XXII, XXVIII, XXXV. AANG, 29-30.

(3) AANG, 37, 52. (3a) *Ibid*, 91. (4) *Ibid*, 96-99, Le Bon wrote in 1884. (4a) *Ibid*, 29.

(5) *Nāgarasya smṛito deśaḥ Himavad-Vindhya-adhyagah*
Iśānagurudevapaddhati, Silparatna
For similar statements, see *Kāśyapaśilpa and Kāmikāgama*.

(6) *Nāgarī Madhyadeśe tu Lāṭī Lāṭe prakirtitā*
Aparājita-prichchhā; quoted from a MS. by S. K. Saraswati,
Origin of Mediaeval Temples, *Indian Culture*, VIII, 183.

(7) *Nāgarān-ādihikṛity-cha prāmeyaṃ varttanoditā*
yo viśeṣo'tra Lāṭānām prasamkshepeṇa bhanyate
Nagarais-tu samā Lāṭā kintu te karmabhedakāḥ
chaturasrau tu teshām hi masūraka-kapōtakau
Hayasīrsha-pañcharātra, Ch. XIX, quoted by T. Bhattacharya,
Vastuvidyā, 326.

(8) AANG, 27. (9) I am grateful to Sri S. K. Saraswati for pointing out to me this feature of the Chaulukya temple architecture. For plans illustrating the principles of rotating squares see Fergusson: *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 431, 437, 439, 444; Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture Buddhist and Hindu*, Pl. XCIII; Sankalia: *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 113.

(10) AANG, 25. (11) WZKM, III, 1. (12) PCT, 126; PCJ, 82. (13) E & D, II (2nd Ed.), 476; (1st Ed.) 472. (14) E. C. Sachau: *Al-Beruni's India*, II, 105. (15) *Bh. Ins.* 208. (16) Cousens, *Somanath*, 15. (17) Sankalia: *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 102. (18) EI, I, 271, vv. 40-46.

(19) B. K. Thapar's Report on the excavation at Somanath, September-October, 1930; published in K. M. Munshi: *Somanath, The Shrine Eternal* (1951, Souvenir, Ed.) 78-81.

(20) AANG, 27. (21) V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: *The Matsya-purāṇa A study* (University of Madras, 1935), 109.

(22) AANG, 71. For description of the Modhera Temple, see AANG, 71-8; Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture*, 145-7, Percy Brown has given a drawing of

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"conjectural restoration of the Sun Temple," *ibid* plate XCIB ; H. D. Sankalia : *op. cit.*, 84-91.

(23) AB, 10. (24) P. Brown *op. cit.*, 145-7. (25) *Dēvībhāgavata* (IX, 21, vv. 16-18). (26) PCT, 90 ; PCJ, 61. (27) PRAS, WC, 1912.

(28) AANG, 60 ; Tod : *Travels in Western India*, 142. These inscriptions are not mentioned in the reports of the Archaeological department of Baroda. Burgess saw them in 1869. Presumably the inscriptions are lost.

(29) Dr. Hirananda Shastri states that the "great hall and the *sanctum sanctorum* is being used as a mosque," and one of the small shrines which still exists is being used as a store. (ARAB, 1934-35, 8). Sri A. S. Gadre states that three of the smaller shrines "have been converted by Muslims into the Jumma Masjid." AB, 14.

(30) AANG, 108-109 Pl. XCIV-V ; 110, Pl. XCVI-IX 109, XCVI, fig. I ; 108, Pl. XCIII ; III, CII-III ; Pl. XCVI, fig. 4 ; 88, Pl. LXVIII ; Cousens : *Somanatha* 69, LXXXVII ; 63, LXXXIII. ARAB, 1936-37, 5.

(31) ASWI, VIII, 91 ; AANG ; 105, Pls. XI, LXXXVII-XCII ; Plan LXXXVIII ; Cousens, *Somanath*, 62, Pl. LXXI ; ARAB, 1934-35, para 10 ; 1938 ; para 20 ; AANG, 110. *ibid*, III ; Cousens : *Somanatha*, 63, LXXII. There are two temples at Chaubari ; ARAB, 1936-37 ; 5. (32) AANG : 105.

(33) Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 74 ; Sunak grant of Karna, EI, I 317. The facsimile of the inscription is given, and the reading is beyond all doubt.

(34) ARAB, 1934-35, 20. (35) *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (B.I. Ed.) Ch. CIX, v. 71.

(36) Cousens : *Somanath*, 29-30. (37) Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 83.

(38) Even after the exhaustive surveys made by Burgess and Cousens, many interesting type of temples were discovered by Shastri and Gadre.

(39) ARAB, 1936-37, 3 ; 1938, 2, Pls. 1 & 2. (40) ARAB, 1938, 4, Pl. IX ; AB, 15, Pl. VI. (41) AB 15-16 ; Pl. XXII.

(42) AKK, 166 ; T. N. Ramachandran : *Jaina Monument*. 14 ; (This book was privately circulated.) Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 110. (43) Forbes : *Ras Maṭa*.

(44) Cousens : *Somanath*, 74. For views of the temples of Girnar Abu, and Satrunjaya, see also Percy Brown, *op. cit.* Pls. CIII, CIV & CV, and Fischer : *Die Kunst Indians, Chinas Japans*, 247, "Templeburg Satrunjaya" which shows the fortified nature of the place ; wood cut in Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. II, 25.

(45) AANG, 115. (46) EI, IX, 151. (47) For the plan of Vimala's temple, see Fergusson : *History of Indian Architecture*, II, fig. 283 ; Sankalia *op. cit.*, fig. 18 ;

(48) Fergusson, *op. cit.* 36. (49) Cousens : *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, 47. (50) H. Zimmer : *The Art of Indian Asia* : I, 268. (1955, Bollingen Series, XXXIX). (51) ARAB, 1936-37, 6, pl. VI ; 1935-36, 3 : AANG, 84-5.

(52) Describing Vadnagar, Burgess wrote : "The chief temple is to be found to the west of the town, picturesquely placed below the walls....." AANG, 84. It seems that he is referring to a city wall for which there is epigraphic evidence as noted below. In the ARAB (1935-36, 10, para 22) it is stated : "The fort wall of Vadnagar..... probably belongs to the time of Kumārapāla."

(53) AB, 13. (54) RD, 27, 36. For Vaidyanatha temple, ARAB, 1936-37, 2, Pl. II. (55) *pārdvāre gopuram rathyā pratoli viśikhā samā*. (56) P. K. Acharya ; *Mānasāra, An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, 159.

(57) See above, 65. (58) AANG, 112. (59) ARAB, 1936-37, 2, Pl. III ; 1938, 3, 1939, 30. (60) ASWI, VIII, ii, 91.

(61) ARAB, 1938, 16 ; for further details of excavation see ARAB, 1939, 6-7.

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S. Banerjee : The Sahasralinga Lake, IHC, III, 478 ; P. K. Code : Identification of Siddharaja Saras, IHQ, XIV, 152.

(62) Jayantavijayaji, *Abu*, (2nd Ed.) 160 ff. quoted by Sankalia op. cit, 117.

(63) RD, 29. (64) AANG, 6 ; 44. (65) J. N. Banerjee, *Surya*, JISOA, XVI (1948), 84.

(66) ARAB, 1935-36, 12 ; Pl. III. The date is given on p. 12 as V.S. 1293 ; but in the inscription quoted on p. 14, no date is given.

(67) *ibid*, 12. (68) *ibid*, 1936-37, 7. (69) *ibid*, 1935-36, 14. (70) AANG ; Pls. XC, CIII ; AKK pl. XLIII. (71) RD, 30-33 ; Pl. XII. (72) ARAB, 1934-35, 9-10 ; 1935-36, 15 ; 1938, 5 ; AANG, 67. (73) ARAB, 1934-35, 7, para 15. (74) Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, (1927) ; 20-21. (75) *ibid*, 64-65. (76) ARAB, 1938, 15 ; Pls. XII, XIII, XIV ; AB, 23.

(77) *Catalogue of MSS. in the Patan Bhandar*, 203, no. 34 ; Motichandra : *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India* ; 28 ; H. Sastri ; *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations*, (Gaekwad's Archeological Series, no. 1), 10.

(78) Strobo XV, 717. According to R. B. Pandey (*Indian Palaeography*, I, 70 f.n. 33) Bühler confused cotton-paper with cotton-cloth.

(79) Motichandra, op. cit, fig. 14. (80) KBCH, I, v. 277.

(81) For details and references see W. Norman Brown op. cit, 18 ; Motichandra op. cit, 28.

(82) These two pictures seem to have been joined in the frontspiece of KBCH.

(83) H. Shastri, op. cit, 11. (84) Motichandra, op. cit, 58. (85) *ibid*, 16.

(86) *ibid*, Pls. 51-52 (87) I. Stchoukine : *La Peinture Indienne A L'epoque des Grands Moghols*, 73. (88) Motichandra : op. cit, 100 ; *Vishnudharmottara*, III, Tr. by Stella Kramrisch, 55. (89) *Vishnudharmottara* III, ch. 45, v. 30.

(90) R. C. Hazra : *Studies in the Puranic Records*, 44. Since writing the above I have come across an article by Dr. Hazra in which he has concluded : "*Vishnudharmottara* cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 400 and later than A.D. 500". R. C. Hazra : *The Vishnudharmottara, an Encyclopaedic Work of the Gupta period*, *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, III, 58.

(91) Tschoukine, op. cit., 104-05. (92) Ajit Ghose in *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, 187 ff., 278 ff. Norman Brown op. cit., 16. (93) Motichandra, op. cit., 103. (94) *ibid*, 133. (95) Coomaraswamy : op. cit. 119-120. (96) Motichandra, op. cit. 17-21 ; H. Shastri op. cit., 15. (97) *ibid*, 15, For the Sakas in western India see Norman Brown, op. cit., 9-12. (98) Norman Brown, op. cit., 19 ; Ajit Ghose, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, 187 ff. (99) J. H. Breasted ; *A History of Egypt* (1912), 105. Italics are mine. (100) Norman Brown, op. cit., 19.

CHAPTER XVIII

Gujarat Chronicles

(1) S. N. Das Gupta & S. K. De : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, 472.

(2) *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, II, 14.

(3) The statement requires some modification. The first three aphorisms of the SH are of benedictory nature, and then begins the alphabets. Hemachandra most adroitly illustrated the first three aphorisms in the DV. We shall here give only one example. The first aphorism of the SH is : *Arham* and the *Laghuritti* comments as follows : *Arham-ity-ctad-aksharam Paramēśvarasya Paramēśhthino vāchakam. Mañgal-ārtha śāstraśyādaṁ praṇidadhmaḥ*. (SH, I. i. 1). And the first verse of the DV is :

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Arah-ity-aksharāṁ Brahma vāchakāṁ Parameshthinaḥ

Siddha-chakrasya sad-bijam sarvataḥ prapīdadhmahe. (DV, I, 1).

It may be noted here that *Siddha-chakra* here contains a veiled reference to Siddharāja, and shows incidentally that Hemachandra began to write the book during his reign.

(4) For a translation and the importance of this verse see above chapter on Kumārapāla r.n. 71.

(5) Not only Merutuṅga, but I doubt whether any Gujarat Chronicler had read DV. For, Hemachandra devotes four cantos (II-V) to the description of Mularāja and Grāharipu's relations, Mularāja's expedition against Grāharipu, the battle, Mularāja's victory, imprisonment of Grāharipu, his ultimate release, and Mularāja's triumphal return. Anyone who reads the DV will have the impression that Mularāja's struggle with Grāharipu was the central fact of his reign. But no other Gujarat Chronicler mentions the name of Grāharipu; they on the other hand mention Laksha, who according to Hemachandra, was an ally of Grāharipu.

6. Dasharatha Sarma: Gleanings from the Kharataragachchhapattāvali, IHQ, XXVI, 228.

(7) The *Surathotsava* was noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar in his 'Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1883-84, pp. 18-22, and the text of the first and the last cantos were published in the same book pp. 334-342. The *Surathotsava* was published in the Kavyamala Series (No. 73) in 1902.

(8) Amarachandra was a prolific writer. Besides the works mentioned above, he also wrote the *Jinendracharita* (otherwise called the *Padmānandakāvya*) the *Bālabhārata* and a grammar (?) called the *Syādiśabdasamuchchaya*. Rājasekhara attributes to him two works called the *Suktāvali* and the *Kālakalāpa*. In the *ṛitti* to the *Kāryakalpalatā* three other works by Amarachandra are cited, namely, the *Chhand-ratnāvali*, a work on prosody, the *Kāryakalpalatā-parimāla*, probably an epitome or continuation of the same work, and an independent work on poetics called *Alaṅkāraprabodha*. (For details see S. K. De, *Studies in the Sanskrit Poetics*, I, 210-11, II, 363-66).

APPENDIX

Identification of Barbaraka

That Jayasimha really defeated someone called Barbaraka is sufficiently proved by his assumption of the *biruda* 'Barbarakajishnu', but Barbaraka cannot be identified with any certainty. We shall attempt to indicate a possible identification, for which we cannot do better, than to quote the following notes of Indrajī in this connection (BG, I, pt. i, p. 174-5, f.n. 1):

"Regarding Barbaraka, Doctor Bühler remarks in Ind. Ant. VI. 167: 'The Varvarakas are one of the non-Aryan tribes which are settled in great numbers in North Gujarat, Koli, Bhil or Mer.' Siddharāja's contests with the Barbarakas seem to refer to what Tod (*Western India*, 173, 195) describes as the inroad of mountaineers and foresters on the

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plains of Gujarat during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. To attempt to identify Bhut Barbar or Varvar is hazardous. The name Barbar is of great age and spread from India to Morocco. Wilson (*Works*, VII, 176) says: 'The analogy between Barbaras and barbarians is not in sound only. In all Sanskrit authorities Barbaras are classed with borderers and foreigners and nations not Hindu. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Ferrier's Caravan Journeys*, 223 note) tribes of Berbers are found all over the east. 'Of the age of the words Cannon Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, IV, 252) writes: Barbar seems to be the local name for the early race of Accad. In India Ptolemy (A.D. 150, McCrindle's edn. 146) has a town Barbarei on the Indus and the *Periplus* (A.D. 247, McCrindle's Edn. 108) has a trade centre Barbarikon on the middle mouth of the Indus. Among Indian writings, in the Rāmāyaṇa (Hall in Wilson's works VII, 176 note*) the Barbaras appear between the Tukharas and the Kambojas in the north: in the *Mahābhārata* (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I 481-2) in one list Var-varas are entered between Savaras and Śakas and in another list (Wilson's Works VII, 176) Barbaras come between Kirātas and Siddhas. Finally (As. Res. XV. 47 footnote) Barbara is the northmost of the seven Konkanas. The names Barbarei in Ptolemy and Barbarikon in the *Periplus* look like some local place-name, perhaps Bambhara, altered to a Greek form. The Hindu tribe names, from the sameness in sound as well as their position on the north-west border of India, suggest the Mongol tribe Juan-Juan or Var-Var, known to the Western nations as Avars, who drove the little Yuechi out of Balkh in the second half of the fourth century, and for about a hundred years, ruled to the north and perhaps also to the south of the Hindu Kush. (Specht in *Journal Asiatique*, 1883 II, 390-410; Howarth in *Jour. R.A.S.* XXI, 721-810) It seems probable that some of these Var-Vars passed south either before or along with the White Huns (A.D. 450-550). Var, under its Mongol plural form, Avarti (Howarth, Ditto 722) closely resembles Avartiya one of the two main divisions of the Kathis of Kacch (Mr. Erskine's List in *J. Bom. Geo. Soc.* II, 59-60 for Aug. 1838). That among the forty-seven clans included under the Avartiyas four (Nos. 30, 35, 42 and 43) are Barbariyas, suggest that the Kathis received additions from Var-Vars at different times and places. Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VI. 186) thinks that the Babaro or Barbar or Var-Var who gave trouble to Siddharāja represent some early local non-Aryan tribe. The fact that they are called Rākshasas and Mlechhas and that they stopped the ceremonies at Sidhpur north of Aṇahilavādā seems rather to point to a foreign invasion from the north than to a local uprising of hill tribes. Though no Muslim invasion of Gujrat during the reign of Siddharāja is recorded a Jesalmir legend (Forbe's *Ras Mala*, I, 175) tells how Lanjo Bijirao, the Bhaṭṭi prince who married Siddharāja's daughter, was hailed by his mother-in-law as the bulwark

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of Anahilavādā against the power of the king who grows too strong. This king may be Bahalim, the Indian viceroy of the Ghaznivid Bahram Shah (A.D. 1116-1157). Bahalim (Elliot, II. 279; Brigg's *Ferishta*, I, 151) collected an army of Arabs, Persians, Afghans and Khiljis repaired the fort of Nagor in the province of Sewalik, and committed great devastations in the territories of the independent Indian rulers. He threw off allegiance to Ghazni and advancing to meet Bahram Shah near Multan was defeated and slain. Except that they were northerners and that Bahalim's is the only known invasion from the north during Siddharāja's reign nothing has been found connecting Barbar and Bahalim.Some of the new comers as noted above seem to have merged into the Kathis. Others founded or joined the Babarias who give their name to Babarivada, a small division in the south of Kathiavada. Though the tribe is now small, the 72 divisions of the Babarias show that they were once important. One of their leading divisions preserves the early form Var (Kathiwar Gazetteer, 132-133) and supports their separate northern origin which is forgotten in the local stories that they are descended from the Jedvas and Ahirs and have a Brahman element in their ancestry. (Tod's *Western India*, 413; *Kathiwar Gazetteer*, 132-133) Of the Var-Vars in their old seats a somewhat doubtful trace remains in the Barbaris, a ribe of Hazarats near Herat (Bellew in *Imp. As. Quar. Review*, Oct. 1891, 328) and in the Punjab (Ibbetson's *Census*, 538) Bhabras, a class of Punjab Jains."

Besides the sources mentioned by Indrajī, it may be noted that Barbaras are mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Chap. CXXI, vv. 45-51) along with Tusharas, Pahlavas, Śakas and other tribes whose countries were watered by the river Chakshu. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (Chap. LVII, v. 38) places the Barbaras in the north-west along with the Kambojas, Daradas, and the Harshavardhanas. The *Arthaśāstra* (Ed. by T. Ganapati Shastri, I, 187; Tr. by Shama Shastri, 90) mentions a jewel called Ālakandakam, which is explained in the commentary as being so named because it came from the city of Alakanda situated on the sea coast of the Barbara country. Alakanda has been identified with Alexander's Haven, the name being derived from Alexander. (Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. Majumdar, 694) Barbara is also mentioned in the Ayurvedic work called *Rājani-ghanṭu*, and *Barbarika* in another Ayurvedic work called *Dhanvantari-yanighanṭu*, in both the cases in connection with sandal wood, *Barbara-chandana* and *Barbarika-chandana* (Cunningham, op. cit., 694-5).

It is therefore clear, that the Barbaras as a tribe had a long history inside India and it is most likely that at some time in their history they went and settled somewhere in Kathiwar or Kach where they were defeated by Jayasimha. We know that both these countries were included within his kingdom.

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The Seventh Patala of Book III of the *Śaktisāṅgama-Tantra*, known as the *Śatpāñchāśad-deśa-vibhāga* gives a description of 56 countries of India. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, who edited, Book I (*Kali-Khaṇḍa*) of the *Śaktisāṅgama-Tantra* assigned the work to the period between 1155-1607 A.D. but Dr. D. C. Sarkar who has edited the *Śat-Pañchāśad-deśa-vibhāga* an account of the 56 countries in and on the borders of India (IC, VIII, 32-64) has assigned the whole work to the late 17th or the early 18th century A.D.

The *Śatpāñchāśad-deśa-vibhāga* mentions the Barbara country as follows:

Lāṭa-deśaḥ samākhyāto Barbaram śṛṇu Pārvaṭi (55)

Māyāpuram samārabhya Saptaśṛṅgāt tath-ottare

Barbarākhyo mahādeśo Saindhavam śṛṇu sādaram (56)

Thus the great country called Barbara extended from Māyāpura and lay to the north of Saptaśṛṅga. There is a Māyāpuram in the Tanjore Dt. on the S. I. Ry and another at Hardwar. But Saptaśṛṅga is a famous place to the north of Nasik. The image of the 18 armed goddess there is 12 ft. high (IC, VII, 450). But one MS. out of the three consulted by Dr. Sarkar, has a supplement, where the five fold division of India is explained. The area of the second division, namely, Yamaprasṭha is as follows: Someśvara in the West, Saptaśṛṅga in the east, Māyāpura in the north, and Vyankateśa in the south. Someśvara and Vyankateśa are evidently the gods at the celebrated temples of Somanath and Tirupati in the Chittor district of Madras respectively, and Sapataśṛṅga lay north of Nasik; Māyāpura is difficult to identify. The whole territory bounded by these places could not have belonged to the Barbaras, though they may have lived scattered in this area.

The presumption that the Barbaras also lived outside Gujarat is strengthened by an inscription in which Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chalukya king also claims to have conquered the Barbaras (EC. XI, Dg. 2), who, for obvious reasons could not have been living in Saurashtra. It is possible, therefore, that either they lived near the Nasik region and that both Vikramāditya VI and Siddharāja defeated them at different periods, or that Siddharāja and Vikramāditya VI defeated different groups of Barbaras.

SOURCES

Inscriptions.

Mūlarāja I

1. Baroda Grant : Dated V.S. 1030 : Noticed by Dhruva, WZKM, V, 300.
2. Varunasarmaka Grant of Yuvarāja Chāmunḍarāja : Dated Gupta era 1033 : Edited by Muni Jina Vijaya, *Bhāratiya-Vidyā* (Hindi Gujrati), I, 73. MM. Mirashi who has practically re-edited this plate has convincingly shown that the date must be taken as a mistake for Vikrama era. *Bhāratiya-Vidyā* (English), VI, 90.
3. Kadi Grant : Dated V.S. 1043 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 191.
4. Balera Grant : Dated V.S. 1051 : Edited by Sten Konow, EI, X, 78.

Bhīma I

5. Radhanpur Grant : Dated V.S. 1086 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 193.
6. Mundaka Grant : Dated V.S. 1086 : This plate was transcribed and translated by Bhau Daji and Indrajī. Garson de Cunha quoted it in the 'Origin of Bombay' (p. 49) which appeared as an extra number of the JBBRAS in 1900. The text is also given in HIG, II, i, 17.
7. Bombay Royal Asiatic Society Grant : Edited by Fleet, IA, XVIII, 108. The plate is dated Samvat 93 which Fleet took to refer to the Śiṃha era and assigned this grant to Bhīma II. But Hultzsch, while editing the Sunak grant of Karna I (EI, I, 317) pointed out that as both the grants were written by Vaṭeśvara, the son of Kāyastha Kāñchana and as *dūtaka* of both the grants was *Mahāsāndhivigrahiḥ* Chaṇḍaśarman, the plate should be assigned to Bhīma I, and the date to be taken as a case of missing hundreds, as indeed Bühler had already done. (IA, VI, 185, f.n.).
8. Abu Stone Inscription : Dated V.S. 1119 : Noticed by Kielhorn, EI, IX, 148.
9. Palanpur Grant : Dated V.S. 1120 : Edited by Dikshit, EI, XXI, 171.

Karna I

10. Navasari Plates: Two pairs of plates A and B. A is dated Śaka year 996 ; B is dated V.S., 1131. Both the plates were edited by G. V. Acharya, JBBRAS, XXVI, 250.

„SOURCES

14. Ladol Copper Plates : Dated V.S. 1156 : Edited by H. G. Shastri : *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, II, 369.
12. Sunak Grant : Dated V.S. 1148 : Edited by Hultzsch, EI, I, 316.

Jāyasinha Siddharāja

13. Neminātha Temple Inscription of Sajjana: Date not known: Noticed by Indrāji, BG, I, i, 177.

14. Ladol Copper Plates : Dated V.S. 1156 : Edited by H. G. Shastri : *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, II, 369.

15. Bhinmal Inscription : Dated V.S. 1186 : Noticed by Bhandarkar, PRAS, WC., 1908, p. 38.

16. Gala Inscription : Dated V.S. 1193 : Edited by Acharya, JBBRAS, XXV, 324.

17. Ujjain Fragmentary Stone Inscription : Dated V.S. 1195 : Edited by Bhandarkar, IA, XLII, 258.

18. Bhadresvar Inscription : V.S. 1195 : Arch. Rep. West. India, No. 2, App., p. xiii, no. 56.

19. Dohad Inscription : Dated V.S. 1196 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, X, 158.

20. Kiradu Śiva Temple Inscription : Dated V.S. 1198 : Unpublished, noticed by Bhandarkar in his List of North Indian Inscriptions, no. 250.

21. Bali Inscription : Dated V.S. 1200 : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 33.

22. Talwara Image Inscription : Defaced : Noticed in the *Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmere, 1914-15, p. 2.

23. Udayapur Inscription : Defaced : Noticed by Kielhorn, IA, XVIII, 341.

24. Sambhar Inscription : Date broken : Edited by B. N. Reu, IA, LVIII, 234.

25. Fragment of Kīrtistambha Inscription : Date broken : Transcript and translation by R. C. Modi, AIOC, VII, 649. ARAB, 1934-5, 35.

26. Girnar Inscription no. 17 : Date lost : ARBP, 311.

27. An Unpublished Inscription : Noticed by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, 163, fn.

Note : Atru Stone Pillar Inscription was assigned to Jayasinha by Bhandarkar in PRAS, WC., 1905-06, pp. 56-7. In his list of the North Indian Inscriptions, Bhandarkar has assigned the same inscription to Paramāra Jayasinhadeva. (Bhandarkar's List, no. 554).

Kumārapāla

28. Mangrol Stone Inscription : Dated V.S. 1202 ; Simha Samvat, 32 : *Bh. Ins.*, 158.

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29. Dohad Inscription : Dated V.S. 1202 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, X, 158.
30. Mt. Abu Inscription of Yaśodhavala : Dated V.S. 1202 : Edited by Halder, IA, LVI, 10.
31. Chitorgadh Inscription : Dated V.S. 1207 : Edited by Kielhorn, EI, II, 421.
32. Vadnagar-*prāśasti* : Dated V.S. 1208 : Edited by Ojha and Bühler, EI, I, 296.
33. The Gala Inscription : Dated V.S. 120(?) : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 2, 40.
34. Kiradu Inscription (i) : Dated V.S. 1209 : *Bh. Ins.*, 172.
35. Pali Inscription : Dated V.S. 1209 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 2, 41.
36. Bhatunda Inscription : Dated V.S. 1210 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 2, 43.
37. Nanana Copper Plate (i) : Dated V.S. 1212 : Edited by G. S. Ojha, ABORI, XXIII, 314.
38. Nadol Plate : Dated V.S. 1213 : Edited by Bhandarkar, IA, XLI, 202.
39. Bali Inscription : Dated V.S. 1216 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 2, 44.
40. Kiradu Inscription (ii) : Dated V.S. 1218 : Edited by B. N. Reu, IA, LXI (1932), 135. Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 2, 51.
41. Nanana Copper Plate (ii) : Dated V.S. (12) 19 : ASI, 1936-37, 120.
42. Udayapur Inscription : Dated V.S. 1220 : Edited by Kielhorn, IA, XVIII, 341.
43. Jalor Inscription : Dated V.S. 1221 : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 54.
44. Udayapur Pillar Inscription : Dated V.S. 1222 : Noticed by Kielhorn, IA, XVIII, 343.
45. Junagadh Inscription : Dated Valabhī Samvat, 850 ; Siniha Samvat, 60 : *Bh. Ins.* 184.
46. Veraval Inscription of Bhāva Brīhashpati : Dated Valabhī Samvat, 850 : Edited by Ojha and Bühler, WZKM, III, 1-19.
47. Nadlai Inscription : Dated V.S. 1228 : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 57.
48. Prachi Inscription : Date missing : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 4, 38. B. J. Sandesara, *ibid*, V, 123.
49. Chitorgadh, now Victoria Hall Udayapur Fragmentary Inscription : Date not given : Noticed by Bhandarkar, PRAS. WC. 1905-06, 61, no. 2220.
50. Ratnapura Inscription : Undated : *Bh. Ins.*, 205.

SOURCES

51. Girnar Inscription : Date missing : ARBP, 306. Edited by Diskalkar, NIA, I, 695.

Ajayapāla

52. Udayapur Inscription : Dated V.S. 1229 : Edited by Kielhorn, IA, XVIII, 344.

53. Unjhā Grant : Dated V.S. 1231 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, I, no. 4, 40.

54. Bombay Secretariat Copper Plate : Dated V.S. 1231 : Edited by Fleet, IA, XVIII, 80.

Mūlarāja II

55. Brahmanwada Plates : Dated V.S. 1232 : Edited by Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from Baroda State*, I, 71.

Bhīma II

56. Veraval Inscription of Bhāva Brihaspati: Undated : *Bh. Ins.*, 208.

57. Kiradu Inscription : Dated V.S. 1235 : Edited by Bhandarkar, EI, XI, 72. PO, I, no. 4, 41.

58. Patan Inscription : Dated V.S. 1236 : Noticed by Dhruva, WZKM, III, 87-8.

59. Virapura Copper Plates : Dated V.S. 1242 : Noticed in ASI, 1929-30, 187.

60. Diwara Image Inscription : Dated V.S. 1253 : Noticed in *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1915, 2. PRAS, WC. 1915, 35, no. 5.

61. Patan Copper Plate : Dated V.S. 1256 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, XI, 71.

62. Girnar Inscription : V.S. (1) 256 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, XI, 71.

63. Somanatha Pattana Inscription : Dated V.S. 125(?) : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, II, 222.

64. Kadi Grant (i) : Dated V.S. 1263 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 194.

65. Ahada Grant : Dated V.S. 1263 : Edited by G. H. Ojha, AIOC, VII, 643.

66. Timana Grant : Dated V.S. 1264 : Edited by Hultzsch, IA, XI, 377.

67. Abu Inscription (i) : Dated V.S. 1265 : Edited by Cartillieri, IA, XI, 220.

68. Royal Asiatic Society Grant : Dated V.S. 1266 ; and Simha Samvat 96 : Edited by Fleet, IA, XVIII, 112.

69. Śrīdhara's Devapattana *Prasasti*: Dated V.S. 1273: Edited by Bühler and Ojha, EI, II, 439.

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70. Kadi Grant (ii) : Dated V.S. 1283 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 199.
71. Nana Inscription : Dated 1283 : Noticed in PRAS. WC., 1908, 49.
72. Kadi Grant (iii) : Dated V.S. 1287 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 201.
73. Abu Inscription (ii) : Dated V.S. 1287 : Edited by Lüders, EI, VIII, 219.
74. Abu Inscription (iii) : Dated 1287 : Edited by Lüders, EI, VIII, 208.
75. Kadi Grant (iv) : Dated V.S. 1288 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 203.
76. Kadi Grant (v) : Dated V.S. 1295 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 205.
77. Kadi Grant (vi) : Dated 1296 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 205.
- Note : Bharana Inscription ascribed to Bhīma II (*Bh. Ins.*, 204) really belongs to the reign of Arjunadeva. (PO, II, 231).

Vastupāla and Tejahpāla

- 78-84. Seven Girnar Inscriptions : Dated between V.S. (12) 76-(12) 88. Transcript and translation in ARBP, 283-300 ; ASWL, II, 173 ; RLARBP, 315.
- 85-86. Two Inscriptions on Mt. Taranga : Dated V.S. 1285 : Transcribed in *Prāchīna Jaina Lekha Saṅgraha*.
- 87-116. Thirty Inscriptions in the Temple of Neminātha : Dated between V.S. 1287-1297 : Edited by Lüders, EI, VIII, 223.
117. Nagor Inscription : Dated V.S. 1292 : Edited by Diskalkar, ABORI, IX, 179.

Jayantasīma (Usurper)

118. Kadi Grant : Dated 1280 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 196.

Tribhuvanaṭpāla

119. Kadi Grant : Dated V.S. 1299 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 208.

Viśaladeva

120. Veraval Image Inscription : Dated Valabhī Samvat, 927 : Edited by Kielhorn, EI, III, 302.
121. Ahmedabad Pillar Inscription : Dated V.S. 1308 : Edited by Abbot, EI, V, 103.
122. Dabhoi-*prasaṣti* : Dated V.S. 1311 : Edited by Bühler, EI, I, 20.
123. Porbandar Inscription : Dated V.S. 1315 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, II, 225.

SOURCES

124. Kadi Grant : Dated V.S. 1317 : Edited by Bühler, IA, VI, 212.
125. Nānaka-praśasti (i) : Dated V.S. 1328 : Edited by Dhruva, IA, XI, 339. Re-edited by Gadre, *Important Inscriptions From Baroda State*, I, 74.
126. Nānaka-praśasti (ii) : Undated : Edited by Gadre : *Important Inscriptions From Baroda State*, I, 74.
127. Cambay Unfinished Inscription : Undated : *Bh. Ins.*, 214.

Arjunadeva

128. Veraval Inscription : Dated A.H. 662, V.S. 1320, Valabhī Samvat, 945, Sīmha Samvat, 151 : Edited by Hultzsch, IA, XI, 241.
129. Kantela Inscription : Dated V.S. 1320 : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, II, 227.
130. Bharana Inscription : Dated V.S. 132(7) : Edited by Diskalkar, PO, II, 232.
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(Note : The date given in this MS. must be wrong—may be a printing mistake—for the earliest known date of Arjunadeva's successor is V.S. 1332.)

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Owing to the exigencies of space geographical terms which occur frequently such as Saurashtra, Rajputana, etc., have not been included in the index. Only those authors and works are included in the index who are mentioned in the text or are quoted or criticised in the references. The following abbreviations have been used :

c : country ; d : dynasty ; ins : inscription ; f : father, festival ; k : king ; pr : prince ; r : river ; s : son ; st : sect ; tr : tribe ; v : village ; w : wife.

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*for Jinaprabhā read Jinaprabha.

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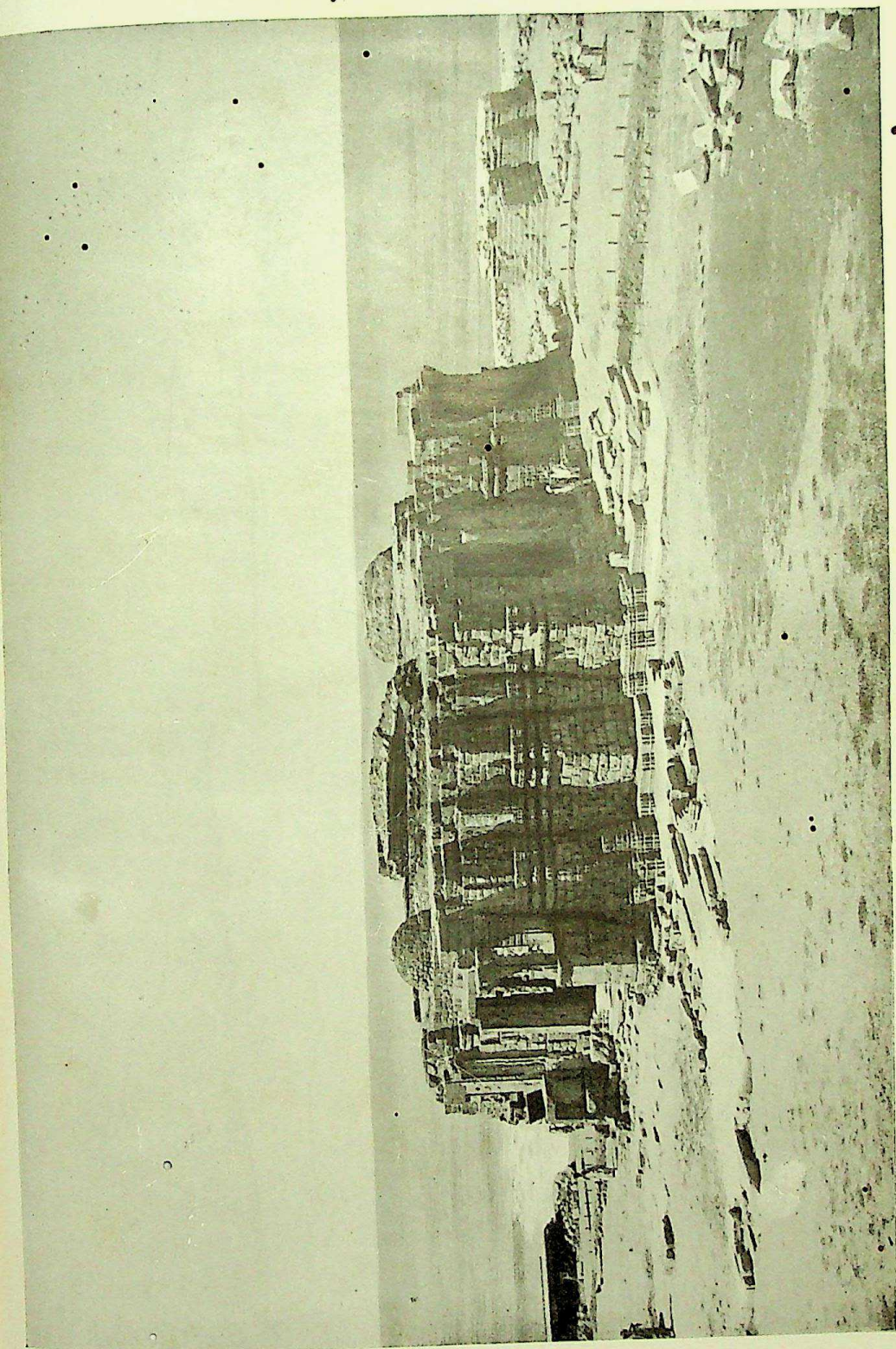
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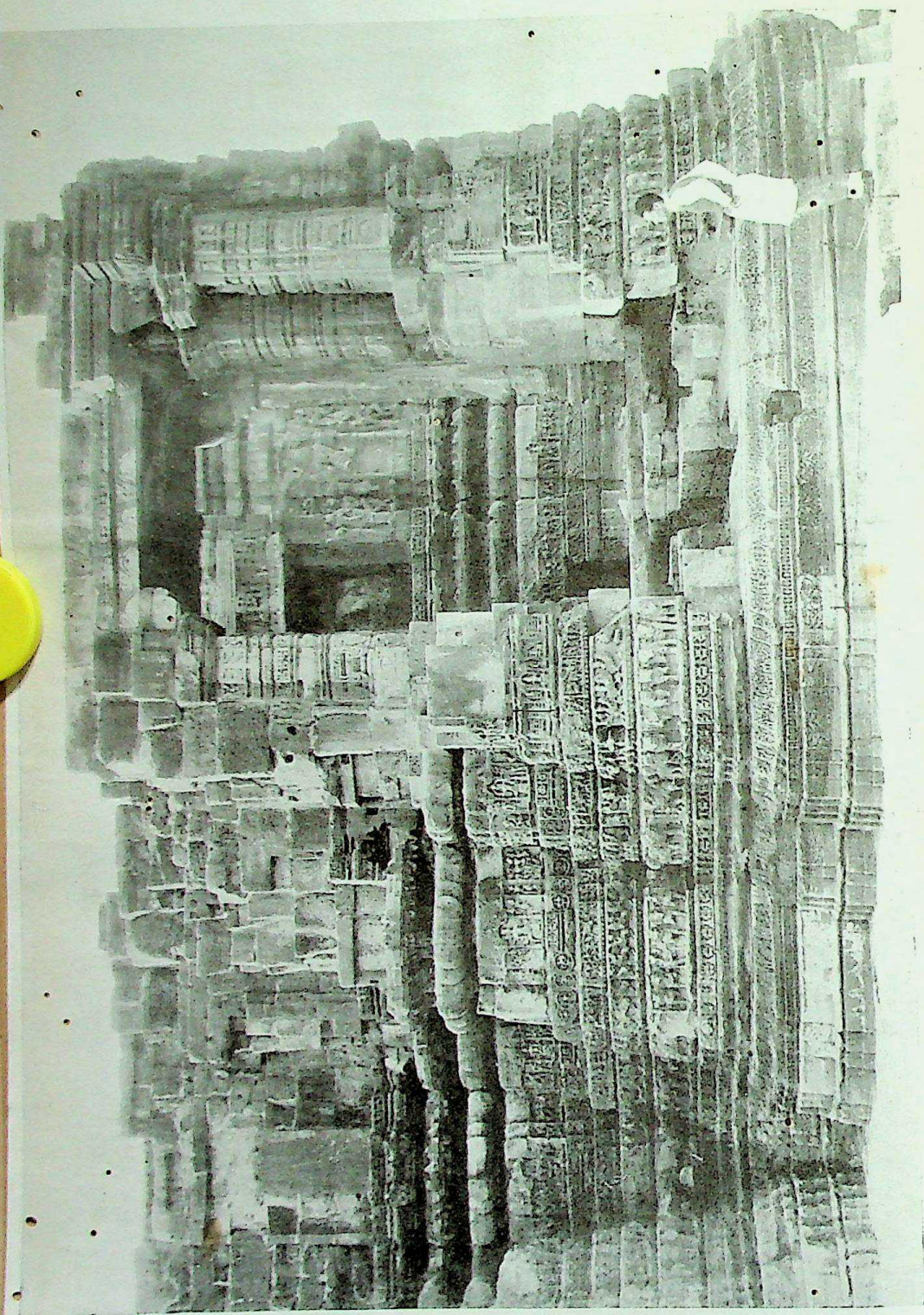
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Temple of Somanatha, general view.



Somanatha Temple, closer view of the north western corner,

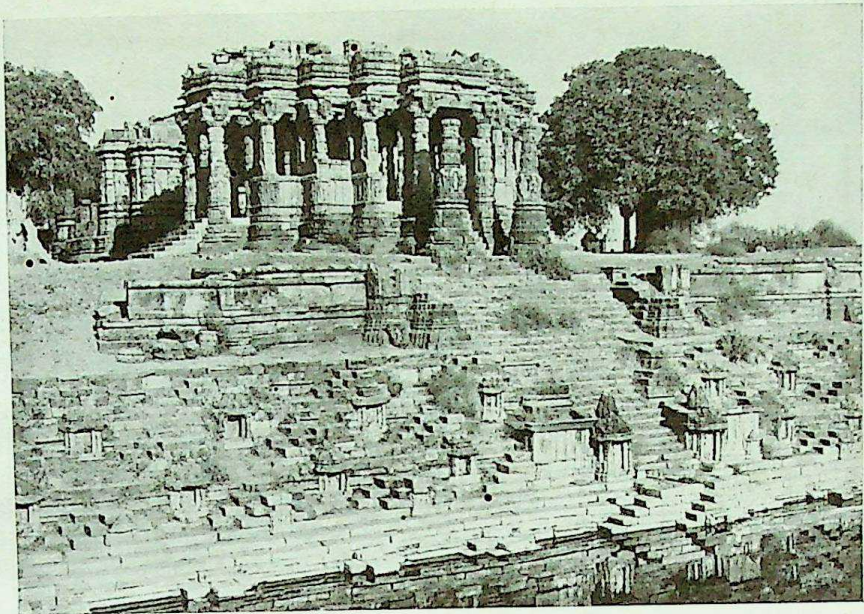


III

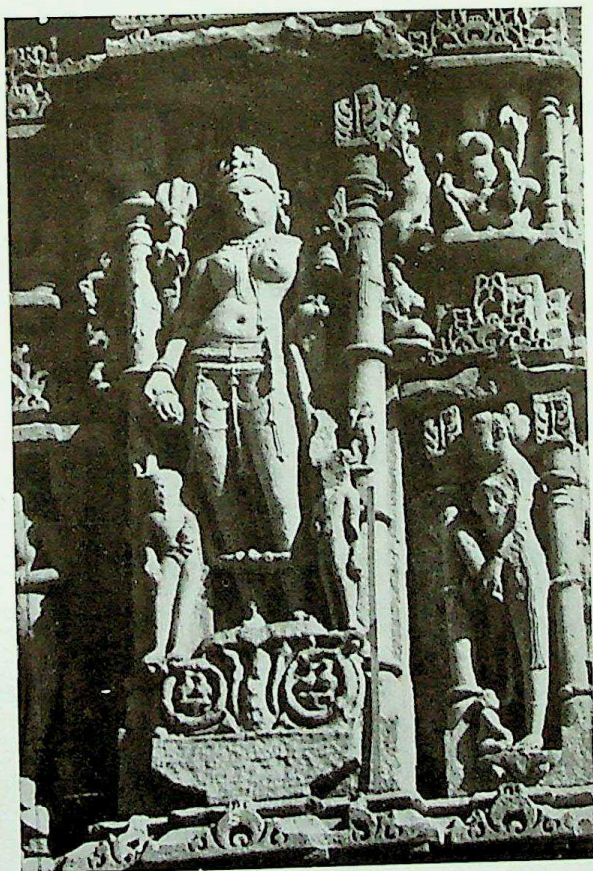
Somanatha Temple, detailed view of the *mahapitha*



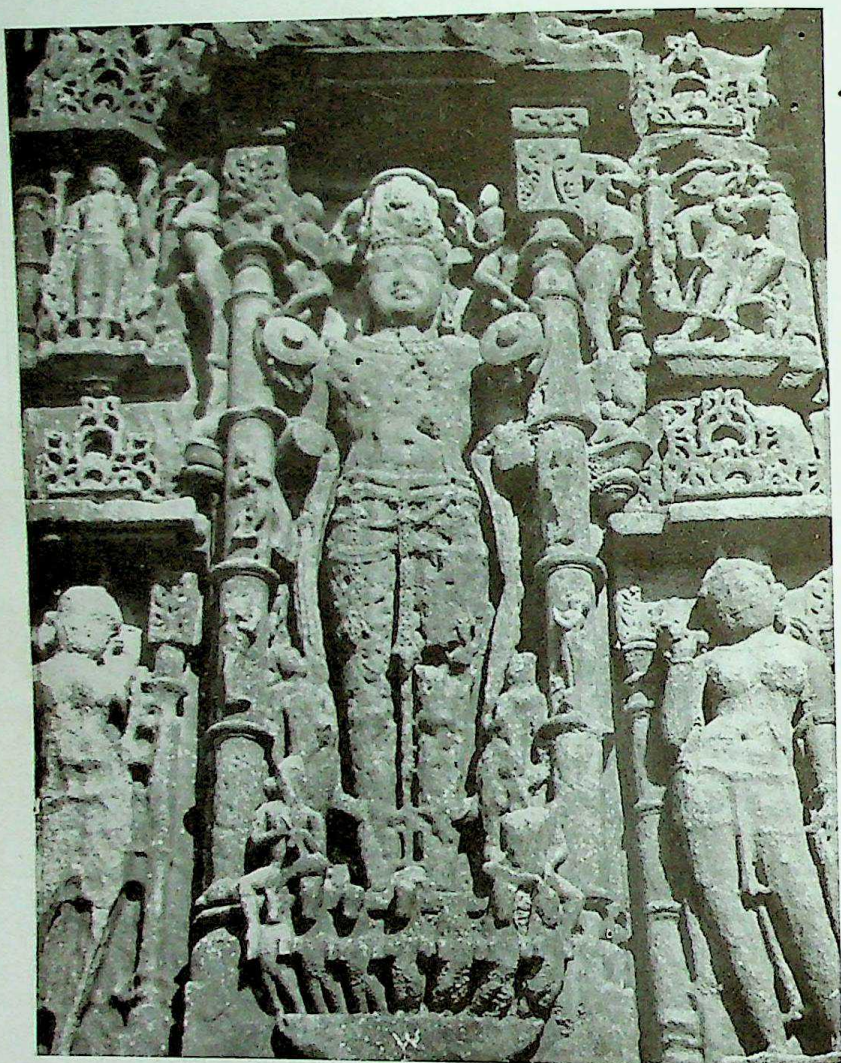
IV Somanatha Temple, three outlets pierced in the northern wall of the Cella. CC-0. In Public Domain. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow



V General view of the Sun-Temple, Modhera

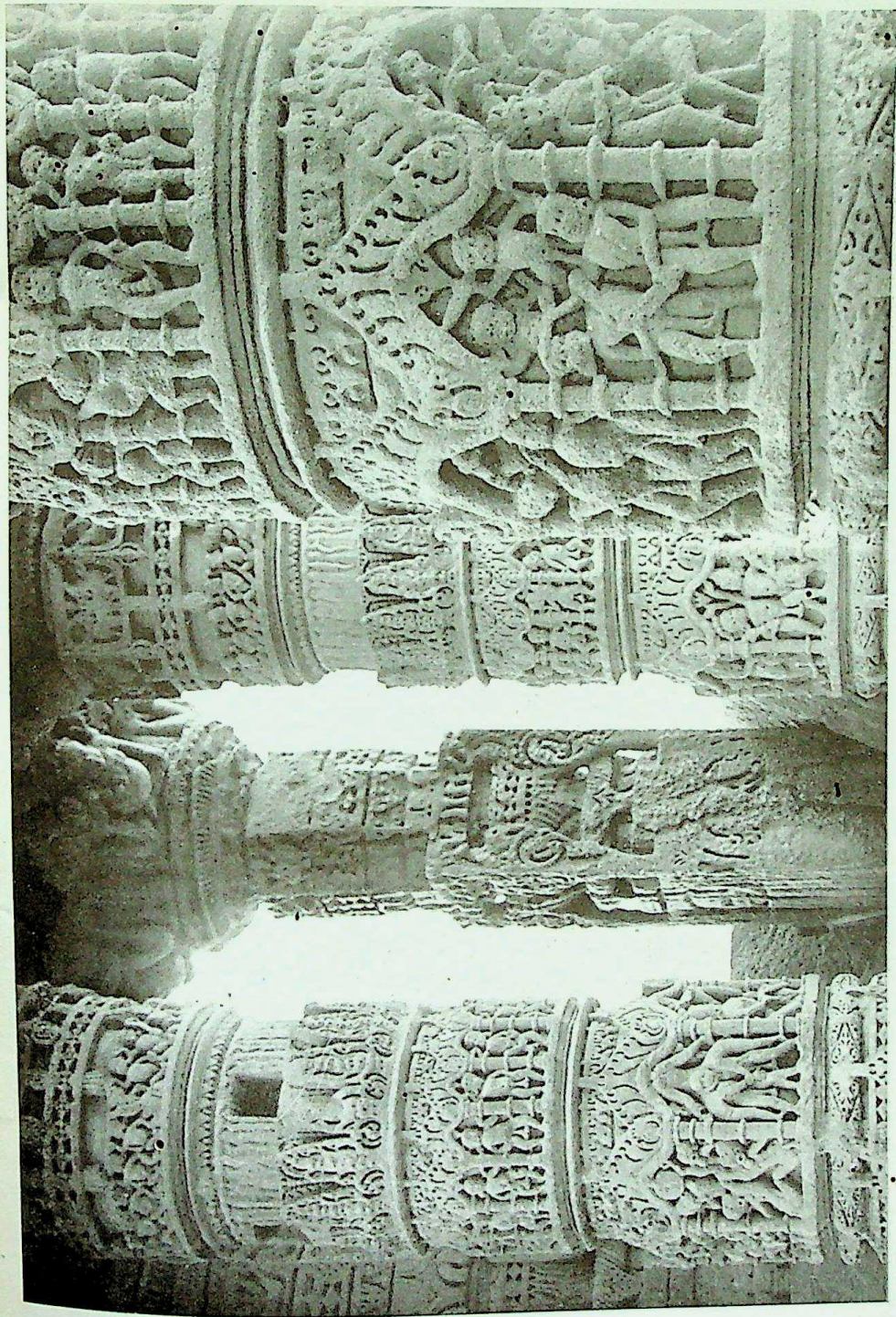


VI Parvati : Sun-Temple, Modhera
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VII

Surya : Sun-Temple, Modhera



Carved Pillars of the Sun-Temple at Modhera



IX

Ceiling : Vimala-Vasahika



X

Brackets and capitals : *Vimala-Vasahika*



XI

Carved Pillars : Vimala-Vasahika

